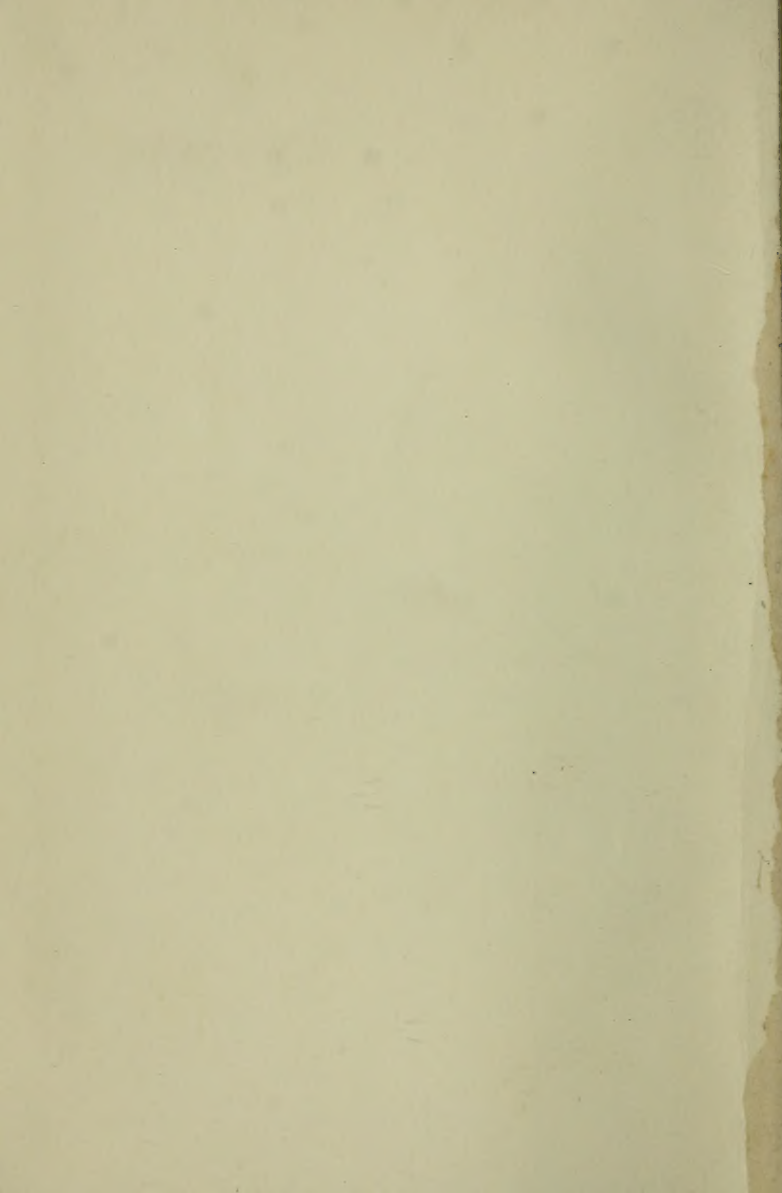


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NARRATIVE

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A JOURNEY THROUGH THE UPPER
PROVINCES OF INDIA,

FROM

CALCUTTA TO BOMBAY, 1824—1825,

(WITH NOTES UPON CEYLON,)

AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO

MADRAS AND THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES, 1826,

AND LETTERS WRITTEN IN INDIA.

BY THE LATE RIGHT REV.

REGINALD HEBER, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1846

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P R E F A C E.

THE painful task of editing the works of the late Bishop of Calcutta having devolved upon his widow, she is anxious to state that her principal object in publishing the following Journal is, that its readers may be made acquainted with the nature and extent of the duties performed by the Bishop during the short time he presided over the Indian Church, as well as with the difficulties he encountered in the visitation of his extensive diocese.

Although written in the shape of a diary, the greater part of the work formed his correspondence with the Editor—a fact which she hopes will be borne in mind, should some consider that he has dwelt less upon the professional objects of his journey than might have been anticipated. The Letters to his friends in England, from which extracts are given, together with the sacrifice of his dearest affections which he was so frequently called upon to make, sufficiently prove that he never lost sight of his high calling, nor suffered any circumstances to interfere with the object for which he left his native land.

In the unreserved confidence of such communications, it will be supposed that there was much of a nature uninteresting to the public eye, and that omissions were consequently necessary. Had it pleased God to spare the Bishop's life, it was his intention, after revisiting the same countries, to publish, corrected by further experience, an account of his travels from the notes, in which light only he considered the work now offered to the world. If the Editor has retained too many proofs of her husband's attachment to her, and love for his children, or too many traits of that kindness of heart for which he was so eminent, some allowance should be made for the feelings of one whose pride it now is, as it was her happiness, to have possessed the undivided affections of that heart whose qualities she so well knew and so fondly valued.

During a residence of five weeks in Ceylon, the Bishop had not leisure to continue the account of his first Visitation, which concluded in that beautiful country; but as it was a part of his diocese which, in many points of view, particularly interested him, he intended writing at some future period his recollections of the island, aided by the Editor's journal, which for that purpose was written more in detail. She has endeavoured to supply, in some degree, the deficiency, by inserting a few pages in the second volume.

Having thus explained the circumstances under which the work was written, and her motives for its publication, the Editor begs to be allowed to express her gratitude for the great and invariable kindness received by her husband and herself during their residence in India. For the active furtherance of his views in the promotion of Christianity,

for the deference paid to his wishes, for the hospitality, friendship, and respect which he met with from his Clergy and from all the military and civil servants of the Company, in whatever part of the country his Visitations led him, as well as from the King's Government in Ceylon, she can now but offer her own heartfelt thanks. That the Bishop highly appreciated the reception which he experienced, may be generally inferred from his journal; but the Editor is convinced that the following extracts from a private letter will be peculiarly gratifying to the members of Government in Calcutta, to whom, especially to Mr. Lushington, the Secretary for the Ecclesiastical department, he always considered himself as under much obligation:—"The Members of Government have done everything for me which I myself wished for, and which was in their power to do; and Mr. Lushington has just now been exerting himself in Council to carry a point for me of great consequence." "Nothing can be fuller or more considerate than the letters which have been sent to the different commissariat and military officers to attend to all my wants in their respective departments."

The liberality of the Honourable the Court of Directors, in providing the Bishop with a house, and in making him an additional allowance for the expenses of his Visitation, was duly estimated by himself, and is now acknowledged with thankfulness by his widow.

The Editor trusts she may be forgiven for intruding any mention of her own feelings; but she would find it difficult at this moment to refrain from expressing her deep and grateful sense of the respect and affection shown to her husband's memory by all ranks, all professions, and all classes of British in India, and were it possible that these sentiments could receive a stronger colouring, it would be from the knowledge that the natives of that country participated largely in such feelings; that sincerely as he is regretted by his own countrymen, he is no less so by those for whose eternal welfare he sacrificed his life. From these sources the bitter agonies of his widow's grief received all the alleviation of which such sorrow is susceptible: and though time may soften the poignancy of her loss, her gratitude can never be effaced; and fervent and lasting will be her wishes for the welfare of those whom she has left behind, and to whose personal kindness she was so deeply indebted in the hour of her affliction.

To the Right Honourable Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, the Right Honourable Robert John Wilmot Horton, and those other friends who have contributed so much to the interest of the work by allowing the Editor to publish the Bishop's private Letters addressed to them, she returns her grateful thanks.

For the invaluable and kind assistance afforded her by Sir Robert Harry Inglis in the publication of the work, her warmest acknowledgments are due, and she feels sincere pleasure in thus publicly recording her sense of the obligation she is under to one of her husband's truest friends.

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BISHOP HEBER'S INDIAN JOURNAL.

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE TO INDIA.

ON Monday, June 16th, 1823, we went down by the Ramsgate steam-boat, to join the *Thomas Grenville* at the Lower Hope, accompanied by a party of kind relations and friends who were willing to let us see as much of them as we could before our necessary separation. Captain Manning had the yards of the ship manned, and fired a salute in compliment to us. The *Grenville* weighed anchor soon after we were on board, but met with an adverse wind, and advanced a very little way down the river.

On the 17th we had again baffling winds, and could not get round the North Foreland. About two o'clock on the morning of the 18th a fine north breeze sprung up, which carried us very soon into the Downs. We lay off Deal about six hours, waiting for passengers and a fresh supply of water, much to the vexation of the old pilot, who bitterly regretted that so fine a breeze was allowed to remain useless. It continued, however, and we set off auspiciously at six the same evening, sailing with the wind so well on our quarter, and through so smooth a sea, that though the breeze grew strong in the night, the motion of the ship was hardly perceptible.

In the course of the day I had proposed to read evening prayers regularly, which was received with readiness on the part of Captain Manning. Accordingly, after tea, I repeated, with the party assembled in the cuddy, the General Confession, Lord's Prayer, Petition

for all Conditions of Men, General Thanksgiving, &c.

On the 20th the ship's company were busied, during the early part of the day, in lowering the quarter-deck guns into the hold, and getting up the baggage for the passengers, an operation which, we are told, is to take place once a fortnight. The effect was singular; the whole deck being strewn, during the greater part of the morning, with trunks and packages either shut or open, looked as if we had been boarded and rifled by pirates. To-day I finished "*Quentin Durward*," which I had kept as a resource of amusement for the voyage. I began it yesterday, and could not stop till I had quite eaten up my cake. It will, however, bear reading over more than once. I am, certainly, much pleased with it. It has more talent and interest as a story than most which have lately proceeded from the same quarter. *Lewis the XIth* is powerfully drawn, though, notwithstanding the superiority of his talents, he does not, as a rich and vivid portrait, so completely please and amuse me as *James I.* in "*Nigel*." Yet between the two monarchs there are many points of resemblance. *Ludovic Leslie* is but a very ordinary daubing of the Scots mercenary soldier, and only serves to remind us, unpleasantly, of *Dugald Dalgetty*, and most absurdly, and to the ruin of the conclusion of the story, blunders at its end into the triumph which the wishes of the readers had reserved for his nephew.

Quentin himself is precisely the Page of "The Abbot;" a raw lively lad, thrown by accident into situations of great interest and intricacy; and in no very probable manner, and by no great merit of his own, rising from poverty and obscurity to fame and great wealth, and the enjoyment of the object of his affections. The other characters, male and female, are mere sketches, but sketches of great talent and vivacity. I like them all, from the grave, courtly, sententious, and tipsy old soldier, Lord Crawford, down to the good-natured, stupid burghers of Liege, and the weeping and the laughing executioner. I would except, however, Hayraddin the Bohemian, whose sketch I think a complete failure; however ambitiously intended (and he seems to have been a favourite with the author) he is a very tame compound of Meg Merrilies, of Ronald Mac Eagh in the "Legend of Montrose," of Pacolet in the "Pirate," and of the dumb lady in the service of the Countess of Derby, as if a man, in his ambition after a new beverage, should pour wine, whiskey, beer, and raspberry-vinegar into the same cup. And after all, Hayraddin, with all his talk about planets, palmistry, and atheism, does nothing but what a mere ordinary spy would have done as well, and what, if he had been employed to do, he never would have attempted under the disadvantage of any peculiarities of dress and manner.

But though it is very easy to find fault with "Quentin Durward," it is decidedly better than many of Scott's later works, nor is there any man now living but Walter Scott who could have written it. So ends the last critique that I shall, in all probability, compose for a long time to come!

On the 21st we had the same gentle breeze, which, though now shifted to nearly due north, answered our purpose extremely well. Our latitude this day at noon was $48^{\circ} 9'$, long. W. $7^{\circ} 21'$. The weather fine, though cruelly cold for Midsummer. I was this morning engaged by "Scoresby's Voyage to Old Greenland in 1822," but I find two circumstances for which, at sea, I was by no means prepared:—that, namely, we have no great time for study; and that

for me at least there is so much which interests and occupies me, that I have no apprehensions of time hanging heavy on my hands.

June 22.—This day, being Sunday, the decks were all beautifully clean, having been well scrubbed on Saturday night. The awning was spread over the quarter-deck, and the capstan and sides of the vessel concealed and ornamented with flags of different nations. Chairs were set for the officers and passengers on the poop, and round the afterpart of the deck, and spars laid across the remainder as seats for the sailors, who attended church in clean shirts and trowsers, and well washed and shaved. In the space between the capstan and half-deck was a small table set for me and the purser, who acted as clerk, and I read prayers, and preached one of my Hodnet Sermons, slightly altered, to a very attentive and orderly congregation, of altogether, I should think, one hundred and forty persons. The awning made really a handsome church, and the sight was a very pleasing one.

June 24.—This morning we were roused, after a night of much vexatious rolling, by the intelligence that a sail was in sight, by which we might send letters to England. I had some ready, and finished others. She was pretty close with us at about eight; a small dark-sided brig, of very beautiful build, and with a British pendant, which made her pass for a man-of-war, though, on a nearer approach, the apparent slovenliness of her equipment, and a crowd of foreign and dirty-looking people on board, gave rise to various conjectures. Captain Manning hoisted out one of his cutters with ten oars, besides the quartermaster and the midshipman who commanded, a handsome boat, making, from the appearance of the men, and their discipline, a show little inferior to that of a man-of-war. He sent our letters, together with two newspapers, and two bottles of milk, a present which he said would fairly pay for the carriage of our dispatches to England. She turned out to be a Falmouth packet, nine days out of Lisbon, crowded with different adventurers who had volunteered their

services to the Spaniards and Portuguese, and were now returning dispirited and disappointed.

About noon several porpoises were seen, and a remarkable fish passed the ship, which some of the sailors called a devil-fish, others, I believe more correctly, a sun-fish. It was a very large and nearly circular flat-fish, with apparently some rather vivid colours about it, like those tints which are found in the jelly-fish. It impelled itself forward by lashing the water with its tail, and swam exactly on a level with the surface. I at first thought that it was dead, but was soon satisfied to the contrary. The sailors seemed to regard it as a curiosity. The afternoon was cloudy, cold, and rainy, a bad summer's day in England, and what I should have still less expected in the parallel of Spain.

June 25.—We had this day a considerable swell, with a foul wind, though not much of it. A grampus came close to the ship, and played round us for some time. In his apparent size he disappointed me, though everybody said that if he had been on deck he would have measured fourteen or fifteen feet. He presented, as I should conceive, a complete miniature of a whale, blowing out water in the same manner. I find, indeed, that Captain Manning, and most persons on board, suppose that the grampus is only a young whale; another, or the same grampus, in the course of the day was seen chased by a group of porpoises, and a real (or full grown) whale was also seen, but I was not then on deck. The wind sunk again before evening; a number of little birds, like swallows, continued flying on the surface of the water and piping. The seamen called them "Mother Carey's chickens," and said that a storm might be expected. Accordingly, on the wind rising a little after sunset, all hands were called to take in the royal or upper top-gallant sails, and the company were told off with a reference to the duties expected from them with more than usual hurry. It blew hard about ten o'clock, and from two to three the storm was regarded as serious.

On the morning of the 26th nothing

remained but a violent rolling and pitching sea.

June 30.—Two brigs were seen in the offing in the same course with ourselves, one of which gained on us fast, and overtook us about 3 P.M. She was the *Christiana*, of Liverpool, in ballast, bound for Bahia, and to touch at Madeira by the way. An opportunity thus offered of sending our letters to the latter place, and thence to England.

The poop of the ship would be no bad place for air, study, or recreation (it is indeed used as such by most of our young writers and cadets), had it not the terrible drawback of a vile stench from the wretched imprisoned fowls, whose hen-coops cover it. These miserable birds suffer dreadfully for the gratification of our luxury. Though less crowded on board the *Grenville* than in most vessels of the kind, they are even here packed like bottles in a rack, with hardly room to stir.

July 2.—During the night we made a somewhat better progress than we had done for a good while. The breeze continued to freshen from the N.E., and the day was pleasant. A vessel bound for London, three days from Funchal, passed us at dinner-time. We regretted bitterly that we had sent our packets by the *Christiana*, and that we had (now that so much better an opportunity occurred) nothing ready to despatch; but it was not to be helped. Captain Manning hailed the vessel, and asked her Master to report at Lloyd's that he had spoken the *Thomas Grenville* in such a latitude, "all well," so that this, at least, our friends will have the satisfaction of seeing in the newspapers ere many days are over. My wife's eyes swam with tears as this vessel passed us, and there were one or two of the young men who looked wishfully after it. For my own part I am but too well convinced that all my firmness would go if I allowed myself to look back even for a moment. Yet, as I did not leave home and its blessings without counting the cost, I do not, and I trust in God that I shall not, regret the choice I have made. But knowing how much others have given up for my sake, should make me both

more studious to make the loss less to them, and also, and above all, so to discharge my duty, that they may never think that these sacrifices have been made in vain.

July 3.—We made an excellent progress during the night. At about five in the evening we saw Madeira on our larboard bow. The horizon was unfortunately hazy, and the night shut in with clouds, otherwise we should, about an hour after, have had a fine view of the land at about twenty miles' distance on the beam. As it was we could barely distinguish its outline through the mist; but the very sight of land, and the sense of progress which it communicated, were very exhilarating, and kept us all on deck till it was quite dark. During this evening the gale and the sea had continued to increase; some of the cabins on the gun-deck had shipped water; Mr. Burnet predicted uncomfortable weather; and the captain, though he did not shorten sail, gave orders to have all the lower ports secured. We went to bed, therefore, not unprepared for a little tossing, though certainly not for all that followed. The wind was high during the night, and the swell more than commensurate, and our furniture, though we had secured it with unusual care, seemed alive. The moon, during the latter part of the night, was clear, and the view of the following surge from the cabin windows was very majestic; but to enjoy it, it was necessary to hold hard with both hands.

July 4.—The gale and tossing continued all the forenoon; complaints of sleeplessness, broken heads and shins, were universal; and we were only comforted by the assurance that we had seen, probably, the worst of the ship's rolling, and that, even off the Cape of Good Hope, nothing more than this was reasonably to be apprehended. Our progress too was very cheering. Our run during the last twenty-four hours was computed at 200 miles, and our latitude at twelve was $31^{\circ} 10'$.

July 5.—Nothing very material occurred this day, excepting that some flying-fish began to be seen round us, but of so small a sort, that, though they

were numerous, it was a long time before I could distinguish them from the spray among which they fluttered.

July 6.—We had Divine Service, and I read a sermon on the Epistle for the day.* I did not feel quite sure whether the subject were too difficult for the major part of my audience or no. But I thought its discussion might, at all events, be serviceable to the educated part of my hearers, and I did not despair of making myself understood by the crew. I am inclined to hope that I succeeded with many of them. All were very attentive, and the petty officers, more particularly, heard me with great apparent interest. I am, on the whole, more and more confirmed in the opinion which Horsley has expressed in one of his Sermons, that a theological argument, clearly stated, and stated in terms derived from the ancient English language exclusively, will generally be both intelligible and interesting to the lower classes. They do not want acuteness or the power of attending; it is their vocabulary only which is confined, and if we address them in such words as they understand, we may tell them what truths we please, and reason with them as subtly as we can.

The flying-fish to-day were more numerous and lively. They rose in whole flights to the right and left of the bow, flying off in different directions, as if the vast body of the ship alarmed and disturbed them. Others, however, at a greater distance, kept rising and falling without any visible cause, and, apparently, in the gladness of their hearts, and in order to enjoy the sunshine and the temporary change of element. Certainly there was no appearance or probability of any larger fish being in pursuit of even one hundredth part of those which we saw, nor were there any birds to endanger their flight; and those writers who describe the life of these animals as a constant succession of alarms, and rendered miserable by fear, have never, I conceive, seen them in their mirth, or considered those natural feelings of health and hilarity

* Sixth Sunday after Trinity.

which seem to lead all creatures to exert, in mere lightness of heart, whatever bodily powers the Creator has given them. It would be just as reasonable to say that a lamb leaps in a meadow for fear of being bitten by serpents, or that a horse gallops round his pasture only because a wolf is at his heels, as to infer from the flight of these animals that they are always pursued by the bonito.

July 8.—The sun was now fairly to the north of us, and our trade-wind, though light, was steady. One of the sailors, a lad about seventeen, was accused of having, in wanton cruelty, stabbed and cut a sheep so severely that it bled to death. He had been cleaning knives near the sheep-pen, and the animal was found in this condition shortly after. He protested his innocence, and said the sheep had thrown down a board on which the knives were laid. This story was a lame one; but, with a very praiseworthy moderation, Captain Manning merely ordered him for the present into confinement, till the business could be more accurately inquired into. It is, he says, his general rule, and the rule of most captains in the Company's service, never to punish without a regular trial, or without some pause intervening between the accusation and the inquiry.

July 9.—The boy's trial came on, but he was discharged for want of sufficient evidence, with a suitable admonition. The day was fine. We were on deck the greater part of the morning, having transferred our Hindoostanee lecture thither. Our course continues south-west; our latitude $20^{\circ} 57'$, longitude $24^{\circ} 32'$. The favourable breeze almost became a gale towards night; but we had less rolling than on former occasions.

July 11.—A flying-fish fell on deck this morning, and I examined it with much interest. The form and colours are not unlike a herring's, with the addition of the two long filmy fins which support the animal in its short flights. This, however, was, as we were assured, a very small specimen, not exceeding the size of a small sparling or smelt.

July 13.—We had Divine service on deck this morning. A large shoal of dolphins were playing round the ship, and I thought it right to interfere to check the harpoons and fishing-hooks of some of the crew. I am not strict in my notions of what is called the Christian Sabbath; but the wanton destruction of animal life seems to be precisely one of those *works* by which the sanctity and charity of our weekly feast would be profaned. The seamen took my reproof in good part, and left the mizen chains where they had been previously watching for their prey. I trust that they will have other and better opportunities of amusement; this was a truly torrid day.

July 15.—A hot and close day, with much swell, and little or no wind. The sails flapped dismally; the foretop-sail was split; and I saw with interest the dexterity of the sail-maker in repairing the damage without unbinding it from the yard. The evening was such as to portend both rain and wind, and one of the men at the helm said that "he hoped it would blow its hardest," so weary were the sailors of this dull and uninteresting weather. Lat. $9^{\circ} 50'$. In the course of this day some of the seamen went round to solicit subscriptions from those who had not yet passed the line. They showed considerable anxiety for any decayed finery which the ladies might supply them with, as decorations for Amphitrite; and I was amused to learn that they had a copy of "Tooke's Pantheon," which they were diligently consulting, in order to make their costume as like as possible to the authentic dress and equipment of the classical Neptune and his family.

July 18.—The night was very blustering and rainy, and the motion of the vessel unpleasant. Our progress, however, continued rapid, and the wind favourable. A sail was, about ten, seen a-head, steering the same course with ourselves. On nearing her she showed Danish colours. Captain Manning expressed some little surprise at this meeting. The Danish flag, he said, was almost unknown in India, whither, apparently, this vessel was bound. The Danes have indeed a no-

minal factory and a consul at Serampore; but what little commerce is carried on is in the ships of other nations. In the harbour of Calcutta (and no large vessels mount so high as Serampore) he had never seen the Danish flag. This seems strange, considering how long the Danes have been in possession not only of Serampore, but of Tranquebar. The Swedish flag, he said, was never seen in the Indian seas. I have been pleased, in my different conversations with our officers concerning foreign seamen, to find that the American sailors bear a better character now with those of our own country than I had understood, or than they really used to do. They are not so grievously addicted to lying as they were once said to be. They have less animosity against the English than formerly, and their character seems to have recovered its natural English tone. One of the officers spoke well of their conduct even during the late war. A Company's ship, he said, on board which he was serving, had a number of American prisoners to take home, who, for the additional allowance of provisions usual on such occasions, undertook to assist in navigating the ship. In this situation they behaved extremely well, and, at length, when a vessel, supposed to be an American, hove in sight, and an action was expected, they came forward in a body to desire to be sent below, being equally resolved neither to fight against their country, nor to break their faith with their captors. All the officers agreed in speaking very ill of the French, and of their conduct towards their prisoners. This last they described as being, in the highest degree, brutal and ungenerous. They said, too, that it was the fault of the private seamen more than of the officers. The latter would often have been kinder, had it lain in their power, to the English than they usually were; but they could not prevent their men from insulting and abusing them, pilfering their provisions and water, spitting and pouring filth on them through the gratings, and, whenever an opportunity offered, beating and throwing things at them. An Englishman on board a

French ship, they said, was always half-starved, and abominably treated, and they spoke of the national temper, as shown in their seamen, as utterly unkind, unchristian, and unmanly. This is a sad picture, but they who gave it me were neither interested in speaking untruly, nor, that I could perceive, inclined to judge harshly of others. How far the character of the uneducated French in general may have suffered under the influence of the Revolution and its consequences, or what circumstances may operate to depress the character of their seamen below the rest of the nation, my informants had not the means of judging.

July 20. — To-day, notwithstanding some threatening appearances in the morning, we had our usual prayers and sermon. During the former I found that *sea-knees* were necessary, as well as *sea-legs*, since the vessel was so much on one side, that, while kneeling on a chair (which I was obliged to do rather than on the deck, in order that my congregation might hear me), I had some difficulty in keeping either myself or my support from going to leeward. The afternoon and evening were pleasant, but though the congregation at church was very good, there were many absentees at dinner. Two large brown birds, which the sailors said were "boobies," flew some time round the ship this evening. I began to-day translating St. John's Gospel into Hindoostanee.

July 22. — The day was pleasant and the night beautiful, just such an one as a poet or a painter would wish to describe or represent at sea. I was pleased, while looking over Gilchrist's guide, with a little Ode by Koodrut, of which the following is an imitation:—

Ambition's voice was in my ear, she whisper'd yesterday,
 "How goodly is the land of Room, how wide the Russian sway!
 How blest to conquer either realm, and dwell through life to come,
 Lull'd by the harp's melodious string, cheer'd by the northern drum!"
 But Wisdom heard! "O youth," she said, "in passion's fetter tied,
 O come and see a sight with me shall cure thee of thy pride!"

She led me to a lonely dell, a sad and shady
ground,
Where many an ancient sepulchre gleam'd
in the moon-shine round.
And "Here Secunder sleeps," she cried;—
"this is his rival's stone;
And here the mighty chief reclines who
reard the Median throne.
Inquire of these, doth aught of all their an-
cient pomp remain?
Save late regret, and bitter tears for ever
and in vain?
Return, return, and in thy heart engraven
keep my lore;
The lesser wealth, the lighter load,—small
blame betides the poor."

The last two lines are not in the original, which I thought, though perhaps I was wrong, ended too abruptly without some such moral. My little Emily will probably know, before she reads the above, that "Room" is the Oriental name for the Turkish empire,—that "Secunder" is Alexander the Great,—and that the founder of the Median throne is Ky-kaos, or Deioces.

July 25.—To-day the first or introductory part of the ceremony usual on passing the line took place. Soon after dark Neptune's boat was supposed to approach the ship, of which notice was given, in the regular form, to the officer on watch. A sailor from the fore-chains, in a dismal voice aggravated by a speaking-trumpet, hailed Captain Manning as if from the sea, and after a short conversation carried on with becoming gravity, Neptune was supposed to take his leave, and a barrel, with a lighted candle in it, was sent off from the fore-chains to represent his boat dropping astern. I was much struck by the time during which this continued visible at intervals, rising and sinking on the swell, till it was, at least, two miles distant, and I grew tired of watching it. Our latitude was this day $2^{\circ} 10' N$. Several large birds were seen, which we were told were "tropic birds."

July 26.—To-day we passed the line, and the greater part of it was spent in the mummeries usual on such occasions, which went off very well and in good-humour. The passengers were not liable to the usual interrogatories and shaving, but the male part of them took their share in the splashing and wetting, which made up the main fun

of these naval saturnalia. I was a good deal surprised at the contrivance exhibited by the masqueraders in dressing out (with help of a little oakum and paint, a few fish-skins and decayed finery) the various characters of Neptune, Amphitrite, Mercury, Triton, &c., with far more attention to classical costume than I expected. With the distance and usual aids of a theatre, the show would not have been contemptible, while there was, as might be supposed, a sufficient mixture of the ludicrous to suit the purposes of fun and caricature.

July 27.—We had again prayers and a sermon.

July 28.—Our progress continued rapid and our course favourable. The latitude to-day was $4^{\circ} 40' S$. The night was very beautiful; and from our situation on the globe we had the opportunity of seeing many of the most considerable constellations of both hemispheres. Those of the northern heaven fall far short of the other in number and brilliancy; even the *cross*, for which I had looked with much earnestness of expectation, and in which I had long taken a sort of romantic interest, is neither extensive nor conspicuous except from the comparative paucity of its neighbours. The Great Bear still (though on the verge, instead of being at the summit of the sky) retains its splendid pre-eminence over the whole host of heaven. The Pole Star has disappeared. The Magellanic clouds are not yet visible.

We have now been six weeks on board. How little did I dream, at this time last year, that I should ever be in my present situation! How strange it now seems to recollect the interest which I used to take in all which related to Southern seas and distant regions, to India and its oceans, to Australasia and Polynesia! I used to fancy I should like to visit them, but that I ever should be able to do so, never occurred to me. Now that I shall see many of these countries, if life is spared to me, seems not improbable. God grant that my conduct in the scenes to which He has appointed me, may be such as to conduce to His glory, and to my own salvation through his Son!

July 30.—Our progress again good. The weather continues pleasant and remarkably cool for the latitude. The wind brisk and sea rough. The evenings now shut in very soon; and even at tea it is necessary to have the lamps lighted in the cuddy.

July 31.—Our latitude this day was $12^{\circ} 54'$. A fine run, and one of the longest which Captain Manning remembers making in this part of the voyage. Yet, which is remarkable, all the vessels, the track of which is pricked on his great chart, appear to have made their longest run nearly in the same latitude. Captain Manning thinks that the strength of the wind in this particular part of the ocean is occasioned by the projection of South America, and the rarefied state of the air over so large a tract of land within the tropics.

August 1.—The wind became very high towards night, and the main top-gallant sail was split in pieces. Two circumstances struck me as remarkable this evening. First, that when the gale grew strong about sunset, the sky was *clear* in the wind's eye, while to leeward of us came a very heavy bank of clouds, which retained its figure and position as steadily as if it were land. The second, that, every now and then, there was a total cessation of wind, a *lull*, as the seamen called it, for two or three minutes, after which the gale revived with more vehemence. Both these features were pointed out to me as indications of the gale being likely to continue for some time, and to be serious. We have, however, reason to be thankful, that except a good deal of tossing, no harm occurred; nor did the gale increase to such a degree as to become alarming to those who were least accustomed to the sea.

August 3.—Our day again fine, and the gale at first hardly exceeded a stiff breeze. In the course of the afternoon, however, the wind again rose. The sea was very high, and the motion of the ship great and troublesome, pitching, rolling, and performing all sorts of manœuvres. We assembled to pray-ers at half-past ten o'clock with some difficulty; the crew all *stood* in conse-

quence of the inconvenience of arranging the spars as usual, and I therefore made the service shorter. Instead of a Sermon, I gave notice of a Communion for the following Sunday; and, in a short address, enforced the propriety and necessity of attendance on that ordinance, and answering difficulties, &c. The nights are now completely dark by six o'clock.

August 4—8.—I do not think that anything very material has occurred during these days. The wind has varied in our favour, and is now N.E. by E., which enables us to make a good deal of easting, and our course is regarded as a very good one. Our progress through the water has been rapid; at an average, during the last three days, of seven and a half knots an hour, and to-day frequently ten and eleven. The motion is, of course, considerable, but the weather is very delightful. Yesterday was downright *March* weather, while to-day has all the freshness, mildness, and beauty of an English May. Great numbers of birds are seen round the ship, and we are told that, as we approach the Cape, their numbers will increase daily. Those called "Cape Pigeons" are very pretty, not unlike the land bird the name of which they bear, and which they are said to resemble in flavour. For these last three days, the existence or non-existence of the island of Saxenberg has been a frequent topic of conversation. Captain Manning and his officers evidently incline to the affirmative, on the ground that it is more probable that a small isle, a little out of the usual track, should have escaped general notice, than that three different captains of vessels should have told a deliberate falsehood without any apparent motive. That a brig sent out to ascertain the fact should have failed in making the discovery, they do not regard as at all extraordinary. They quote repeated instances of vessels from India having failed to find St. Helena; and I think I can perceive that they do not rate the nautical science of many commanders in the Navy very highly. They admit, however, that if Saxenberg Island exists at all, it must be set down

wrong in all the charts, and in the reckonings of its pretended discoverers; and that if ever met with again, it must be by accident. This, they say, will be the less likely, because delusive appearances of land are so common in these latitudes of the Atlantic, that a real island, if seen, would be very likely to pass, among the rest, as a fog-bank, while the prevailing winds generally confine vessels to one or the other of two courses, according as they are outward or homeward bound; so that, in fact, abundance of unexplored room still exists, and is likely to exist, in the southern Atlantic, for two or three such islands as this is represented to be. Captain Manning says that he always, if he finds himself at all near the supposed situation, keeps a good look-out. He says that all the older charts, particularly the Dutch, abound in islets, rocks, and shoals, the very existence of which is now more than doubtful. Some of these dangers he conceives to have been fog-banks, some to have been a repetition of those named elsewhere, but of which the site had been mistaken; others, however, he thinks, were pious frauds, inserted on purpose to make young mariners look about them.

August 9.—This morning I saw, or thought I saw, a common white seagull, a bird in which I could hardly be mistaken, and which, in size and other respects, sufficiently differs from the Cape pigeons. It, however, rarely goes far from land, and is therefore considered as a presumption that Saxenberg really exists somewhere in the neighbourhood. Nor is this all: one of the crew saw this morning a piece of sea-weed, and two of the passengers a large crab, both equally strong evidences of such a vicinity. From that vicinity, however, we are fast proceeding; and this, if Saxenberg exists, is probably all that we shall see of it. While such a topic, however, was under discussion, we almost overlooked (what else would have drawn general attention) that the first albatross which we have seen made its appearance to-day, sailing majestically around us on its wide dusky wings, unquestionably one

of the largest birds which I ever saw. During these last two nights the motion of the vessel was so violent as to throw my cot far beyond its usual bounds, against the cabin-lockers and chest of drawers. After several rude shocks of this kind, I unhooked and stretched it on the deck; but even there, the inclination of the ship was such, that I had some difficulty in keeping myself and my bed from parting company, and slipping or rolling to leeward.

August 10.—Last night I again slept on the floor, and passed it still more uncomfortably than on former occasions, insomuch that I almost determined rather to run the risk of blows and bruises aloft, than to encounter the discomforts of the new method. This morning, however, the wind became again moderate, and I finished and preached my sermon, and, afterwards, administered the sacrament to about twenty-six or twenty-seven persons, including all the ladies on board, the captain, and the greater part of the under officers and male passengers, but, alas! only three seamen. This last result disappointed me, since I had hoped, from their attention to my sermons, and the general decency of their conduct and appearance, that more would have attended. Yet, when I consider how great difficulty I have always found in bringing men of the same age and rank to the sacrament at Hodnet, perhaps I have no reason to be surprised. On talking with one of the under officers in the evening, he told me that more would have staid if they had not felt shy, and been afraid of exciting the ridicule of their companions. The same feeling, I find, kept one at least, and perhaps more, of the young cadets and writers away, though of these there were only two or three absentees, the large majority joining in the ceremony with a seriousness which greatly pleased and impressed me. And the same may be said of all the midshipmen who were old enough to receive it.—One of the young cadets expressed his regret to me that he had not been confirmed, but hoped that I should give him an oppor-

tunity soon after our arrival at Calcutta. On the whole, the result of the experiment (for such it was considered) has been most satisfactory; and I ought to be, and I hope am, very grateful for the attention which I receive, and the opportunities of doing good which seem to be held out to me. I am the more so, because Mr. B—— had, a few days before, predicted that I should have not above one or two communicants at most; and added, as a sort of apology for himself, that he was brought up in the Church of Scotland, and therefore held all *ceremonies* superfluous and unavailing. I reminded him that his church and mine *agreed* in the efficacy and necessity of occasionally receiving the Communion, but the conversation went no further. Possibly he meant that the *forms* required by the Church of England, where they differ from those of Scotland, were such as he did not approve of. If so, as I have reason to believe that many persons, both in Scotland and on the Continent, have strange notions of our ceremonies, his having been an accidental spectator of them (for he was on the poop all the time) may remove some of his prejudices. I observed, indeed, that many of the seamen, though they did not join us, looked on after they had left the quarter-deck with much seeming interest, and I almost hope, that if another opportunity occurs before our landing in Bengal, more will attend. Of the young men who did attend, I was happy to observe that they had all religious books in their hands in the course of the evening, and that they appeared, indeed, much impressed.

How different is the treatment which I meet with in the exercise of my duties on ship-board from that of which Martyn* complains! A great change, in-

deed, as every body tells me, has, since his time, occurred in the system of a sea life. Most commanders of vessels are now anxious to keep up, at least, the appearance of religion among their men; and, in many cases, the danger is said to be, not from neglect, but fanaticism. To this the custom (which is now extremely common both in the navy and the merchant service) of *prayer meetings* among the crew, where each, in turn, delivers an extempore address to the Almighty, must greatly contribute; and I hardly know whether a custom (however well meant, and however comfortable, and often most edifying to men thrown into close contact with each other, surrounded by dangers and hardships, and removed from all regular ministry of the Gospel) has not these benefits counterbalanced, by the self-conceit, the enthusiasm, and divisions in faith and doctrine which may arise from it. Yet the practice, after all, is one which none could venture to *forbid*, and the dangers of which may be materially abated by supplying these good men with some better guides to devotion than their own extemporaneous invention—and, still more, by a regular performance of Divine service according to the English Liturgy, wherever and whenever this is possible. On board the Grenville, though the men are extremely orderly, no *prayer meetings* have been yet thought of, nor, for the reasons which I have mentioned, do I wish for them. The men, however, are extremely well supplied with Bibles, Prayer-books, and religious tracts, which many of them read aloud to their less educated messmates every evening. The boys sent by the Marine Society have regular instruction in the Scriptures every day; and the schoolmaster, Peacock, is an excellent man, who, I have reason to believe, does much good among his messmates, and is very assiduous and intelligent in teaching those who are immediately under his care. Of Captain Manning himself I had previously heard an excellent character,

* Henry Martyn went out to India, as chaplain on the Bengal Establishment, in the year 1805. He translated the Testament and Book of Common Prayer into Hindoostanee; and on finding that the existing translation of the former into Persian was unfit for general use, he undertook a journey into Persia, and, with the assistance of some intelligent natives, completed a new version of the Testament, and also translated the Psalms into that language.

He died at Tocat, on his return to England, in the year 1812. A memoir of his life, with his journal, has been published by the Rev. John Sargent.—Ed.

and find everything true which had been reported.

August 11.—We had a good night, and a smooth though rapid progress. I had the happiness of hearing, for the first time; my dear little Emily repeat a part of the Lord's Prayer, which her mother has been, for some days past, engaged in teaching her. May He, who "from the mouth of babes and sucklings" can bring forth His praise, inspire her heart with everything pure and holy, and grant her grace betimes, both to understand and love His name!

After writing out my usual translation, I occupied myself during the morning in mastering, by help of Gilchrist's preposterously arranged vocabulary, some of the Hindoostanee poetry in his "Guide." I have thus more and more convinced myself that what is called the florid Eastern style is chiefly to be found in translations, and that the characteristics of the originals are often rather flatness and rapidity, than exuberance of ornament. But I really feel my liking for these studies increase as, by progress, they become less difficult. This is, however, too early a day for me to form any fixed opinion on either Hindoo or Persian literature.

August 14.—We passed some seaweed this morning, which was considered as a singular and perplexing occurrence, since no Saxenberg was ever suspected in our present neighbourhood. It probably came from Tristan d'Acunha. Several whales, some of them of a large size, played round the ship for above half an hour. I obtained a very favourable view of one of them, which struck me from its perfect resemblance to the grampus which I had seen before, both in shape and the colour and smoothness of its skin. The water which it blew through its nostrils appeared in a form something different from what I had expected. I had imagined, I hardly know why, that it was to be a small high slender *jet-d'eau*, whereas it escaped in a thick white cloud, like the steam from an engine, and with pretty nearly the same noise. I was pleased to witness the apparent happiness of these poor animals, which were supposed to be two old ones with one or more young, and

rejoiced that no southern whaler was in sight. While we were gazing at these leviathans, one of the midshipmen caught a sea-bird on a hook; it was said to be a "Cape-hen" (I believe a gannet), a little larger than a large goose, with brown glossy feathers, large white eyes with black pupils, a broad yellow bill, very slender legs, broad webbed feet, and long wings resembling those of a kite. It bled a little, but seemed very slightly injured by the hook. When set down on the deck, it looked round without any appearance of fear, but endeavoured in vain to rise, its wings being too long to admit of its doing so from a plain and solid surface. Mr. Gresley took a drawing of it, after which it was, by the unanimous consent of the spectators, returned in safety to the sea. During its continuance on deck, it had shown marks of sickness, which Captain Manning said these birds generally did in such a situation; and even when in the water it seemed for some time a little languid. By degrees, however, it began to ply its web-feet and wings at the same time, and scudded rapidly over the surface of the calm sea, with a motion between flying and swimming. Nothing can be more genial than the climate of this day, or more resembling a fine May morning in England. The month, however, answers to our February; so that we may yet look for some bitter March winds before we shall have passed the Cape. In the evening another bird, of appearance nearly similar to the foregoing, but smaller, and with a more crooked beak, was caught, but, less fortunate than the other, was killed for the sake of having his skin stuffed. This last seems to be the bird called the sea-parrot.

August 15.—Another fine night. The wind has gone considerably astern of us, and studding sails are set on the foremast. Lat. 35° 20', east long. 1° 54'. Last night I believe we all thought much of home, as we passed (which occurred at about nine o'clock) the meridian of Greenwich. It was a pleasing, though almost painful task, to figure to ourselves the different employments of our friends in different places in England. God bless them! While our minds

were thus occupied, a chance appeared to have been drawing near of communicating with them sooner than we expected. A vessel this morning came in sight, which Captain Manning apprehended to be bound to the Cape. Everybody went in all haste to finish or write their letters. I had already a huge packet accumulating. We came up with the stranger about three o'clock; she showed English colours, and proved to be a brig belonging to the Mauritius, and bound thither, sixty-four days from Bourdeaux. Captain Manning sent a boat on board, with the purser, partly to learn whether she was to touch at the Cape, partly to try to purchase some claret. Major Sackville and I went in her. Our visit was of use to the crew, both as Captain Manning sent them the true longitude, which they had not got by more than two degrees, and as we undertook the care of a packet of letters which they wished to forward to Calcutta. They were not to stop at the Cape, so that our packets turned out to have been made up in vain. The Grenville looked very well when her stern was toward us. She is really a fine vessel, and looks like a fifty-gun ship of war; she has completely established her character for fast sailing, having fairly distanced every vessel which she has fallen in with, except the Christiana, whom we spoke off Madeira, and who was so much favoured by the light wind and other circumstances, as to make her superior progress no cause of wonder. I am glad of this on all accounts, as it not only expedites our voyage, but makes our kind-hearted captain completely happy. The weather continues beautiful. On returning to the Grenville I saw my little girl at one of the cabin windows, who showed great delight in recognising me. She had been much distressed at seeing me go off in the boat, and twice began crying. All this, which, I trust, may be considered as indications both of intelligence and affection, interests me so much that I cannot help writing it down, in the hope that I may read it with increased interest and pleasure one day when her matured good qualities may fulfil the present hopes of her pa-

rents, and give those parents a daily increasing motive for gratitude to Him who has lent her to them. Dear little thing! I did not suppose, before I possessed her, how closely a child of her age can entwine itself round the heart.

I have been reading Hindoostanee to myself, and this morning finished the following translation of one of the poems in Gilchrist's 'Hindoostanee Guide.' From his *Paraphrase*, I cannot say I derived any great assistance. I have, however, endeavoured to be more faithful than he has been, though the "ruhe ruhe" of the original is, I admit, untranslatable, and only to be imitated afar off.

SONNET BY THE LATE NAWÂB OF
OUDE, ASUF UD DOWLA.

In those eyes the tears that glisten as in
pity for my pain,

Are they gems, or only dew-drops? can
they, will they, long remain?

Why thy strength of tyrant beauty thus,
with seeming ruth, restrain?

Better breathe my last before thee, than in
lingering grief remain!

To yon Planet, Fate has given every month
to wax and wane;

And—thy world of blushing brightness—can
it, will it, long remain?

Health and youth in balmy moisture on thy
cheek their seat maintain;

But—the dew that steeps the rose-bud—can
it, will it, long remain?

Asuf! why in mournful numbers, of thine
absence thus complain?

Chance had joined us, chance has parted!—
nought on earth can long remain.

In the world mayst thou, beloved! live
exempt from grief and pain!

On my lips the breath is fleeting,—can it,
will it, long remain?

August 17. — Read prayers and preached. The sea was too high to allow the men to sit down, or the awning to be hoisted, and it was extremely cold, a thorough English March morning. Our run since yesterday has been 234 miles. Lat. 35° 23', east long. 11° 6'.

August 18.—The same breeze, which has now increased to what seamen call a *strong gale*, with a high rolling sea from the south-west. Both yesterday and to-day we have had the opportunity of seeing no insufficient specimen of

those gigantic waves of which I have often heard as prevailing in these latitudes. In a weaker vessel, and with less confidence in our officers and crew, they would be alarming as well as awful and sublime. But, in our case, seen as they are from a strong and well-found ship, in fine clear weather, and with good sea-room, they constitute a magnificent spectacle, which may be contemplated with unmixed pleasure. I have hardly been able to leave the deck, so much have I enjoyed it, and my wife, who happily now feels very little inconvenience from the motion, has expressed the same feelings. The deep blue of the sea, the snow-white tops of the waves, their enormous sweep, the alternate sinking and rising of the ship, which seems like a plaything in a giant's hands, and the vast multitude of sea birds skimming round us, constitute a picture of the most exhilarating, as well as the most impressive character; and I trust a better and a holier feeling has not been absent from our minds, of thankfulness to Him who has thus far protected us, who blesses us daily with so many comforts beyond what might be expected in our present situation, and who has given us a passage, throughout the whole extent of the Atlantic, so unusually rapid and favourable. The birds which surround us are albatrosses and snow-peterels. The Cape pigeons have disappeared, being probably driven to shore by the gale. The other birds come from the southward, and are considered as indications of a tremendous storm in that quarter, from which our unusually northern course has exempted us. Lat. $34^{\circ} 54'$, east long. $15^{\circ} 30'$. This day ends the ninth week of our abode on board the Grenville.

August 19.—During the night we made considerable southing, and passed the Cape. In the evening we had a distant but tolerably distinct view of the Cape Agullas or Lagullos, the most southerly promontory of Africa. Our wind is now lighter, but the swell still great; such a swell (and indeed much more, all things considered, than we now feel) is to be expected on the banks of Lagullos, a range of sub-

marine mountains, of extent not yet ascertained, which project from the foot of Southern Africa, like a vast buttress, to support it against the invasions of the Antarctic Ocean. The depth of water is considerable in every part of the bank, and consequently fish are scarce at any distance from shore. In the creeks and bays of the visible coast they are said to swarm. And thus we are in the Indian Ocean!

August 20—23.—We have been these four days beating to and fro on the bank of Lagullos, with a contrary wind or no wind at all, alternately, suffering a good deal from the motion of the vessel. On the 22nd we were on the supposed position of the Telemaque shoal, when a boy at the mast-head cried out, "breakers." They turned out, however, to be only the reflection of the sun on the waves. So that the existence or situation of this danger is still as dubious as ever.

August 24.—A southern breeze sprung up this morning, and we have begun our progress eastward anew, though at present inclining much towards the south, where Captain Manning hopes to find the wind more settled. We had prayers and a sermon; but the weather was, as on last Sunday, too unsettled to permit the men to sit down, or the awning to be extended. The breeze has, however, put all the party into much better spirits; and, considering the degree in which we have been previously favoured, a four or five days' delay here is a trifling draw-back.

August 30.—Alas! our flattering breeze left us in a few hours, and from Monday till Thursday we had very little wind, and that adverse; yet we did not remain absolutely stationary, having got into a powerful, and hitherto little known, current from the S.W., which forwarded us on our voyage almost as much as a light wind would have done. On Wednesday evening and Thursday morning more particularly, though the weather was such a perfect calm that the ship was absolutely her own mistress, and would not answer the helm, yet we found, to our surprise, that, during the twenty-four hours, we had advanced two degrees of

longitude. On Thursday a light breeze blew, which, with the friendly help of the current, helped us on three degrees more. And on Friday and Saturday we had a stiff gale, which fairly placed us at twelve o'clock the latter day in lat. $36^{\circ} 52'$, east long. $42^{\circ} 59'$. This was, of course, not effected without considerable tossing.

The day was rainy, and the sea broke over the quarter-deck fiercely. My wife, however, braved it, and walked a good deal, and all the men on board were in high spirits. Captain Manning said, "If there was virtue in canvas, he would make the run of the following day better than this;" which was 246 miles by the log, and I believe the best we have had during the present voyage. The current which so long befriended us is now replaced by another of an opposite tendency, appearing to come from the great channel of Mozambique, of which, in this day's run, we have been crossing the mouth. Our course is east, a little inclining to the north. The climate is very like that of England in spring. The passengers, however, and the young men more particularly, are not healthy, and several absentees are remarked from every dinner. Mr. Shaw says that he has seldom found a ship a favourable situation either for preserving or recovering health. The want of exercise and of mental employment sufficiently accounts for this. My own general good health, I am convinced, I owe in no small degree to my persevering walks on the quarter-deck, and my Hindoostanee studies. In these I certainly am not idle, though, alas! I cannot say much of my own proficiency.

On Sunday, 31st, we had again prayers and a sermon, though the weather was too unsettled to admit of the men sitting down, and consequently the former were curtailed a little of their just proportion. Afterwards I went with Captain Manning and Mr. Elliott, the surgeon, to visit the sick seamen, of whom there were three or four more seriously indisposed than usual. One poor man who was recovering from the effects of a fall a few days before, which had

threatened to affect his brain, was very intelligent, and grateful to God for his deliverance. The others were not so favourably disposed. I persuaded them, however, to meet me in the afternoon, and join in a few prayers.

Friday, September 5.—Here follows a version of part of this day's lesson from the Gulistan. It was the inscription, says Sadi, over the arched alcove of Feridoon's Hall:—

"Brother! know the world deceiveth!
Trust on Him who safety giveth!
Fix not on the world thy trust,
She feeds us—but she turns to dust,
And the bare earth or kingly throne
Alike may serve to die upon!"

The next is not so good, but is almost equally literal: both seem to confirm my suspicions as to the real character of Asiatic poetry:—

"The man who leaveth life behind,
May well and boldly speak his mind.
Where flight is none from battle field,
We blithely snatch the sword and shield;
Where hope is past, and hate is strong,
The wretch's tongue is sharp and long;
Myself have seen in wild despair,
The feeble cat the mastiff tear."

It is strange to see how flowery these passages become in Gladwin's translation; yet I can safely say that my rude lines are most like the original.

On Tuesday the 9th, at twelve, we were in lat. $26^{\circ} 55'$, long. $76^{\circ} 44'$, with a fine wind from the south-east, which everybody on board was willing to hope was the "trade wind." In consequence we looked forward to our probable arrival at Sangor anchorage before the 1st of October; and some of our party are almost tempted to murmur at the singular rapidity with which our passage has been favoured, as bringing us into India at an unwholesome season. For my own part, I have no apprehensions either for myself or those most dear to me. We are all, at this moment, in excellent health. Our habits of living have been, for some time back, such as are most likely to enable us to bear a change of climate without injury, and even during the worst and most sickly time of the year in Calcutta: by all which I can learn, little more is necessary to preserve health than to be strictly temperate, and to re-

main quiet during the heat of the day, and while it rains. And, indeed, while we are enjoying and have enjoyed such daily and remarkable protection from God during the whole of our voyage, it would be cowardice in the extreme to distrust his further mercies, or to shrink back from those dangers which, some time or other, a resident in India must expect to encounter, and which a new-comer is, perhaps, as able to bear as any other person. I therefore feel at present nothing but pleasure in the anticipation of our speedy arrival in that scene where I am hereafter to labour; or if I feel any anxiety, it is only as to the manner in which I may be able to acquit myself of duties so important, and in a situation so new. Deus adjuvet per Jesum Christum!

Friday, September 12.—Few things now occur to insert except my progress in Hindoostanee. The following lines are also from the Gulistan, rather more loosely translated than some of those which have preceded them. I have, however, sufficiently preserved their character:—

“Who the silent man can prize,
If a fool he be or wise?
Yet, though lonely seem the wood,
Therein may lurk the beast of blood.
Often bashful looks conceal
Tongue of fire and heart of steel.
And deem not thou, in forest grey,
Every dappled skin thy prey;
Lest thou rouse, with luckless spear,
The tiger for the fallow-deer!”

A tropic bird was seen to-day, very large, and white as snow, but without the two long tail-feathers which are his principal ornament. The immense distance from land at which these birds are seen is really surprising. The isle of Bourbon is the nearest point, and that must be a distance of 2000 miles. For many days back the beautiful Cape pigeons have ceased to attend us.

On *Sunday, September 14*, we had again Divine service, and I afterwards (as has been my occasional custom for some time back) prayed with the sick below. Their number still continues inconsiderable, and there is no case of absolute danger, though one poor lad has had a very tedious intermitting fever. Symptoms of our advanced pro-

gress are visible in the preparations making in the cutter, which Captain Manning is sheathing with zinc, and fitting up with masts and sails for the navigation of the Ganges. His good-nature and obliging disposition have spared us another preparation which at these times is usual—I mean, painting the ship previous to her appearing in harbour; an operation which must have made the whole population of the vessel miserable for some days. I am heartily glad to escape this.

September 18.—This evening we had a most beautiful sunset—the most remarkable recollected by any of the officers or passengers, and I think the most magnificent spectacle I ever saw. Besides the usual beautiful tints of crimson, flame-colour, &c. which the clouds displayed, and which were strangely contrasted with the deep blue of the sea, and the lighter, but equally beautiful, blue of the sky, there were in the immediate neighbourhood of the sinking sun, and for some time after his disk had disappeared, large tracts of a pale translucent green, such as I had never seen before, except in a prism, and surpassing every effect of paint, or glass, or gem. Everybody on board was touched and awed by the glory of the scene, and many observed that such a spectacle alone was worth the whole voyage from England. One circumstance in the scene struck me as different from all which I had been led to expect in a tropical sunset—I mean that its progress from light to darkness was much more gradual than most travellers and philosophers have stated. The dip of the sun did not seem more rapid, nor did the duration of the tints on the horizon appear materially less than on similar occasions in England. Neither did I notice any striking difference in the continuance of the twilight. I pointed out the fact to Major Sackville, who answered, that he had long been convinced that the supposed rapidity of sunrise and sunset in India had been exaggerated—that he had always found a good hour between dawn and sunrise, and little less between sunset and total darkness. As, indeed, we are at present within three degrees of the line,

we must, *à fortiori*, have witnessed this precipitancy of the sun, if it really existed anywhere, in a still greater degree than it can be witnessed in any part of Hindostan.

September 19.—I wakened before dawn this morning, and had therefore an opportunity of verifying, to a certain extent, Major Sackville's observations on a tropical sunrise. I had no watch, but to my perceptions his account was accurate. Our breeze continues very light, and the heat intense. Our progress, however, is steady, and we were this day at twelve, south lat. $1^{\circ} 16'$. We had again a fine sunset, which, though inferior to that of the day before, was decorated by two concentric rainbows of considerable beauty and brilliancy, the colours of the outer rainbow being arranged in a reverse succession to that of the usual prism, which was visible in its companion. A night of glorious moonshine followed, with a moderate breeze, and we were supposed to pass the line about eleven o'clock A.M.

September 21.—Nothing remarkable occurred on the 20th. This morning we had Divine service, with the awning up, and the crew seated, the first time that this has been possible since we passed the Cape. The weather continues fine, but *very hot*. In the evening we were apprehended to be about ninety miles from the coast of Ceylon, and a trick was attempted on the passengers, which is on such occasions not unusual, by sprinkling the rail of the entrance-port with some fragrant substance, and then asking them if they do not perceive the spicy gales of Ceylon? Unluckily no oil of cinnamon was found on shipboard, though anxiously hunted for, and *peppermint-water*, the only succedaneum in the doctor's stores, was not what we expected to find, and therefore did not deceive us. Yet, though we were now too far off to catch the odours of land, it is, as we are assured, perfectly true, that such odours are perceptible to a very considerable distance. In the straits of Malacca a smell like that of a hawthorn hedge is commonly experienced; and from Ceylon, at thirty or forty miles, under certain circum-

stances, a yet more agreeable scent is inhaled.

September 24.—A violent squall came on this morning about seven o'clock. Happily Captain Manning foresaw it from an uneasy sensation in the ship's motion, and took in all possible sail, to the surprise of his officers, who saw no reason for the measure. He was, however, only just in time, for a moment after we were laid nearly on our beam ends, and had we been carrying anything like our previous sail, must have been completely dismasted. Tremendous rain followed, with some thunder and lightning, and continued the greater part of the day. Towards evening the rain ceased, and the wind became light. The weather was, however, thick and hazy, and I never saw so much lightning as continued to flash on every side of us during the greater part of the night. Several of the passengers think this symptomatic of the change of the monsoon, the usual period of which, indeed, is not till the middle of next month; but it sometimes terminates prematurely, even as early as our present date. This possibility has a little damped the spirits of our party, since, though there are, I believe, several among us who will be almost sorry when our voyage is at an end, none of us can look forward without disappointment to the prospect of the indefinite delay, the uncertain weather, and probable hurricanes to which this event would expose us. No observation could be taken this day (*September 25*). During the early part of the morning we lay completely becalmed, surrounded with very awful and magnificent thunder-storms, which swept past us in all directions, but without coming nigh us. A water-spout was also seen, but at a distance. At length a light breeze arose, but from the N.W., an unfavourable quarter. We were, however, able to get on with it in a tolerable, though not very direct course: in the evening it drew more aft, and, consequently, resumed, in part, its proper character of S.W. monsoon, though so light as to do little good. It is probable, however, that the slow progress of last night may have been a dispensa-

tion of great kindness towards us, since the officers are of opinion that a very severe storm has taken place in our present latitude, within the last few hours. An uncomfortable swell prevails, indicating something of the sort, and the number of insects and land-birds around us seem to imply that a hard gale has driven them so far out to sea. Among the insects several dragon-flies appear, precisely like those of England, and some very beautiful butterflies and winged grasshoppers. A turtle-dove and two hawks perched on the rigging, all so much fatigued, that the latter showed no desire to molest the former. The day beautifully clear, but intensely hot. Both to-day and yesterday the fragrance of the land, or at least the peculiar smell which denotes its neighbourhood, was perceived by the experienced organs of Captain Manning and his officers; but I could not catch anything in the breeze more than usual. We are all now in good spirits again, and the officers, more particularly, rejoice in having ascertained the latitude correctly, a circumstance agreeable at all times, but especially desirable when about to approach a dangerous coast, at a time of the year when the sun and stars are frequently obscured for weeks together.

September 27.—At eleven this day the Pagoda of Juggernaut, and the two known by the name of the Black Pagodas, were visible from the mast-head, bearing N.W. about eighteen miles, and only distinguishable, on this flat coast, from sails, by those who were previously aware of their forms and vicinity; three or four vessels were seen at the same time, supposed to be small craft engaged in the coasting trade. Our latitude at twelve was $19^{\circ} 30'$. We had light wind with occasional squalls till twelve, after which a dead calm with a heavy and uncomfortable swell. I have been endeavouring for these last two days to compose a sermon, but my head aches, and my feelings are very unfavourable to serious mental exertion. It is some comfort to be assured that very few days in India are so severe as the weather which we now have, and our confined situation on ship-board makes us feel

the heat more oppressive than we should otherwise do. The calm continued all day, and the sea-breeze which arose at night was by far too feeble to carry us on against a heavy swell and current from the N.E.

September 28.—Found ourselves to the westward of our late station by a good many miles, and drifting in to the Pagoda of Juggernaut. We had prayers as usual, and I preached, I hope, my last sermon on ship-board during the present voyage. Afterwards we cast anchor in twenty-five fathom water, with Juggernâth about fifteen miles to the N.W., visible with the naked eye from the deck, and very distinctly so with a glass. Its appearance strongly reminds me of the old Russian churches. To the S.W. of us, at a considerably greater distance, are seen two small hills, said to be near Ganjan:—

“ — Procul obscuros colles, humilemque
videmus
Italiam !”

About three o'clock a little breeze sprung up from the S.W., just enough to enable us to stem the current. We weighed anchor, and crept slowly along the coast E. by N. The evening was cool and pleasant, and we derived some amusement and mental occupation from watching the different objects which we passed. The immense hostile current and swell were much against us, and the night grew by degrees squally and rainy. The captain and chief mate were up nearly all night, and very anxious. The soundings showed a bottom of coarse sand and a little gravel.

September 29.—In the morning we had the mortification to find ourselves still in sight of Juggernaut and the Black Pagoda, and in fact very little advanced from our station at daybreak the preceding day. The breeze was quite incompetent to contend with the swell and current from the N.E., and all which we could comfort ourselves with was that we did not lose ground, nor, as yesterday, drift to the westward. About noon a light breeze again sprung up from the S.E., and we now advanced slowly to the N., so as to see the Black Pagoda more clearly, and even to distinguish the coco-palms on the coast.

Several vessels were under the shore, one brig, some sloops, and a kind of galliot of singular rig, beside some boats with large square sails. The day was very pleasant and cool, and the night which followed beautiful. Our breeze was good, and our progress would have been excellent, but for the unfortunate current. As it was, after another anxious night of unceasing sounding and exertion to Captain Manning and his officers, we were only advanced, at six in the morning of the 30th, about forty miles, or not quite to the parallel of False Cape; yet even this was considerable gain, and would have made us very happy, had not a dismal accident overclouded all such feelings. About ten o'clock, as I was writing these lines in the cuddy, a cry was heard, "Davy is overboard." At first I thought they said "the baby," and ran to the mizen-chains in a sort of confused agony, tugging at my coat buttons and my sleeves as I went, with the intention of leaping in after her; when there, however, I found that one of the poor boys apprenticed to Captain Manning by the Marine Society had fallen from the mizen-gaff, and that one of the midshipmen, *Gower*, not *Davy*, as at first supposed, was knocked over by him in his fall: the boy only rose for a few moments and sunk for ever, but the midshipman was picked up when almost exhausted. It was pleasing to see the deep interest and manly sorrow excited by this sad accident in all on board. For my own part, I was so much stunned by the shock of my first mistake, that I felt, and still feel, a sort of sick and indistinct horror, which has prevented me from being so deeply affected as I otherwise must have been by the melancholy end of the poor lad thus suddenly called away.

The coast was so low that we could not discover any tokens of it, and were compelled to feel our way by soundings every half hour, keeping in from sixteen to twenty-nine fathom. All this part of Orixá, as I am assured by Major Sackville, who has himself surveyed the coast, is very ill laid down in most charts. It is a large delta, formed by the mouths of the Maha-Nuddee and

other rivers, the northernmost of which insulates Cape Palmiras, and the remainder flow into what is called Cojan Bay, which is dry at low water; so that the real line of coast is nearly straight from Juggernaut to Palmiras. The night was fine and starlight, and we crept along, sounding every half-hour in from seventeen to twenty-three fathoms till after midnight, when we entered suddenly into a rapid stream of smooth water, which carried us considerably to the east. I happened to go on deck during this watch, and was much pleased and interested with the sight. It was exactly like a river, about half a mile broad, smooth, dimply, and whirling, bordered on each side by a harsh, dark, rippling sea, such as we had hitherto contended with, and which obviously still ran in a contrary direction. It was, I have no doubt, from Major Sackville's sketch, the fresh water of the Maha-Nuddee, which being lighter, specifically, than the ocean, floated on its surface, and which appeared to flow into the sea at right angles to the Ganges. I sometimes thought of Robinson Crusoe's eddy—sometimes of the wondrous passage described in Lord Erskine's *Armata*, but was not the less struck with the providential assistance which it afforded us. At five o'clock in the morning of October 1, we were said to be in lat. $20^{\circ} 38'$; and as the wind was getting light, anchored soon after.

The fresh water of the Maha-Nuddee still remained flowing on the surface, and nearly in a N.E. direction, but too weak and too shallow to contend with the mighty Ganges, which ran like a mill-stream at a fathom or two underneath, and against which nothing but a very powerful gale could contend. Our hope is, therefore, in the flood-tide, and in the smallness of the distance which we have yet to pass before we get into pilot water. At twelve, encouraged by a little increase of breeze, we weighed anchor again, the passengers (most of them) lending their aid, and thus successfully and speedily accomplished it. All sails that were applicable were set, and the vessel, to our great joy, answered her helm, and evidently made some little way. By degrees her motion

accelerated, and by three o'clock we were going along merrily. Captain Manning burned blue lights, and hoisted a lamp at his mizen gaff, as a signal to any pilot who might be in our neighbourhood: The signal was answered by several vessels, obviously at no great distance, but the doubt remained whether any of these were pilots, or whether they were merely like ourselves, in search of one. Captain Manning, however, sent his cutter with one of the officers and ten men to that light which was most brilliant, and the bearing of which appeared to tally with the situation of a brig which he had observed.

At length, about eleven o'clock, a

vessel was really seen approaching, and, on being hailed, answered "the Cecilia pilot schooner." The cutter soon afterwards came to our side, with one of the branch pilots on board. Sir H. Blosset, I heard with much pain, died five weeks after he arrived in India, of an asthmatic complaint, to which he had been long subject. The pilot spoke much of the degree to which he was regretted, and of the influence which, even in that small time, he had acquired over the natives, who were delighted with the pains which he took to acquire their language.

About seven in the evening of October the 3rd we were safely anchored in Saugor roads.

NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY,

§c. §c.

CHAPTER I.

Saugor : Tigers—Country Boats—Arab Ships—Village : Maldivian Vessels—Garden Reach—
Approach to Calcutta—Arrival : Old Government House : Native Household.

AT daybreak of October the 4th we had a good view of the Island of Saugor, a perfectly flat and swampy shore, with scattered tall trees, dark-like firs, and jungle about the height of young copice-wood, of a very fresh and vivid green. With a large glass I could distinguish something like deer grazing or lying down amid the swampy grass, and also some ruinous cottages and barn-like buildings.

These are the remains of a village began by a joint company, who undertook to cut down the thickets and reclaim the marshes of Saugor, a few years ago. They found, however, that as the woods were cut down on this side, the sea encroached, the sandy beach not having sufficient tenacity of itself to resist its invasions, and their operations are now transferred from the shore nearest us to the opposite side of the island. This coast was therefore abandoned to its wild deer and its tigers; for these last it has always been infamous, and the natives, I understand, regard it with such dread, that it is almost impossible to induce them to approach the wilder parts of its shore, even in boats, as instances are said to be by no means infrequent of tigers swimming off from the coast to a considerable distance. This danger is probably, like all others, overrated, but it is a fortunate circumstance that some such terror hangs over Saugor, to deter

idle seamen and young officers from venturing on shooting excursions so much as they otherwise would do, on a shore so dreadfully unwholesome as all these marshy islets are, under a sun which, even now intensely fierce, is standing over our heads "in a hot and copper sky." The stream of coffee-coloured water which surrounds us sufficiently indicates by its tint the inundations which have supplied it.

One of the first specimens of the manners of the country which has fallen under our notice has been a human corpse, slowly floating past, according to the well-known custom of the Hindoos. About twelve o'clock some boats came on board with fish and fruit, manned by Hindoos from the coast.

They were all small slender men, extremely black, but well made, with good countenances and fine features—certainly a handsome race; the fruits were shaddocks, plantains, and coconuts, none good of their kind, as we were told. The shaddock resembles a melon externally, but it is in fact a vast orange, with a rind of two inches thick, the pulp much less juicy than a common orange, and with rather a bitter flavour, certainly a fruit which would be little valued in England, but which in this burning weather I thought rather pleasant and refreshing. The plantain grows in bunches, with its stalks arranged side by side; the fruit is shaped like a

kidney potato, covered with a loose dusky skin which peels off easily with the fingers. The pulp is not unlike an over-ripe pear.

While we were marketing with these poor people, several large boats from the Maldiv Islands passed, which were pointed out to me by the pilot as objects of curiosity, not often coming to Calcutta: they have one mast, a very large square mainsail, and one topsail; are built, the more solid parts of cocowood, the lighter of bamboo, and sail very fast and near the wind; each carries from thirty to fifty men, who are all sharers in the vessel and her cargo, which consists of cowries, dried fish, coco-nut oil, and the coir or twine made from the fibres of the same useful tree; and each has a small cabin to himself.

Several boats of a larger dimension soon after came alongside; one was decked, with two masts, a bowsprit, and rigged like a schooner without top-sails. The master and crew of this last were taller and finer men than those whom we had seen before; the former had a white turban wreathed round a red cap, a white short shirt without sleeves, and a silver armlet a little above the elbow; the crew were chiefly naked, except a cloth round the loins; the colour of all was the darkest shade of antique bronze, and together with the elegant forms and well-turned limbs of many among them, gave the spectator a perfect impression of Grecian statues of that metal; in stature and apparent strength they were certainly much inferior to the generality of our ship's company.

Two observations struck me forcibly; first, that the deep bronze tint is more naturally agreeable to the human eye than the fair skins of Europe, since we are not displeased with it even in the first instance, while it is well known that to them a fair complexion gives the idea of ill-health, and of that sort of deformity which in our eyes belongs to an Albino. There is, indeed, something in a negro which requires long habit to reconcile the eye to him; but for this the features and the hair, far more than the colour, are answerable. The second observation was how en-

tirely the idea of indelicacy, which would naturally belong to such naked figures as those now around us if they were white, is prevented by their being of a different colour from ourselves. So much are we children of association and habit, and so instinctively and immediately do our feelings adapt themselves to a total change of circumstances! it is the partial and inconsistent change only which affects us.

The whole river, and the general character of this shore and muddy stream, remind me strongly at this moment of the Don, between Tcherkask and Asof,—and Kedgerree, a village on the opposite side of the river from Saugor, if it had but a church, would not be unlike Oxai, the residence of the Attaman Platoff.

Several boats again came on board us; in one of which was a man dressed in muslin, who spoke good English, and said he was a "sircar,"* come down in quest of employment, if any of the officers on board would entrust their investments to him, or if anybody chose to borrow money at 12 per cent. In appearance and manner he was no bad specimen of the low usurers who frequent almost all seaports. While we were conversing with him a fowl fell overboard, and his crew were desired to hand it up again; the naked rowers refused, as the Hindoos consider it impure to touch feathers, but the sircar was less scrupulous, and gave it up at the gangway. A "panchway," or passage-boat, succeeded, whose crew offered their services for fifteen rupees to carry any passengers to Calcutta, a distance of above one hundred miles. This was a very characteristic and interesting vessel, large and broad, shaped like a snuffer-dish; a deck fore and aft, and the middle covered with a roof of palm-branches, over which again was lashed a coarse cloth, the whole forming an excellent shade from the sun, but, as I should apprehend, intolerably close. The "serang," or master, stood on the little after-deck, steering with a long oar; another man, a little before

* A native agent, as well as a money-lender.—Ed.

him, had a similar oar on the starboard quarter; six rowers were seated cross-legged on the deck upon the tilt, and plied their short paddles with much dexterity, not, however, as paddles usually are plied, but in the manner of oars, resting them instead of on rullocks on bamboos, which rose upright from the sides. A large long sail of thin transparent sackcloth in three pieces, very loosely tacked to each other, completed the equipment. The rowers were all naked except the "cummert-bund," or sash: the steersman, indeed, had, in addition, a white cap, and a white cloth loosely flung like a scarf over one shoulder. The whole offered a group which might have belonged to the wildest of the Polynesian islands. Several of these panchways were now around us, the whole scene affording to an European eye a picture of very great singularity and interest. One of the serangs had a broad umbrella thatched with palm-leaves, which he contrived to rest on his shoulder while he steered his canoe, which differed from the others in having a somewhat higher stern. The whole appearance of these boats is dingy and dirty, more so, I believe, than the reality.

We were now approaching the side of the river opposite Kedgerree. Here all likeness to the Don disappeared, and nothing met the eye but a dismal and unbroken line of thick, black wood and thicket, apparently impenetrable and interminable, which one might easily imagine to be the habitation of everything monstrous, disgusting, and dangerous, from the tiger and the cobra de capello down to the scorpion and mosquito,—from the thunderstorm to the fever. We had seen, the night before, the lightnings flash incessantly and most majestically from this quarter; and what we now saw was not ill-fitted for a nursery of such storms as Southey describes as prevailing in his Padalon. The seamen and officers spoke of this shore with horror, as the grave of all who were so unfortunate as to remain many days in its neighbourhood; and, even under our present brilliant sun, it required no great stretch of fancy to picture feverish exhalations

rising from every part of it. As we drew nearer to the Sunderbunds their appearance improved. The woods assumed a greater variety of green and of shade; several round-topped trees, and some low palms, were seen among them, and a fresh vegetable fragrance was wafted from the shore. The stream is here intense, and its struggle with the spring-tide raises waves of a dark-coloured water, which put me in mind of the river where Dante found the spirit of Filippo Argenti. I looked with much interest on the first coco-palms I saw, yet they rather disappointed me. Their forms are, indeed, extremely graceful, but their verdure is black and funereal, and they have something the appearance of the plumes of feathers which are carried before a hearse. Their presence, however, announced a more open and habitable country. The jungle receded from the shore, and its place was supplied by extremely green fields, like meadows, which were said to be of rice, interspersed with small woods of round-headed trees, and villages of huts, thatched, and with their mud walls so low that they look like hay-stacks.

We anchored a few miles short of Diamond Harbour. The current and ebb-tide together ran at a rate really tremendous, amounting, as our pilot said, to ten and eleven knots an hour. We were surrounded soon after our anchoring by several passage vessels; among these was a beautiful ship of about two hundred and fifty tons, with the Company's Jack and a long pendant, which we were told was the Government yacht sent down for our accommodation.

During this day and the next I made several fresh observations on the persons and manners of the natives by whom we were surrounded. I record them, though I may hereafter see reason to distrust, in some slight degree, their accuracy. I had observed a thread hung round the necks of the fishermen who came first on board, and now found that it was an ornament worn in honour of some idol. The caste of fishermen does not rank high, though fish is considered as one of the purest and most

lawful kinds of food. Nothing, indeed, seems more generally mistaken than the supposed prohibition of animal food to the Hindoos. It is not from any abstract desire to spare the life of living creatures, since fish would be a violation of this principle as well as beef, but from other notions of the hallowed or the polluted nature of particular viands. Thus many Brahmins eat both fish and kid. The Rajpoots, besides these, eat mutton, venison, or goat's flesh. Some castes may eat anything but fowls, beef, or pork; while pork is with others a favourite diet, and beef only is prohibited. Intoxicating liquors are forbidden by their religion; but this is disregarded by great numbers both of high and low caste, and intoxication is little less common, as I am assured, among the Indians than among Europeans. Nor is it true that Hindoos are much more healthy than Europeans. Liver-complaints and indurations of the spleen are very common among them, particularly with those in easy circumstances, to which their immense consumption of "ghee," or clarified butter, must greatly contribute. To cholera morbus they are much more liable than the whites, and there are some kinds of fever which seem peculiar to the native race.

The great difference in colour between different natives struck me much: of the crowd by whom we were surrounded, some were black as negroes, others merely copper-coloured, and others little darker than the Tunisines whom I have seen at Liverpool. Mr. Mill, the principal of Bishop's College, who, with Mr. Corrie, one of the chaplains in the Company's service, had come down to meet me, and who has seen more of India than most men, tells me that he cannot account for this difference, which is general throughout the country, and everywhere striking. It is not merely the difference of exposure, since this variety of tint is visible in the fishermen who are naked all alike. Nor does it depend on caste, since very high caste Brahmins are sometimes black, while Pariahs are comparatively fair. It seems, there-

fore, to be an accidental difference, like that of light and dark complexions in Europe, though where so much of the body is exposed to sight it becomes more striking here than in our own country.

At six o'clock in the evening of October the 6th, we went on board the yacht, which we found a beautiful vessel, with large and convenient cabins, fitted up in a very elegant and comfortable manner, and slept for the first time under mosquito-curtains, and on a mattress of coco-nut coir, which, though very hard, is cool and elastic. The greater part of this day was occupied in ecclesiastical business, so that I had less opportunity for observing the country and people round us. The former improves as we ascend the river, and is now populous and highly cultivated. On the 7th we left Diamond Harbour, a place interesting as being the first possession of the East India Company in Bengal, but of bad reputation for its unhealthiness, the whole country round being swampy. Many ships were lying there. I saw no town, except a few native huts, some ruinous warehouses, now neglected and in decay, and an ugly, brick, dingy-looking house with a flag-staff, belonging to the harbour-master. There are, however, many temptations for seamen among the native huts, several of them being spirit-houses, where a hot unwholesome toddy is sold. We proceeded with a light breeze up the river, which still presents a considerable uniformity of prospect, though of a richer and more pleasing kind than we had seen before. The banks abound with villages, interspersed with rice-fields, plantations of coco-palms, and groves of trees of a considerable height, in colour and foliage resembling the elm. We have seen one or two pagodas, dingy buildings with one or more high towers, like glass-houses.

The Hooghly is still of vast width and rapidity. Our ship tacks in it as in a sea, and we meet many larger vessels descending. One of these was pointed out to me as an Arab, of completely European build, except that her stern was overloaded with open galle-

ries and verandahs, with three very tall masts, and carrying more sail than English merchant ships generally do. She had apparently a good many guns, was crowded with men, and had every appearance of serving, as occasion required, for piracy as well as traffic. Her "rais," or master, had a loose purple dress on, and her crew I thought were of fairer complexions than the Hindoos. These last perform their evolutions with a great deal of noise, and most vociferously, but the Arabs excelled them in both these particulars. They shifted their sails with a clamour as if they were going to board an enemy. The old clumsy Arab dow mentioned by Niebuhr is now seldom seen; they buy many ships from Europeans; they build tolerable ones themselves; and even their grabs, which still have an elongated bow instead of a bowsprit, are described as often very fine vessels and good sailers. In short, they are gradually becoming a formidable maritime people, and are not unlikely to give farther and greater trouble in the Indian Seas to ourselves and other European nations.

Accidents often happen in this great river, and storms are frequent and violent. The river is now unusually high, and the Brahmins have prophesied that it will rise fourteen cubits higher, and drown all Calcutta; they might as well have said all Bengal, since the province has scarcely any single eminence so high above the river. Whenever we see the banks a few feet higher than usual, we are told it is the dam of a "tank," or large artificial pond. The country is evidently most fertile and populous, and the whole prospect of river and shore is extremely animated and interesting. The vessel in which we are is commanded by one of the senior pilots of the Company's service; he and his mate are the only Europeans on board; the crew, forty in number, are Mohammedans, middle-sized, active and vigorous, though slender. Their uniform is merely a white turban of a singularly flat shape, a white shirt and trowsers, with a shawl wrapped round their hips. I was amused to-day by seeing them preparing and eating their

dinner, seated in circles on the deck, with an immense dish of rice, and a little sauce-boat of currie, well seasoned with garlic, set between every three or four men: the quantity which they eat is very great, and completely disproves the common opinion that rice is a nourishing food. On the contrary, I am convinced that a fourth part of the bulk of potatoes would satisfy the hunger of the most robust and laborious. Potatoes are becoming gradually abundant in Bengal; at first they were here, as elsewhere, unpopular. Now they are much liked, and are spoken of as the best thing which the country has ever received from its European masters. At dinner these people sit, not like the Turks, but with the knees drawn up like monkeys.

Their eating and drinking vessels are of copper, very bright and well kept, and their whole appearance cleanly and decent, their countenances more animated, but less mild and gentle than the Hindoos. They do not seem much troubled with the prejudices of Mohammedanism, yet there are some services which they obviously render to their masters with reluctance. The captain of the yacht ordered one of them, at my desire, to lay hold of our spaniel; the man made no difficulty, but afterwards rubbed his hand against the side of the ship with an expression of disgust which annoyed me, and I determined to spare their feelings in future as much as possible.

We had hoped to reach Fulta, where there is an English hotel, before night; but the wind being foul, were obliged to anchor a few miles short of it. After dinner, the heat being considerably abated, we went in the yacht's boat to the nearest shore. Before us was a large extent of swampy ground, but in a high state of cultivation, and covered with green rice, offering an appearance not unlike flax; on our right was a moderate-sized village, and on the banks of the river a numerous herd of cattle was feeding; these are mostly red, or red and white, with humps on their backs, nearly resembling those which I have seen at Wynnstay and Combermere. Buffaloes are uncommon in

the lower parts of Bengal. As we approached the village a number of men and boys came out to meet us, all naked except the cummerbund, with very graceful figures, and distinguished by a mildness of countenance almost approaching to effeminacy. They regarded us with curiosity, and the children crowded round with great familiarity. The objects which surrounded us were of more than common beauty and interest; the village, a collection of mud-walled cottages, thatched, and many of them covered with a creeping plant bearing a beautiful broad leaf, of the gourd species, stood irregularly scattered in the midst of a wood of coco-palms, fruit, and other trees, among which the banyan was very conspicuous and beautiful; we were cautioned against attempting to enter the houses, as such a measure gives much offence. Some of the natives, however, came up and offered to show us the way to the pagoda,—“the Temple,” they said, “of Mahadeo.” We followed them through the beautiful grove which overshadowed their dwellings, by a winding and narrow path; the way was longer than we expected, and it was growing dusk; we persevered, however, and arrived in front of a small building with three apertures in front, resembling lancet windows of the age of Henry II. A flight of steps led up to it, in which the Brahmin of the place was waiting to receive us,—an elderly man, naked like his flock, but distinguished by a narrow band of cotton twist thrown two or three times doubled across his right shoulder and breast, like a scarf, which is a mark of distinction, worn, I understand, by all Brahmins; a fine boy, with a similar badge, stood near him, and another man, with the addition of a white turban, came up and said he was a police-officer (“police-walla”). The occurrence of this European word in a scene so purely Oriental had a whimsical effect. It was, not, however, the only one which we heard, for the Brahmin announced himself to us as the “Padre” of the village, a name which they have originally learnt from the Portuguese, but which is now applied to religious persons of all descrip-

tions all over India, even in the most remote situations, and where no European penetrates once in a century. The village we were now in, I was told, had probably been very seldom visited by Europeans, since few persons stop on the shore of the Ganges between Diamond Harbour and Fulta. Few of the inhabitants spoke Hindoostanee. Mr. Mill tried the Brahmin in Sanscrit, but found him very ignorant; he, indeed, owned it himself, and said in excuse, they were poor people.

I greatly regretted I had no means of drawing a scene so beautiful and interesting.

I never recollect having more powerfully felt the beauty of similar objects. The green-house like smell and temperature of the atmosphere which surrounded us, the exotic appearance of the plants and of the people, the verdure of the fields, the dark shadows of the trees, and the exuberant and neglected vigour of the soil, teeming with life and food, neglected, as it were, out of pure abundance, would have been striking under any circumstances; they were still more so to persons just landed from a three months’ voyage; and to me, when associated with the recollection of the objects which have brought me out to India, the amiable manners and countenances of the people, contrasted with the symbols of their foolish and polluted idolatry now first before me, impressed me with a very solemn and earnest wish that I might in some degree, however small, be enabled to conduce to the spiritual advantage of creatures, so goodly, so gentle, and now so misled and blinded. “Angeli forent, si essent Christiani!” As the sun went down, many monstrous bats, bigger than the largest crows I have seen, and chiefly to be distinguished from them by their indented wings, unloosed their hold from the palm-trees, and sailed slowly around us. They might have been supposed the guardian genii of the pagoda.

During the night and the whole of the next day the wind was either contrary, or so light as not to enable us to stem the current; it was intensely hot; the thermometer stood at about 96°.

The commander of our vessel went this morning to a market held in a neighbouring village, to purchase some trifles for the vessel; and it may show the poverty of the country, and the cheapness of the different articles, to observe, that having bought all the commodities which he wanted for a few pice,* he was unable in the whole market to get change for a rupee, or about two shillings.

In the evening we again went on shore to another village, resembling the first in its essential features, but placed in a yet more fertile soil. The houses stood literally in a thicket of fruit-trees, plantains, and flowering shrubs; the muddy ponds were covered with the broad-leaved lotus, and the adjacent "paddy," or rice-fields, were terminated by a wood of tall coco-nut trees, between whose stems the light was visible, pretty much like a grove of Scotch firs. I here remarked the difference between the coco and the palmira: the latter with a narrower leaf than the former, and at this time of year without fruit, with which the other abounded. For a few pice one of the lads climbed up the tallest of these with great agility, notwithstanding the total want of boughs, and the slipperiness of the bark. My wife was anxious to look into one of their houses, but found its owners unwilling to allow her. At length one old fellow, I believe to get us away from his own threshold, said he would show us a very fine house. We followed him to a cottage somewhat larger than those which we had yet seen; but on our entering its little court-yard, the people came in much earnestness to prevent our proceeding farther. We had, however, a fair opportunity of seeing an Indian farm-yard and homestead. In front was a small mud building, with a thatched verandah looking towards the village, and behind was a court filled with coco-nut husks, and a little rice straw; in the centre of this was a round thatched building, raised on bamboos about a foot from the ground, which

they said was a "Goliah," or granary; round it were small mud cottages, each to all appearance an apartment in the dwelling. In one corner was a little mill, something like a crab-mill, to be worked by a man, for separating the rice from the husk. By all which we could see through the open doors, the floor of the apartments was of clay, devoid of furniture and light, except what the door admitted. A Brahmin now appeared, a formal pompous man, who spoke better Hindoostanee than the one whom we had seen before. I was surprised to find that in these villages, and Mr. Mill tells me that it is the case almost all over India, the word "Grigi," a corruption of "Ecclesia," is employed when speaking of any place of worship. Most of these people looked unhealthy. Their village and its vicinity appeared to owe their fertility to excessive humidity under a burning sun. Most of the huts were surrounded by stagnant water; and near the entrance of one of them they showed us a little elevated mound like a grave, which they said was their refuge when the last inundation was at its height. So closely and mysteriously do the instruments of production and destruction, plenty and pestilence, life and death, tread on the heels of each other!

Besides tamarinds, cocos, palmiras, plantains, and banyans, there were some other trees of which we could not learn the European name. One was the neem, a tree not very unlike the acacia, the leaves of which are used to keep moths from books and clothes. Another I supposed to be manchineel,—a tree like a very large rhododendron, but not without flowers; its thick club-ended branches, when wounded, exuded a milky juice in large quantities, which the natives said would blister the fingers. We saw one jackall run into the woods: the cries of these animals grew loud and incessant as we returned to the ship, and so nearly resembled the voice of children at play, that it was scarcely possible at first to ascribe them to any other source. On our arrival at the vessel we found two "Bholiahs," or large row boats, with convenient cabins, sent to take us up

* A small copper coin, about the value of our halfpenny.—ED.

the river, as it was impossible, with such light winds, for the yacht to stem the force of the current.

October 10. — At two o'clock this afternoon, we set out for Calcutta in the *bholiahs*, and had a very delightful and interesting passage up the river, partly with sails and partly with oars. The country, as we drew nearer the capital, advanced in population; and the river was filled with vessels of every description. Among these, I was again greatly struck by the Maldivian vessels, close to some of which our boat passed. Their size appeared to me from one hundred and fifty to near two hundred tons, raised to an immense height above the water by upper works of split bamboo, with very lofty heads and sterns, immense sails, and crowded with a wild and energetic looking race of mariners, who, Captain Manning told me, were really bold and expert fellows, and the vessels better sea-boats than their clumsy forms would lead one to anticipate. Bengalee and Chittagong vessels, with high heads and sterns, were also numerous. In both these the immense size of the rudders, suspended by ropes to the vessel's stern, and worked by a helmsman raised at a great height above the vessel, chiefly attracted attention. There were many other vessels, which implied a gradual adoption of European habits, being brigs and sloops, very clumsily and injudiciously rigged, but still improvements on the old Indian ships. Extensive plantations of sugar-cane, and numerous cottages resembling those we had already seen, appeared among the groves of coco-nut and other fruit-trees, which covered the greater part of the shore; a few cows were tethered on the banks, and some large brick-fields with sheds like those in England, and here and there a white staring European house, with plantations and shrubberies, gave notice of our approach to an European capital. At a distance of about nine miles from the place where we had left the yacht, we landed among some tall bamboos, and walked near a quarter of a mile to the front of a dingy, deserted looking house, not very unlike a country gentleman's

house in Russia, near some powder mills; here we found carriages waiting for us, drawn by small horses with switch tails, and driven by postillions with whiskers, turbans, bare legs and arms, and blue jackets with tawdry yellow lace. A "Saees," or groom, ran by the side of each horse, and behind one of them were two decent-looking men with long beads and white cotton dresses, who introduced themselves as my "peons," or "hurkarus;" their badges were a short mace or club of silver, of a crooked form, and terminating in a tiger's head, something resembling a Dacian standard as represented on Trajan's pillar, and a long silver stick with a knob at the head. We set out at a round trot; the *saees* keeping their places very nimbly on each side of us, though on foot, along a raised, broadish, but bad road, with deep ditches of stagnant water on each side, beyond which stretched out an apparently interminable wood of fruit-trees, interspersed with cottages: some seemed to be shops, being entirely open with verandahs, and all chiefly made up of mats and twisted bamboo. The crowd of people was considerable, and kept up something like the appearance of a fair along the whole line of road. Many were in bullock-carts, others driving loaded bullocks before them, a few had wretched ponies, which, as well as the bullocks, bore too many and indubitable marks of neglect and hard treatment; the manner in which the Hindoos seemed to treat even their horned cattle, sacred as they are from the butcher's knife, appeared far worse than that which often disgusts the eye and wounds the feelings of a passenger through London.

Few women were seen; those who appeared had somewhat more clothing than the men, a coarse white veil or "chuddah," thrown over their heads without hiding their faces, their arms bare, and ornamented with large silver "bangles," or bracelets. The shops contained a few iron tools hanging up, some slips of coarse-coloured cotton, plantains hanging in bunches, while the ground was covered with earthen vessels, and a display of rice and some

kind of pulse heaped up on sheets; in the midst of which, smoking a sort of rude hookah, made of a short pipe and a coco-nut shell, the trader was squatted on the ground.

By degrees we began to see dingy brick buildings of more pretensions to architecture, but far more ugly than the rudest bamboo-hut,—the abodes of Hindoos or Mussulmans of the middle class, flat-roofed, with narrow casement windows, and enclosed by a brick wall, which prevented all curious eyes from prying into their domestic economy. These were soon after mingled with the large and handsome edifices of Garden Reach, each standing by itself in a little woody lawn (a “compound” they call it here, by an easy corruption from the Portuguese word *campania*), and consisting of one or more stories, with a Grecian verandah along their whole length of front. As we entered Kidderpoor, European carriages were seen, and our eyes were met by a police soldier, standing sentry in the corner of the street, nearly naked, but armed with a sabre and shield,—a pagoda or two,—a greater variety of articles in the shops,—a greater crowd in the streets,—and a considerable number of “caranchies,” or native carriages, each drawn by two horses, and looking like the skeletons of hackney coaches in our own country.

From Kidderpoor we passed by a mean wooden bridge over a muddy creek, which brought us to an extensive open plain like a race-course, at the extremity of which we saw Calcutta, its white houses glittering through the twilight, which was now beginning to close in, with an effect not unlike that of Connaught-place and its neighbourhood, as seen from a distance across Hyde Park. Over this plain we drove to the fort, where Lord Amherst has assigned the old Government-house for our temporary residence. The fort stands considerably to the south of Calcutta and west of Chowringhee, having the Hooghly on its west side. The degree of light which now remained rendered all its details indistinguishable, and it was only when we began to wind through the different works, and to hear the clash of the sentries presenting arms as we passed, that

we knew we were approaching a military post of great extent and considerable importance. We at length alighted at the door of our temporary abode, a large and very handsome building in the centre of the fort, and of the vast square formed by its barracks and other buildings. The square is grassed over, and divided by broad roads of “pucka,” or pounded brick, with avenues of tall trees stocked with immense flights of crows, which had not yet ceased their evening concert when we arrived. We found at the door two sentries, resembling Europeans in everything but complexion, which, indeed, was far less swarthy than that of the other natives whom we had hitherto seen, and were received by a long train of servants in cotton dresses and turbans; one of them with a long silver stick, and another with a short mace, answering to those of the peons who had received us at the landing-place.

The house consisted of a lofty and well-proportioned hall, 40 feet by 25, a drawing-room of the same length, and six or seven rooms all on the same floor, one of which served as a chapel, the lower story being chiefly occupied as offices or lobbies. All these rooms were very lofty, with many doors and windows on every side; the floors of plaster, covered with mats; the ceilings of bricks, plastered also, flat, and supported by massive beams, which were visible from the rooms below, but being painted neatly had not at all a bad effect. Punks, large frames of light wood covered with white cotton, and looking not unlike enormous fire boards, hung from the ceilings of the principal apartments, to which cords were fastened, which were drawn backwards and forwards by one or more servants, so as to agitate and cool the air very agreeably. The walls were white and unadorned, except with a number of glass lamps filled with coco-nut oil, and the furniture, though sufficient for the climate, was scanty in comparison with that of an English house. The beds, instead of curtains, had mosquito nets; they were raised high from the ground and very hard, admirably adapted for a hot climate.

I had then the ceremony to go through of being made acquainted with a considerable number of my clergy. Among whom was my old schoolfellow at Whit-church, Mr. Parsons, some years older than myself, whom I recollect when I was quite an urchin. Then all our new servants were paraded before us under their respective names of Chobdars,* Sotaburdars,* Hurkarus,* Khânsaman,† Abdar,‡ Sherabdar,§ Khitmutgars,|| Sirdar Bearer,¶ and Bearers, cum multis aliis. Of all these, however, the

* Men who carry silver sticks before people of rank; or messengers, all bearing the generic appellation of peons.

† Steward.

‡ Water Cooler.

§ Butler.

|| Footmen.

¶ Head of all the bearers, and valet de chambre.

Sircar* was the most conspicuous,—a tall fine looking man, in a white muslin dress, speaking good English, and the editor of a Bengalee newspaper, who appeared with a large silken and embroidered purse full of silver coins, and presented it to us, in order that we might go through the form of receiving it, and replacing it in his hands. This, I then supposed, was a badge of his office, but I afterwards found that it was the relic of the ancient Eastern custom of never approaching a superior without a present, and that, in like manner, all the natives who visited me offered a “nuzzur,” or offering, of a piece of gold or silver money.

* Agent.—Ed.

CHAPTER II.

Calcutta—Description of Calcutta: Cathedral: Environs: Quay—Child-murder—Barrack-poor: Menagerie—Female Orphan Asylum—Consecration of Churches—Nách—Free School—Botanical Garden—Bishop's College—Native Female Schools—Distress among Europeans.

OCTOBER 11.—In the morning as the day broke (before which time is the usual hour of rising in India), we were much struck by the singular spectacle before us. Besides the usual apparatus of a place of arms, the walks, roofs, and ramparts swarmed with gigantic birds, the "hurgila," from "hur," a bone, and "gilana," to swallow, larger than the largest turkey, and twice as tall as the heron, which in some respects they much resemble, except that they have a large blue and red pouch under the lower bill, in which we were told they keep such food as they cannot eat at the moment.* These birds share with the jackalls, who enter the fort through the drains, the post of scavenger, but unlike them, instead of flying mankind and daylight, lounge about with perfect fearlessness all day long, and almost jostle us from our paths. We walked some time round the square, and were amused to see our little girl, walking with her nurse, in great delight at the animals round her, but rather encumbered with the number of servants who had attached themselves to her. For her especial service, a bearer, a khitmutgar, a hurkaru, and a cook, were appointed, and there were, besides the two former, one of the silver sticks with her, and another bearer with a monstrous umbrella on a long

bamboo pole, which he held over her head in the manner represented on Chinese screens. My wife soon reduced her nursery establishment; but we afterwards found that it is the custom in Calcutta to go to great expense in the equipage of children.

A lady told us she had seen a little boy of six years old, paraded in a pony phaeton and pair, with his "ayah," or nurse, coachman, "chattahburdar," or umbrella-bearer, a saees on each side, and another behind, leading a third pony, splendidly caparisoned, not in case the young sahib should choose to ride, he was too young for that,—but, as the saees himself expressed it, "for the look of the thing." This, however, rather belongs to old times, when, as a gentleman assured me, he had himself heard, at the dinner party of one of the Company's civil servants, a herald proclaiming aloud all the great man's titles; and when a palanquin with the silk brocade and gilding, which then adorned it, frequently cost 3000* rupees; at present the people are poorer and wiser.

The approach to the city from the fort is striking;—we crossed a large green plain, having on the left the Hooghly, with its forest of masts and sails seen through the stems of a double row of trees. On the right hand is the district called Chowringhee, lately a mere scattered suburb, but now almost as closely built as, and very little less extensive than, Calcutta. In front was the esplanade, containing the Town-hall, the Government-house, and many

* It has since been ascertained, by dissection, that this pouch has no connexion with the stomach, but has a very small tube opening into the nostril, through which it is supposed air is admitted to enable the bird to breathe when the orifice of the throat is closed by any large substance, which it attempts, for some time in vain, to swallow. At such time the pouch is in this way inflated with air, and respiration goes on unimpeded.—Ep.

* The highest price of an English built palanquin in the present day is 300 rupees.—Ed.

handsome private dwellings, — the whole so like some parts of Petersburgh, that it was hardly possible for me to fancy myself anywhere else. No native dwellings are visible from this quarter, except one extensive but ruinous bazaar, which occupies the angle where Calcutta and Chowringhee join. Behind the esplanade, however, are only Tank-square, and some other streets occupied by Europeans,—the Durrumtollah and Cossitollah are pretty equally divided between the different nations, and all the west of Calcutta is a vast town, composed of narrow crooked streets, brick bazaars, bamboo huts, and here and there the immense convent-like mansion of some of the more wealthy “Baboos” (the name of the native Hindoo gentleman, answering to our esquire), or Indian merchants and bankers. The Town-hall has no other merit than size, but the Government-house has narrowly missed being a noble structure; it consists of two semi-circular galleries, placed back to back, uniting in the centre in a large hall, and connecting four splendid suites of apartments. Its columns are, however, in a paltry style, and instead of having, as it might have had, two noble stories and a basement, it has three stories, all too low, and is too much pierced with windows on every side. I was here introduced to Lord Amherst; and afterwards went to the cathedral, where I was installed. This is a very pretty building, all but the spire, which is short and clumsy. The whole composition, indeed, of the church, is full of architectural blunders, but still it is, in other respects, handsome. The inside is elegant, paved with marble, and furnished with very large and handsome glass chandeliers, the gift of Mr. M’Clintock, with a light pulpit, with chairs on one side of the chancel for the Governor-general and his family, and on the other for the Bishop and Archdeacon. We dined to-day at the Government-house; to a stranger the appearance of the bearded and turbaned waiters is striking.

October 12.—This was Sunday. I preached, and we had a good congregation.

October 13.—We drive out twice a day on the course; I am much disappointed as to the splendour of the equipages, of which I had heard so much in England; the horses are most of them both small and poor, while the dirty-white dresses and bare limbs of their attendants have, to an unaccustomed eye, an appearance of anything but wealth and luxury. Calcutta stands on an almost perfect level of alluvial and marshy ground, which a century ago was covered with jungle and stagnant pools, and which still almost everywhere betrays its unsoundness by the cracks conspicuous in the best houses. To the east, at the distance of four miles and a half, is a large but shallow lagoon of salt water, being the termination of the Sunderbunds, from which a canal is cut pretty nearly to the town, and towards which all the drainings of the city flow—what little difference of level there is being in favour of the banks of the river. Between the salt lake and the city the space is filled by gardens, fruit-trees, and the dwellings of the natives, some of them of considerable size, but mostly wretched huts, all clustered in irregular groups round large square tanks, and connected by narrow, winding, unpaved streets and lanes, amid tufts of bamboos, coco-trees, and plantains, picturesque and striking to the sight, but extremely offensive to the smell, from the quantity of putrid water, the fumes of wood smoke, coco-nut oil, and above all the ghee, which is to the Hindoo his principal luxury. Few Europeans live here, and those few, such as the missionaries employed by the Church Missionary Society in Mirzapoor, are said to suffer greatly from the climate. Even my sircar, though a native, in speaking of the neighbouring district of Dhee Intally, said that he himself never went near the “bad water” which flows up from the salt-water lake, without sickness and head-ache.

To the south a branch of the Hooghly flows also into the Sunderbunds. It is called by Europeans Tolly’s nullah, but the natives regard it as the true Gunga, the wide stream being, as they pretend, the work of human and impious hands

at some early period of their history. In consequence, no person worships the river between Kidderpoor and the sea, while this comparatively insignificant ditch enjoys all the same divine honours which the Ganges and the Hooghly enjoy during the earlier parts of their course. The banks of the Tolly's nullah are covered by two large and nearly contiguous villages, Kidderpoor and Allypoor, as well as by several considerable European houses, and are said to be remarkably dry and wholesome. To the north is a vast extent of fertile country, divided into rice-fields, orchards, and gardens, covered with a thick shade of fruit-trees, and swarming with an innumerable population, occupying the large suburbs of Cossipoor, Chitpoor, &c. This tract resembles, in general appearance, the eastern suburb, but is drier, healthier, and more open; through it lie the two great roads to Dum Dum and Barrackpoor. Westward flows the Hooghly, at least twice as broad as the Thames below London Bridge, covered with large ships and craft of all kind, and offering on its farther bank the prospect of another considerable suburb, that of Howrah, chiefly inhabited by ship-builders, but with some pretty villas interspersed. The road which borders Calcutta and Chowringhee is called, whimsically enough, "the circular road," and runs along nearly the same line which was once occupied by a wide ditch and earthen fortification, raised on occasion of the Maharatta war. This is the boundary of the liberties of Calcutta, and of English law. All offences committed within this line are tried by the "Sudder Adawlut," or Supreme Court of Justice; those beyond fall, in the first instance, within the cognizance of the local magistracy, and in case of appeal are determined by the "Sudder Dewannee," or Court of the People in Chowringhee, whose proceedings are guided by the Koran and the laws of Menu.

From the north-west angle of the fort to the city, along the banks of the Hooghly, is a walk of pounded brick, covered with sand, the usual material of the roads and streets in and near

Calcutta, with a row of trees on each side, and about its centre a flight of steps to descend to the river, which in the morning, a little after sunrise, is generally crowded with persons washing themselves and performing their devotions, of which, indeed, ablution is an essential and leading part. The rest consists, in general, in repeatedly touching the forehead and cheeks with white, red, or yellow earth, and exclamations of "Ram! ram!" There are some Brahmins, however, always about this time seated on the bank under the trees, who keep counting their beads, turning over the leaves of their banana-leaf books, and muttering their prayers with considerable seeming devotion, and for a long time together. These are "Gooroos," or Religious Teachers, and seem considerably respected. Children and young persons are seen continually kneeling down to them, and making them little offerings, but the wealthier Hindoos seldom stop their palanquins for such a purpose. Where the esplanade-walk joins Calcutta, a very handsome quay is continued along the side of the river, resembling in everything but the durability of material the quays of Petersburg. It is unhappily of brick instead of granite, and is as yet unfinished, but many houses and public buildings are rising on it, and it bids fair to be a very great additional ornament and convenience to Calcutta. Vessels of all descriptions, to the burden of six hundred tons, may lie almost close up to this quay, and there is always a crowd of ships and barks, as well as a very interesting assemblage of strangers of all sorts and nations to be seen. Of these perhaps the Arabs, who are numerous, are the most striking, from their comparative fairness, their fine bony and muscular figures, their noble countenances and picturesque dress. That of a wealthy Arab, "Nacoda," or captain, is pretty much what may be seen in "Niebuhr's Travels," as that of an emir of Yemen. They are said to be extremely intelligent, bold, and active, but very dirty in their ships, and excessively vain and insolent whenever they have the opportunity of being so with impunity.

The crowd on this quay, and in every part of Calcutta, is great. No fighting, however, is visible, though we hear a great deal of scolding. A Hindoo hardly ever strikes an equal, however severely he may be provoked. The Arabs, as well as the Portuguese, are less patient, and at night frays, and even murders, in the streets are of no unfrequent occurrence, chiefly, however, among the two descriptions of persons whom I have named. There are among the Hindoos very frequent instances of murder, but of a more cowardly and premeditated kind. They are cases chiefly of women murdered from jealousy, and children for the sake of the silver ornaments with which their parents are fond of decorating them. Out of thirty-six cases of murder reported in the province of Bengal, during the short space of, I believe, three months, seventeen were of children under these circumstances.

Though no slavery legally exists in the British territories at this moment, yet the terms and gestures used by servants to their superiors, all imply that such a distinction was, at no distant date, very common. "I am thy slave,"—"Thy slave hath no knowledge," are continually used as expressions of submission and of ignorance. In general, however, I do not think that the Bengalee servants are more submissive or respectful to their masters than those of Europe. The habit of appearing with bare feet in the house, the manner of addressing their superiors by joining the hands as in the attitude of prayer, at first give them such an appearance. But these are in fact nothing more than taking off the hat, or bowing, in England; and the person who acts thus is as likely to speak saucily or neglect our orders as any English footman or groom. Some of their expressions, indeed, are often misunderstood by new comers as uncivil, when nothing less than incivility is intended. If you bid a man order breakfast, he will answer, "Have I not ordered it?" or, "Is it not already coming?" merely meaning to express his own alacrity in obeying you. They are, on the whole, intelligent, and are very attentive to supply your wishes,

even half, or not at all expressed. Masters seldom furnish any liveries, except turbans or girdles, which are of some distinctive colour and lace; the rest of the servant's dress is the cotton shirt, caftan, and trowsers of the country, and they are by no means exact as to its cleanliness. The servants of the Governor-General have very handsome scarlet and gold caftans.

The Governor-General has a very pretty country residence at Barrackpoor, a cantonment of troops about sixteen miles north of Calcutta, in a small park of (I should guess) from two to three hundred acres, on the banks of the Hooghly, offering as beautiful a display of turf, tree, and flowering shrub, as any scene in the world can produce. The view of the river, though less broad here than at Calcutta, is very fine; and the Danish settlement of Serampoor, which stands on the opposite bank, with its little spire, its flag-staff, and its neat white buildings, is at this distance a very pleasing object. The house itself of Barrackpoor is handsome, containing three fine sitting-rooms, though but few bed-chambers. Indeed, as in this climate no sleeping-rooms are even tolerable unless they admit the southern breeze, there can be but few in any house. Accordingly, that of Barrackpoor barely accommodates Lord Amherst's own family; and his aides-de-camp and visitors sleep in bungalows, built at some little distance from it in the park. "Bungalow," a corruption of Bengalee, is the general name in this country for any structure in the cottage style, and only of one floor. Some of these are spacious and comfortable dwellings, generally with high-thatched roofs, surrounded with a verandah, and containing three or four good apartments, with bath-rooms and dressing-rooms enclosed from the eastern, western, or northern verandahs. The south is always left open. We went to Barrackpoor the 28th of October. The road runs all the way between gardens and orchards, so that the traveller is seldom without shade. Our journey we made before eight o'clock, no travelling being practicable at this season

of the year with comfort, afterwards. We stayed two days, and were greatly pleased with everything we saw, and, above all, with the kindness of Lord and Lady Amherst.

At Barrackpoor, for the first time, I mounted an elephant, the motion of which I thought far from disagreeable, though very different from that of a horse. As the animal moves both feet on the same side at once, the sensation is like that of being carried on a man's shoulders. A full-grown elephant carries two persons in the "howdah," besides the "mohout," or driver, who sits on his neck, and a servant on the crupper behind with an umbrella. The howdah itself, which Europeans use, is not unlike the body of a small gig, but without a head. The native howdahs have a far less elevated seat, and are much more ornamented. At Calcutta, or within five miles of it, no elephants are allowed, on account of the frequent accidents which they occasion by frightening horses. Those at Barrackpoor were larger animals than I had expected to see; two of them were at least ten feet high. That which Lord Amherst rode, and on which I accompanied him, was a very noble fellow, dressed up in splendid trappings, which were a present from the King of Oude, and ornamented all over with fish, embroidered in gold, a device which is here considered a badge of royalty. I was amused by one peculiarity, which I had never before heard of; while the elephant is going on, a man walks by his side, telling him where to tread, bidding him "take care,"—"step out," warning him that the road is rough, slippery, &c., all which the animal is supposed to understand, and take his measures accordingly. The mohout says nothing, but guides him by pressing his legs to his neck, on the side to which he wishes him to turn, urging him forwards with the point of a formidable goad, and stopping him by a blow on the forehead with the butt end of the same instrument. The command these men have over their elephants is well known; and a circumstance lately occurred of one of them making a sign to his beast, which was instantly obeyed,

to kill a woman who had said something to offend him. The man was executed before our arrival.

Capital punishments are described as far from frequent, and appear to be inflicted for murder only; for smaller crimes, offenders are sentenced to hard labour, and are seen at work in the public roads, and about the barracks, in groups more or less numerous, each man with fetters on his legs, and watched by policemen, or Sepoys. These poor creatures, whatever their original crimes may have been, are probably still more hardened by a punishment which thus daily, and for a length of time together, exposes them in a degraded and abject condition to the eyes of men. I never saw countenances so ferocious and desperate as many of them offer, and which are the more remarkable as being contrasted with the calmness and almost feminine mildness which generally characterize the Indian expression of features. What, indeed, can be expected in men who have neither the consolations of Christianity nor the pity of their brethren—who are without hope in this world, and have no just idea of any world but this?

The cantonment of Barrackpoor is very pretty, consisting of a large village inhabited by soldiers, with bungalows for the European officers and other white inhabitants, who are attracted hither by the salubrity of the air, the vicinity of the Governor's residence, or the beauty and convenience of the river. In the park several uncommon animals are kept: among them the Ghyal, an animal of which I had not, to my recollection, read any account, though the name was not unknown to me. It is a very noble creature, of the ox or buffalo kind, with immensely large horns, and a native of Thibet and Nepal.

It is very much larger than the largest Indian cattle, but hardly, I think, equal to an English bull: its tail is bushy, and its horns form almost a mass of white and solid bone to the centre of its forehead. It is very tame and gentle, and would, I should think, be a great improvement on the common Indian breed

of horned cattle. There is also another beautiful animal of the ass kind, from the Cape of Good Hope, which is kept in a stall, and led about by two men to exercise daily. They complain of its wild and untameable spirit, and, when I saw it, had hampered its mouth with such an apparatus of bit and bridle that the poor thing was almost choked. It is extremely strong and bony, of beautiful form, has a fine eye and good countenance, and though not striped like the zebra, is beautifully clouded with different tints of ash and mouse colour. We met two lynxes, or "siya gush," during our ride, also taking the air, led each in a chain by his keeper, one of them in body clothes, like an English greyhound, both perfectly tame, and extremely beautiful creatures, about the size of a large spaniel, and in form and colour something between a fox and a cat, but with the silky fur and characteristic actions of the latter. The other animals, consisting of two or three tigers and leopards, two different kinds of bears—one Bengalee, the other from Sincapoor, a porcupine, a kangaroo, monkeys, mouse-deer, birds, &c., are kept in a menagerie, their dens all very clean, and, except one of the bears and one hyæna, all very tame. The Bengalee bears are precisely of the same kind with that which is described and drawn, but without a name, in "Be- wick's Quadrupeds," as said to be brought from Bengal. They are fond of vegetables, and almost exclusively fed on them; three of these are very good-natured, and show their impatience for their meals (after which they are said to be very greedy) only by a moaning noise, raising themselves upright against the bars of the cage, and caressing, in a most plaintive and coaxing way, any person who approaches them. The fourth is a very surly fellow, always keeps himself in a corner of his den, with his face turned away from the light, and the visitants, and, if at all teased, turns about in furious wrath. The Sincapoor bear is smaller than the others, and a very beautiful animal, with a fine, black, close fur, a tan muzzle and breast, very playful, and not greedy. All of them climb

like cats, notwithstanding their bulk, which equals that of a large Russian bear. They were at one time supposed to be ant-eaters, but, Dr. Abel says, erroneously. They burrow in the ground, have longer snouts and claws than our European bears, and struck me forcibly as a link between the badger and the common bear, though in everything but their vivacity they bear a general resemblance to the sloth, or bradypus.

While we were at Barrackpoor a cobra de capello was killed close to our bungalow; it was talked of by the natives in a manner which proved them not to be common. In Calcutta poisonous snakes are very seldom seen; nor are they anywhere to be much apprehended, except one goes into old ruins, neglected pagodas, or dry and rubbishy places, where Europeans have not often occasion to tread. The water-snakes, which are met with in most places, are very seldom dangerous. Alligators sometimes come on shore to bask, and there is one in a small pond in the park. They are of two kinds: one, which seems like the common crocodile of the Nile, has a long nose, and is harmless, unless provoked; the other is somewhat smaller, has a round snubbed head, and frequently attacks dogs and other similar animals, and is sometimes dangerous to men who go into the river. I suspect that both these kinds are found in Egypt, or have been so in ancient times. I cannot else account for the remarkable discrepancy of the relations which are given us respecting their ferocity and activity, their tameness and sluggishness. The ancients seem to have paid most attention to the formidable species. The other is that which has been seen by Bruce and Sonnini.

November 2nd was Sacrament Sunday at the Cathedral, and there was a considerable number of communicants. —In the evening we went to see the school for European female orphans, an extensive and very useful establishment, supported by subscriptions, of which Mrs. Thomason is the most active manager. It is a spacious and handsome though irregular building, airy, and well adapted to its purpose, situated in a large compound in the Circular Road.

The neighbourhood has been fancied unhealthy, but we saw no appearance of it in the girls. The establishment seems well conducted; the girls are not encouraged to go out as servants; when they have relations in England they are usually sent thither, unless eligible matches occur for them among the tradesmen of Calcutta, who have, indeed, few other opportunities of obtaining wives of European blood and breeding. Even ladies going out are not always permitted to take white maids, and always under a bond, that in a year or two they shall be sent back again. The consequence is, that the free mariners, and other persons who go out to India, are induced to form connections with women of the country; yet I never met with any public man connected with India, who did not lament the increase of the half-caste population as a great source of present mischief and future danger to the tranquillity of the colony. Why then forbid the introduction of a class of women who would furnish white wives to the white colonists; and so far, at least, diminish the evil of which they complain? Security to a moderate amount that the person thus going to India should not become burdensome to the colony, would be enough to answer every political purpose of the present restrictions.

Of opportunities for education there seems no want, either for rich or poor; there are some considerable schools for the children of the former, of both sexes. There is an excellent Free School for the latter, and the children of soldiers and officers have the Military Orphan Asylum, from which where legitimacy exists, no tint or complexion is excluded.

November 4.—I went to consecrate a new church at Dum Dum, having previously obtained the sanction of Government for the performance of the ceremony, both here and at St. James's in Calcutta, as also a written assurance from the Governor in Council that the buildings should thenceforward be appropriated to the worship of God after the forms and laws of the English Church. This I thought a sufficient

title, and it was certainly all that could be obtained in this country. Accordingly I determined not to lose the opportunity of giving the sanction of a most impressive form of dedication to these two churches, as likely to do good to all who shared in the service, and to offend nobody; while if, which is utterly unlikely, any future Governor should desecrate the piles, on his own head be the transgression.

The road to Dum Dum is less interesting than that to Barrackpore; like it it is a military village, the principal European artillery cantonment in India. It consists of several long, low ranges of building, all on the ground-floor, ornamented with verandahs, the lodging of the troops, and some small but elegant and convenient houses occupied by the officers, adjoining an open space like the "Meidan," or large plain of Calcutta, which is appropriated to the practice of artillery. The Commandant, General Hardwicke, with whom we spent the day, resides in a large house, built on an artificial mound, of considerable height above the neighbouring country, and surrounded by very pretty walks and shrubberies. The house has a venerable appearance, and its lower story, as well as the mound on which it stands, is said to be of some antiquity, at least for Bengal, where so many powerful agents of destruction are always at work, that no architecture can be durable; and though ruins and buildings of apparently remote date are extremely common, it would, perhaps, be difficult to find a single edifice one hundred and fifty years old. This building is of brick, with small windows and enormous buttresses. The upper story, which is of the style of architecture usual in Calcutta, was added by Lord Clive, who also laid out the gardens, and made this his country-house. We here met a large party at breakfast, and afterwards proceeded to the church, which is a very pretty building, divided into aisles by two rows of Doric pillars, and capable of containing a numerous congregation. It was now filled by a large and very attentive audience, composed of the European regiment, the officers and

their families, and some visitors from Calcutta, whom the novelty of the occasion brought thither. The consecration of the cemetery followed,—wisely here, as in all British India, placed at some distance from the church and the village. On our return to General Hardwicke's, we amused ourselves till dinner-time with looking over his very extensive museum, consisting of a great number of insects in excellent preservation, and many of them of rare beauty, collected during a long residence in India, or sent to him from most of the oriental islands; a large stuffed collection of birds and animals, perfect also, notwithstanding the great difficulty of preserving such objects here, beside some living animals, a very pretty antelope, a vampire-bat, a gibbon or long-armed ape, a gentle and rather pretty animal of its kind, a cobra de capello, and some others. The vampire-bat is a very harmless creature, of habits entirely different from the formidable idea entertained of it in England. It only eats fruit and vegetables, and indeed its teeth are not indicative of carnivorous habits, and from blood it turns away when offered to it. During the day-time it is, of course, inert; but at night it is lively, affectionate, and playful, knows its keeper, but has no objection to the approach and touch of others. General Hardwicke has a noble collection of coloured drawings of beasts, birds, fishes, and insects, to the amount of many hundreds, drawn and arranged with great beauty and regularity. We returned to Calcutta after dinner.

November 12.—I consecrated St. James's Church before an equally numerous congregation, but more miscellaneous in its character than that at Dum Dum, and containing a large number of half-castes. It stands in the centre of the poorest and most numerous Christian population of Calcutta, and thus attended, is indeed most valuable: a great many sailors also come to this church. Mr. Hawtayne officiates here; he can boast the honour of having converted a Hindoo of decent acquirements and respectable caste, who was baptized a few days ago. The Portuguese are numerous, and have two

large churches here. The one I have seen, which is not however the largest of the two, is very handsome, exactly like the Roman Catholic churches of Europe, and, as being something more obscure and shadowy in its interior, is both more solemn and better adapted to the climate than the Protestant places of worship. Their clergy wear their canonical dress of white cotton. A Roman Catholic bishop, titular of Thibet, whose station is in the upper provinces, about this time passed through Calcutta. I did not see him, but he called on Lord Amherst. He is an Italian by birth, but has passed almost his whole life as a priest in Brazil, and since as a bishop in the Portuguese settlements of Congo and Loango. From thence a translation must, I should have thought, have been a great happiness, yet, Lord Amherst said, he spoke of his past and future prospects with a sort of doubtful regret and uneasy anticipation, and seemed to stand in very needless fear both of the English and native governments. He is, I believe, the only bishop of his church in this country, though there are two or three more in the southern extremity of the Peain-sula.

November 18.—My wife went to a *nách* given by one of the wealthy natives, Baboo Roupláll Mullich, whose immense house, with Corinthian pillars, we had observed more than once in our passage along the Chitpoor road. She has given a full account of it in her journal.* I was kept away by a re-

* I joined Lady Macnaghten and a large party this evening to go to a *nách* given by a rich native, Roupláll Mullich, on the opening of his new house. The outside was brilliantly illuminated, and, as the building is a fine one, the effect was extremely good. The crowd without the gates was great. We were ushered into a large hall, occupying the centre of the house, round which run two galleries with a number of doors opening into small apartments, the upper ones being for the most part inhabited by the females of the family, who were of course invisible to us, though they were able to look down into the hall through the Venetians. This hall is open to the sky, but on this, as on all public occasions, it was covered in with scarlet cloth, with which the floor was also carpeted. All the large native houses are built on this principle; and the fathers, sons, and grandsons, with

gard to the scruples of the Christian and Mahomedan inhabitants of Calcutta, many of whom look on all these Hindoo feasts as indiscriminately idolatrous, and offered in honour of some one or other of their deities. The fact is that there are some, of which this was one, given chiefly, if not entirely, to Europeans by the wealthy Hindoos, in which no religious ceremony is avowed, and in which, if any idolatrous offering really takes place, it is done after the white guests are departed.

their respective families, live together, till their numbers become too great, when they separate like the patriarchs of old, and find out new habitations. The magnificence of the building, the beautiful pillars supporting the upper galleries, and the expensive and numerous glass chandeliers with which it was lighted, formed a striking contrast with the dirt, the apparent poverty, and the slovenliness of every part that was not prepared for exhibition; the rubbish left by the builders had actually never been removed out of the lower gallery,—the banisters of the staircase, in itself paltry, were of common unpainted wood, and broken in many places, and I was forced to tread with care to avoid the masses of dirt over which we walked.

On entering we found a crowd collected round a songstress of great reputation, named Viiki, the Catalani of the East, who was singing in a low but sweet voice some Hindoostanee songs, accompanied by inartificial and unmelodious native music. As the crowd was great, we adjourned into a small room opening out of the upper gallery, where we sat listening to one song after another, devoured by swarms of mosquitos, till we were heartily tired, when her place was taken by the *nâch*, or dancing-girls,—if dancing that could be called which consisted in strained movements of the arms, head, and body, the feet, though in perpetual slow motion, seldom moving from the same spot. Some story was evidently intended to be told from the expression of their countenances, but to me it was quite unintelligible. I never saw public dancing in England so free from everything approaching to indecency. Their dress was modesty itself, nothing but their faces, feet, and hands, being exposed to view. An attempt at buffoonery next followed, ill imagined, and worse executed, consisting of a bad imitation of English country dances by ill dressed men. In short, the whole exhibition was fatiguing and stupid, nearly every charm but that of novelty being wanting. To do us greater honour, we were now shown into another room, where a supper-table was laid out for a select few, and I was told the great supper-room was well supplied with eatables. I returned home between twelve and one much tired, and not the least disposed to attend another *nâch*.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

About this time I attended the first meeting of the governors of the Free School which had occurred since my arrival. I on this occasion saw the whole establishment; it is a very noble institution, consisting of a school where two hundred and forty-seven boys and girls are lodged, boarded, and clothed, and some received as day-scholars. They are all instructed in English, reading, writing, cyphering, and their religious faith and duties, for which purpose the different Catechisms and other compendia furnished by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge are employed. Some few of the day-scholars are Armenian Christians, whose parents object to these formulæ; and there are one or two Hindoos who are allowed to attend, and who also stand on one side when the Catechism is repeated, though they say the Lord's Prayer and read the Scriptures without scruple. The children of Roman Catholics, of whom there are also several, apparently make no such difficulties, and even attend church with the rest of the scholars. They are, in fact, so ignorant and neglected, that many of them have scarcely any idea of Christianity but what they acquire here. The girls' school is a separate building of somewhat less extent than the boys'; both are surrounded by good compounds, and built on the highest spot on this flat district.

The system of Dr. Bell is pursued in these schools, except that the climate requires more sitting than he allows, and this, therefore, is arranged according to the Lancasterian system. The boys are very well taught, many of them write beautiful hands, and are excellent accountants, for both which, indeed, they have a strong natural turn. Their reading is not so good, since in fact almost all of them have to learn English as well as reading, it being a curious fact that scarcely any children brought up in this country, either high or low, speak anything, even with their parents, but the broken Hindoostanee and vulgar Bengalee, which they learn from their nurses, while of these poor children most have Bengalee mothers. They exhibit, according to the head-

master, most of them considerable quickness and a good memory, but are deficient, when compared with English boys of the same age and rank in life, in common sense, courage, and honesty, as well as in bodily strength. They seldom fight, and are much afraid of pain, but when provoked, scold each other fluently, and use very indecent and bad language. This is a crime which they but too naturally learn from their heathen neighbours, and for which it is most frequently necessary to punish them. The next most frequent crime is theft from each other. Lying, to conceal their faults, and under fear of punishment, is also very prevalent; but on this I cannot lay much stress, since even in English schools, among little boys of the lower rank, I know it so common as hardly to be exceeded.

Leprosy, in both its most formidable kinds, elephantiasis and leontiasis, is said to be almost as common here as in Syria and Arabia; and I have seen instances of both kinds among the beggars in the streets, though certainly not so many as the accounts which I had heard would have led me to expect. The swollen legs of the former complaint I have noticed in three or four excursions; of the latter only two instances have occurred to me,—one a miserable native beggar, the other an European of the lower rank. The first has lost all his fingers, his nose, and several of his toes; the second is of a hideous mealy white complexion. Among Europeans it is allowed to be very unusual, but when it comes it answers, in all respects, to the fatal disease described by Michaelis in his "Anmerkungen über die Mosaische Gericht," &c., and can be only palliated and a little delayed in its course by any remedies which medicine can supply.

November 20.—We went to see the Botanical Garden with Lady Amherst. Captain Manning took us down in his ship's cutter to the "Ghât," or landing-place, at the Garden Reach, which is on the opposite side of the river, and where we met Lady and Miss Amherst, who were waiting for us with one of

the Governor's boats. Of these there are two: the largest is called the Sunamooke, and is a splendid but heavy gilt and painted barge, rigged like a ketch, with a dining-room and bedroom; the other, on which we were now to embark, is the "Feel Churra," elephant bark, from having its head adorned with that of an elephant, with silver tusks. It is a large, light, and beautiful canoe, paddled by twenty men, who sit with their faces towards the head, with one leg hanging over the side of the boat, and the great toe through a ring fastened to its side. They keep time with their paddles, and join occasionally in chorus with a man who stands in the middle, singing what I was assured were verses of his own composition; sometimes amatory, sometimes in praise of the British nation, the "Company Sahib," and the Governor-General; and in one or two instances were narrations of different victories gained by our troops in India. The tunes of many of them are simple and pleasing, but the poet has not a good voice. His appearance is singular,—a little, thin, squinting man, extremely conceited, with large silver manacles, like those of women, round his naked ancles, which he jingles in cadence to his story. In the fore-part of the boat is a small cabin, very richly ornamented, like the awnings in English barges, but enclosed with Venetian blinds; and between this and the head the mace-bearers of the Governor stand. The Union Jack is hoisted at the head and stern of the boat, and the Company's flag in the centre. With oars it would go at a great rate; but the inferiority of paddles was now fairly proved, by the far more rapid progress of Captain Manning's boat, though quite as heavy, and with only ten rowers.

The Botanical Garden is a very beautiful and well-managed institution, enriched, besides the noblest trees and most beautiful plants of India, with a vast collection of exotics, chiefly collected by Dr. Wallich himself, in Nepal, Pulo Penang, Sumatra, and Java, and increased by contributions from the Cape, Brazil, and many different parts of Africa and America, as well as Aus-

tralasia, and the South Sea Islands. It is not only a curious but a picturesque and most beautiful scene, and more perfectly answers Milton's idea of Paradise, except that it is on a dead flat instead of a hill, than anything which I ever saw. Among the exotics I noticed the nutmeg, a pretty tree, something like a myrtle, with a beautiful peach-like blossom, but too delicate for the winter even of Bengal, and, therefore, placed in the most sheltered situation, and carefully matted round. The sago-palm is a tree of great singularity and beauty, and in a grove or avenue produces an effect of striking solemnity, not unlike that of Gothic architecture. There were some splendid South American creepers, some plantains from the Malayan Archipelago, of vast size and great beauty; and, what excited a melancholy kind of interest, a little wretched oak, kept alive with difficulty under a sky and in a temperature so perpetually stimulating, which allowed it no repose, or time to shed its leaves and recruit its powers by hybernation. Some of the other trees, of which I had formed the greatest expectations, disappointed me—such as the pine of New Caledonia, which does not succeed here, at least the specimen which was shown me was weak-looking and diminutive in comparison with the prints in Cook's Voyage, the recollection of which is strongly imprinted on my mind, though I have not looked at them since I was a boy. Of the enormous size of the Adansonia, a tree from the neighbourhood of Gambia and Senegal, I had heard much—the elephant of the vegetable creation! I was, however, disappointed. The tree is doubtless wonderful, and the rapidity of its growth is still more wonderful than its bulk: but it is neither particularly tall nor stately. Its bulk consists in an enormous enlargement of its circumference immediately above the roots, and for a comparatively small height up its stem, which rather resembles that disease of the leg which bears the elephant's name, than tallies with his majestic and well-proportioned, though somewhat unwieldy stature. Dr. Wallich has the management of another extensive public establishment at Titty-

ghur, near Barrackpoor, of the same nature with this, but appropriated more to the introduction of useful plants into Bengal. He is himself a native of Denmark, but left his country young, and has devoted his life to natural history and botany in the East. His character and conversation are more than usually interesting; the first all frankness, friendliness, and ardent zeal for the service of science; the last enriched by a greater store of curious information relating to India and the neighbouring countries, than any which I have yet met with.

These different public establishments used to be all cultivated by the convicts in chains, of whom I have already spoken. In the Botanical Garden their labour is now supplied by peasants hired by the day or week, and the exchange is found cheap, as well as otherwise advantageous and agreeable; the labour of freemen here, as elsewhere, being infinitely cheaper than that of slaves.

During Lady Amherst's progress through the gardens I observed that, besides her usual attendants of gilt-sticks and maces, two men with spears, also richly gilt, and two more with swords and bucklers, went before her. This custom is, so far as I have seen at present, confined to the Governor and his family; but I understand it used to be the case with most persons of condition in Calcutta.

To the north of the Botanical Garden, and separated from it by an extensive plantation of teak trees, stands the new College, founded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, under the management and at the suggestion of Bishop Middleton, in a beautiful situation, and the building, from a little distance, beautiful also, in the Gothic of Queen Elizabeth's time.

December 12.—I attended, together with a large proportion of the European Society of Calcutta, an examination of the Native Female Schools, instituted by Mrs. Wilson, and carried on by her, together with her husband and the other Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. The progress which the children as well as

the grown pupils had made, was very creditable; and it may show how highly we ought to appreciate Mrs. Wilson's efforts, when I mention that when she began her work there was no known instance of an Indian female having been instructed in reading, writing, or sewing; and that all those who knew most of the country regarded her attempt to bring them together into schools as idle as any dream of enthusiasm could be.* She is a sensible and amiable young woman, with patience and good temper sufficient to conquer most obstacles, who has acquired an influence over these poor little girls and their parents, as well as over her grown pupils, which at first sight seems little less than magical. It was very pretty to see the little swarthy children come forward to repeat their lessons, and show their work to Lady Amherst, blushing even through their dark complexions, with their muslin veils thrown carelessly round their slim half-naked figures, their black hair plaited, their foreheads specked with white or red paint, and their heads, necks, wrists, and ancles loaded with all the little finery they could beg or borrow for the occasion. Their parents make no objection to their learning the catechism, or being taught to read the Bible, provided nothing is done which can make them lose caste. And many of the Brahmins themselves, either finding the current of popular opinion too strongly in favour of the measures pursued for them to struggle with, or really influenced by the beauty of the lessons taught in Scripture, and the advantage of giving useful knowledge, and something like a moral sense, to the lower ranks of their countrymen and countrywomen, appear to approve of Mrs. Wilson's plan, and attend the examination of her scholars. There is not even a semblance of opposition to the efforts which we are now making to

enlighten the Hindoos; this I had some days ago an excellent opportunity of observing, in going round the schools supported by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with Mr. Hawtayne, and seeing with how much apparent cordiality he was received, not only by the children themselves and the schoolmasters, though all Hindoos and Mussulmans, but by the parents and the neighbouring householders of whatever religion.

On all these points, however, and on the great change which seems to be taking place in the character of this vast nation, or at least in the province of Bengal, I have written at considerable length to my friends in England, and therefore shall not repeat my opinions and observations here.

December 25.—This being Christmas-day I had a large congregation and a great number of communicants, I think above 300. Now, and at Easter-day, it is the custom in Calcutta to give very splendidly to the communion collection, which is the fund for the support of the European poor (for there are no poor-rates), and is managed with great judgment and attention by a body of gentlemen, calling themselves the select vestry of the Cathedral. There is a good deal of distress among the Europeans and half-castes here, arising from various causes, especially from the multitude of speculations which have been tried of late years in indigo and other establishments. If a man once begins falling so far as to borrow money, it is hardly possible for him to recover himself; the interest of loans is so high, and the necessary expenses of living so great, while a return to England, except in forma pauperis, and at the Company's cost, is too expensive to be thought of by persons under such circumstances. Nor are they luxuries only that ruin the colonist in Calcutta. House-rent is enormous, and though the poorer classes of Europeans and half-castes lived in wretched dwellings, in very unwholesome parts of the town, they are often obliged to pay for these as much as would rent an excellent house in most of the market-towns of England, and

* At the end of the year 1826 Mrs. Wilson had about 600 scholars in various schools in the suburbs of Calcutta. When the Central School is completed these will all be concentrated. At the commencement of this experiment, Mrs. Wilson thought herself fortunate when she had obtained the attendance of six or seven children.—Ed.

would furnish them with very tolerable dwellings even in London. Clothes too are dear. On the other hand provisions, by those who will stoop so low, are to be had for almost nothing from the remains of the dinners of the principal European families, which the climate will not suffer to be kept till another day, and are therefore disposed of by the Khânsamans at a very low rate indeed. Still there is much real want, and I apprehend that a man who gives as a Christian ought to give, will in Calcutta find little opportunity for saving, and still less for amusement and needless luxury. Deus faxit ut quod ei debeo absolvam!

My wife went a few days ago on a cruise to the Sand-heads, for the benefit of our child's health.

Captain Manning joined his ship at Saugor at the same time, with a promise that when he next returns here, he is again to become our guest. He is an excellent man, warm and single-hearted beyond most I know, of considerable talent in his profession and in mechanics, and of very pleasing unaffected manners. During the time he has been with us, I have had an opportunity of knowing his character thoroughly, and am very glad to be able to rank him among the number of my friends.

CHAPTER III.

Pagodas — Barrackpoor — Serampoor : Decoits — Chandernagore — Christmas Boxes — Idols — Titty-ghur — Suttee — Bore in the River — Saltpetre — Confirmation — Governor-General's Native Levee.

ON the 27th of December I paid a visit of two days to the Governor of Barrackpoor. I went by water early enough in the morning to preach to the congregation, which, for want of a church, assembles in the great hall of the Government-house. The distance is about twenty-four miles, which, with a favourable tide and a good set of rowers, may be ascended in two hours and a half, and descended in less than two hours. The river continues of nearly the same width as at Calcutta; its banks are covered with fruit trees and villages, with many very handsome pagodas, of which buildings Calcutta only offers some small, mean, and neglected specimens. The general style of these buildings is a large square court, sometimes merely surrounded by a low wall, with brick balustrades, plastered so as to resemble stone, or indented at the top, with two or sometimes four towers at the angles, generally, in the present day, of Grecian architecture, and ornamented with pilasters, balustrades, and friezes. In the centre of the principal front is, for the most part, an entrance, resembling in its general character, and style of arrangement, the beautiful Propylæum at Chester Castle. When the pagoda adjoins the river, a noble flight of steps, the whole breadth of the portico, generally leads from the water to this entrance. Sometimes the whole court is surrounded by a number of square towers, detached by a small interval from each other, and looking not unlike tea-canisters, having such a propylæum as I have described in the centre of the principal front.

In the middle of the quadrangle, or

at least in the middle of one of its sides, opposite to the main entrance, is the temple of the principal deity, sometimes octagonal, with pinnacles and buttresses, greatly resembling a Gothic Chapter House, but in some instances taller and larger, with three domes, one large in the centre, and a smaller at each side, with three gilded ornaments on the summit of each, extremely like the old churches in Russia. All these buildings are vaulted with brick, and the manner in which the Hindoos raise their square or oblong domes seems to me simple and ingenious, and applicable to many useful purposes.

It is very seldom that anything like a congregation assembles in these temples. A few priests and dancing-women live in them, whose business it is to keep the shrines clean, to receive the offerings of the individuals who come from time to time to worship, and to beat their gongs in honour of their idols, which is done three or four times in the twenty-four hours. On more solemn occasions, however, wealthy Hindoos give money to illuminate the building, and throw up fire-works, which are to be had in Calcutta of great excellence and beauty. And in one instance, which I omitted to mention before, on the celebration of the festival of the goddess Kali, at the pagoda of Kalighât, near Russipugla, I saw the towers at the corners of the building hung round with an immense quantity of gilt paper, tinsel and flowers, the court crowded with coloured plaster statues, as big or bigger than life, representing Sepoys, horse and foot, drawn up in the act of presenting arms, and a figure in their front on an

elephant, to represent the Governor-General, also in the act of taking off his cocked hat. In the middle of the court, and before the gate of the sanctuary, was a very large temporary pavilion, I should suppose sixty feet long by about twenty, composed of coarse white cotton, but glittering with ribands, gilding, tinsel, and flounces of various coloured silks, with slender gilded pillars, overshadowing a vast *plateau*, for it had exactly this appearance, of plaster filled with painted gods and goddesses, Kali and all her family, with all their respective heads and arms, while the whole building rang with the clamour, tinkling, and strumming of gongs, bells, and stringed instruments. Yet there were not many worshippers even then. These pagodas are often endowed with lands as well as rent-charges on lands, though some of them depend entirely on voluntary contributions. Most of the larger ones are kept externally very neat, and diligently whitewashed, while the Grecian ornaments of which I have spoken, and which must have been borrowed from the Europeans, are so many evidences of the repairs bestowed on them occasionally and of late years.

During my stay at Barrackpoor, I witnessed one custom of the Hindoos which I could not comprehend; a jack-all was caught in a trap and killed, and as soon as the breath was out of his body, all the servants of that religion ran forward to wash their hands in his blood,—which I am told they always do whenever they kill, or witness the death of, a wild beast.

The Indian squirrel, which abounds in the park, is smaller than ours, more of an ash-colour, with two black and white streaks down its back; and not only lives in trees, but in the thatch of houses. I saw several playing about the eaves of my bungalow, and at first mistook them for rats, which at a small distance they much resemble.

December 28.—I went this morning to return a visit which I had received from Colonel Krefting, the Danish Governor of Serampoor, a fine old veteran, who has been above forty years resident in Bengal, yet still preserves the

apparently robust health and florid old age of Norway, of which country he is a native. With him I found his secretary, an officer of the name of Mansback, also a Norwegian, whose mother I had met with many years back, at the house of Mr. Rosencrantz, at Hafs-lan, on the Falls of the Glommer. My conversation with them renewed some very agreeable recollections on both sides, and I was glad to hear of the health of some of those who had formerly shown me kindness, while they were much interested by my account of the Knudtzons, of Penrhyn's travels in the province of Bergen, and of the glacier which he had discovered.

Serampoor is a handsome place, kept beautifully clean, and looking more like an European town than Calcutta, or any of its neighbouring cantonments. The guard, which was turned out to receive me, consisted of perhaps a dozen Sepoys in the red Danish uniform; they were extremely clean and soldier-like looking men, and the appearance of the place flourishing. During the long war in which England was engaged, and so long as the Danes remained neutral, it was really so, and a vast deal of commerce was carried on under the benefit of its flag. At the time of the Copenhagen rupture, Lord Minto sent two or three companies of infantry to take possession of it. Since that period the settlement has grievously declined, and so much the faster, because no stipulation was made by the Danish Government at home at the time of the general pacification for the continuance of a grant of two hundred chests of opium yearly, which, previous to the rupture, the English East India Company were accustomed to furnish to the Danish Government of Serampoor at the cost price, thereby admitting them to a share in the benefits of this important monopoly. This grant has been earnestly requested since by Colonel Krefting, but hitherto without success, and in consequence he complains that the revenues of the settlement do not meet its current expenses, and that the Government have been utterly unable to relieve the sufferers by the late inundation. Of Colonel

Krefting everybody speaks highly; and I have found great sympathy expressed in his misfortunes and those of his colony. I fear, however, that Government will not be able to grant his petition without authority from England, though they show him in other respects what kindness and favour they can.

Many persons of different nations, who like a cheaper residence than Calcutta, take houses here. One of these was the abode of Mr. Brown, many years senior Presidency Chaplain, and the friend of Henry Martyn. A deserted pagoda near it, once the temporary residence of the latter, attracted my attention. It was in Mr. Brown's time fitted up with books, and a bed for occasional visitors at his house, but it is now quite empty and ruinous.

The administration of Serampoor, as it respects the police, is extremely good, and does much credit to Colonel Krefting, and his Danish magistrates. During the late inundation he was called on for more vigorous measures than usual, since a numerous band of "De-coits," or river-pirates, trusting to the general confusion and apparently defenceless state of the place, attacked his little kingdom, and began to burn and pillage with all the horrors which attend such inroads in this country. The Colonel took the field at the head of his dozen sepoy, his silver-sticks, policemen, and sundry volunteers, to the amount of perhaps thirty, killed some of the ruffians, and took several prisoners,—whom he hanged next morning without deigning to ask aid from his powerful neighbours at Barrack-poor.

From Serampoor I proceeded to Chandernagore, where I had also to return a visit to Monsieur Pelissier, the French Governor. It is, I think, a smaller town than the former, and with a less striking appearance from the river; the houses are mostly small, and the streets presented a remarkable picture of solitude and desertion. I saw no boats loading or unloading at the quay, no porters with burdens in the streets, no carts, no market-people, and in fact only a small native bazaar, and

a few dismal-looking European shops. In the streets I met two or three Europeans smoking cigars, and apparently with little to do, having almost all the characteristic features and appearance of Frenchmen.

I had half an hour's very agreeable conversation with the Governor, and promise myself much pleasure from his acquaintance. He is only just arrived at this place from Pondicherry, where he had passed several years, and of which he seems very fond: of the climate of Bengal he complains as being too hot and too cold, and says that his family have suffered in their healths during their residence here.

I had about this time an opportunity of observing a custom which prevails with different classes of Hindoos and Mussulmans, of making presents to their masters or superiors at Christmas, of fruit, game, fish, pastry, and sweetmeats. Some gifts of this sort came to us from different baboos of our acquaintance. Our head servants sent presents of plum-cakes, fish, and fruit; and even our poor bearers came in a body, their faces decorated with an extra quantity of raddle, chalk, and tin-foil, to beg my acceptance of a basket of plantains and oranges. The outer gates of most of the houses in Calcutta and Chowringhee are decorated with garlands of flowers, tinsel, and gilt-paper. These Christmas-boxes are said to be an ancient custom here, and I could almost fancy that our name of box for this particular kind of present, the derivation of which is not very easy to trace in the European languages, is a corruption of "buckshish," a gift or gratuity, in Turkish, Persian, and Hindoostanee. There have been undoubtedly more words brought into our language from the East than I used to suspect. "Cash," which here means small money, is one of these; but of the process of such transplantation I can form no conjecture.

January 1, 1824.—I this day preached at the Cathedral, it being an old and good custom in India always to begin the year with the solemn observation of the day of the Circumcision; there was a good congregation. I received

to-day an explanation of some very singular images, which stand in different streets of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, representing a female figure, or at least the figure of a youth, rudely carved in wood and painted, standing erect on the bank of a disproportionately little elephant, and with a monstrous sort of spire or shrine on his head. They are used, it appears, as a sort of hatchment, being erected on the death of wealthy Hindoos, near their dwelling-houses, but, differing in this respect from hatchments, are generally suffered to remain till they fall in pieces. These are of wood. Most of the Hindoo idols are of clay, and very much resemble in composition, colouring, and execution, though of course not in form, the more paltry sort of images which are carried about in England for sale by the Lago di Como people. At certain times of the year, great numbers of these are, in fact, hawked about the streets of Calcutta in the same manner, on men's heads. This is before they have been consecrated, which takes place on their being solemnly washed in the Ganges by a Brahmin pundit. Till this happens they possess no sacred character, and are frequently given as toys to children, and used as ornaments of rooms, which when hallowed they could not be, without giving great offence to every Hindoo who saw them thus employed. I thought it remarkable that though most of the male deities are represented of a deep brown colour, like the natives of the country, the females are usually no less red and white than our porcelain beauties as exhibited in England. But it is evident from the expressions of most of the Indians themselves, from the style of their amatory poetry, and other circumstances, that they consider fairness as a part of beauty, and a proof of noble blood. They do not like to be called black, and though the Abyssinians, who are sometimes met with in the country, are very little darker than they themselves are, their jest-books are full of taunts on the charcoal complexion of the "Hubshee." Much of this has probably arisen from their having been so long subjected to the Moguls, and

other conquerors originally from more northern climates, and who continued to keep up the comparative fairness of their stock by frequent importation of northern beauties. India too has been always, and long before the Europeans came hither, a favourite theatre for adventurers from Persia, Greece, Tartary, Turkey, and Arabia, all white men, and all in their turn possessing themselves of wealth and power. These circumstances must have greatly contributed to make a fair complexion fashionable. It is remarkable, however, to observe how surely all these classes of men in a few generations, even without any intermarriage with the Hindoos, assume the deep olive tint, little less dark than a negro, which seems natural to the climate. The Portuguese natives form unions among themselves alone, or if they can, with Europeans. Yet the Portuguese have, during a three hundred years' residence in India, become as black as Caffres. Surely this goes far to disprove the assertion, which is sometimes made, that climate alone is insufficient to account for the difference between the negro and the European. It is true, that in the negro are other peculiarities which the Indian has not, and to which the Portuguese colonist shows no symptom of approximation, and which undoubtedly do not appear to follow so naturally from the climate, as that swarthiness of complexion which is the sole distinction between the Hindoo and the European. But if heat produces one change, other peculiarities of climate may produce other and additional changes, and when such peculiarities have three or four thousand years to operate in, it is not easy to fix any limits to their power. I am inclined, after all, to suspect that our European vanity leads us astray in supposing that our own is the primitive complexion, which I should rather suppose was that of the Indian, half-way between the two extremes, and perhaps the most agreeable to the eye and instinct of the majority of the human race. A colder climate, and a constant use of clothes, may have blanched the skin as effectually as a

burning sun and nakedness may have tanned it, and I am encouraged in this hypothesis by observing that of animals the natural colours are generally dusky and uniform, while whiteness and a variety of tint almost invariably follow domestication, shelter from the elements, and a mixed and unnatural diet. Thus while hardship, additional exposure, a greater degree of heat, and other circumstances with which we are unacquainted, may have deteriorated the Hindoo into a negro, opposite causes may have changed him into the progressively lighter tints of the Chinese, the Persian, the Turk, the Russian, and the Englishman.

My wife and little girl having returned from their cruise to the Sandheads much benefited by the change of air, we went on the 7th of January, 1824, to Titty-ghur, a convenient and comfortable house, in a beautiful situation, most kindly lent to us for a couple of months by Dr. Wallich. It is on the banks of the river, about two miles from Barrackpoor, and in the middle of the Company's experimental botanic garden. The weather is now very delightful, and we are comparatively free from the dense fogs which at this season beset Calcutta and Chowringhee.

On the 10th of January there was a display of fire-works at Serampoor, in honour of the patron saint at the Roman Catholic chapel, which we saw to great advantage from our bholiah, stationed opposite to it on the river. They were, we were told, procured from China by one of the Roman Catholic Portuguese merchants. I thought them very good, and the forms of most of them were new to me. One was a striking imitation of the foliage of a tuft of bamboos, being, in fact, really a cluster of long and slender bamboos, with fire-works affixed to them, which very beautifully gave the effect of the graceful curve of that elegant plant, and even the form of its leaves. There was also another, a sort of Roman candle, which sent up flames, in shape and action, as well as the noise they emitted, not unlike large pigeons, and therefore called Chinese doves. A

great crowd of boats and people were on the river to see these fire-works, which are a very popular exhibition with the lower orders.

Returning one day from Calcutta, I passed by two funeral piles, the one preparing for a single person, the other nearly consumed, on which a suttee had just taken place. For this latter purpose a stage had been constructed of bamboos about eighteen inches or two feet above the ground, on which the dead body had been laid, and *under* which, as my native servants told me, the unhappy widow had been stretched out, surrounded with combustibles. Only a heap of glowing embers was now seen here, besides two long bamboos, which seemed intended to keep down any struggles which nature might force from her. On the stage was what seemed a large bundle of coarse cotton cloth, smoking, and partially blackened, emitting a very offensive smell. This my servants said was the husband's body. The woman they expressly affirmed had been laid *below* it, and ghee poured over her to hasten her end, and they also said the bamboos had been laid *across* her. I notice these particulars, because they differ from the account of a similar and recent ceremony, given by the Baptist Missionaries, in which it is said that the widow is laid by the side of her husband, on the platform, with her arm embracing him, and her face turned to him. Here I asked repeatedly, and received a different account. Yet the missionaries have had every possible opportunity of learning, if not of actually witnessing, all the particulars of the ceremony which they describe. Perhaps these particulars vary in different instances. At all events it is a proof how hard it is to gain, in this country, accurate information as to facts which seem most obvious to the senses. I felt very sick at heart, and regretted I had not been half an hour sooner, though probably my attempts at persuasion would have had no chance of success. I would at least have tried to reconcile her to life. There were perhaps twenty or thirty people present, with about the same degree of interest, though certainly not

the same merriment, as would have been called forth by a bonfire in England. I saw no weeping, and heard no lamentations. But when the boat drew near a sort of shout was raised, I believe in honour of Brahma, which was met by a similar outcry from my boatmen.

January 15.—Dr. Marshman, the Baptist Missionary from Serampoor, dined with me. Dr. Carey is too lame to go out. The talents and learning of these good men are so well known in Europe, that I need hardly say that, important as are the points on which we differ, I sincerely admire and respect them, and desire their acquaintance. In speaking of the suttee of yesterday, Dr. Marshman said that these horrors are of more frequent occurrence within these few last years than when he first knew Bengal; an increase which he imputes to the increasing luxury of the higher and middling classes, and to their expensive imitation of European habits, which make many families needy, and anxious to get rid, by any means, of the necessity of supporting their mothers, or the widows of their relations. Another frequent cause is, he thinks, the jealousy of old men, who, having married young wives, still cling to their exclusive possession even in death, and leave injunctions either with their wives themselves to make the offering, or with their heirs to urge them to it. He is strongly of opinion that the practice might be forbidden in Bengal, where it is of most frequent occurrence, without exciting any serious murmurs. The women, he is convinced, would all be loud in their praises of such a measure, and even of the men, so few would have an immediate interest in burning their wives, mothers, or sisters-in-law, that they would set themselves against what those who had most influence with them would be so much interested in having established. The Brahmins, he says, have no longer the power and popularity which they had when he first remembers India, and among the laity many powerful and wealthy persons agree, and publicly express their agreement, with Rammohun Roy, in reprobating the custom, which is now

well known to be not commanded by any of the Hindoo sacred books, though some of them speak of it as a meritorious sacrifice. A similar opinion to that of Dr. Marshman I have heard expressed by the senior judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut. Others, however, of the members of the Government think differently. They conceive that the likeliest method to make the custom more popular than it is, would be to forbid and make it a point of honour with the natives; that at present no woman is supposed to be burnt without her own wish certified to the magistrate; that there are other and less public ways to die (on that account more liable to abuse than the suttees) which might be resorted to if this were forbidden; and that if we desire to convert the Hindoos, we should above all things be careful to keep Government entirely out of sight in all the means which we employ, and to be even, if possible, over scrupulous in not meddling with, or impeding those customs which, however horrid, are become sacred in their estimation, and are only to be destroyed by convincing and changing the popular mind. When Christian schools have become universal the suttee will fall of itself. But to forbid it by any legislative enactment would, in their opinion, only give currency to the notion that we mean to impose Christianity on them by force, and retard its progress to an almost indefinite period.

January 21.—We had this morning an opportunity of hearing the remarkable phenomenon, not uncommon in the Ganges, called the Bore, or rush of the spring-tide up the river, with a great elevation of wave, and tremendous noise and rapidity. The sound resembled that of a steam-boat, but was infinitely louder; we were awakened by it, but before I could get out it had either passed, or else, as it always runs close to one or other of the sides of the river, the high crumbling bank prevented my seeing it. Nothing at least was visible but the water shining beautifully bright under a full moon in a cloudless sky, though the noise continued to be audible for some time longer.

I went this day to Calcutta, to attend a meeting of the Church Missionary Society, and returned, after an early dinner, with Archdeacon Corrie.

A very beautiful civet cat was caught this morning in one of the walks of the garden, and was overpowered by a number of men and dogs, after a severe chase from one tree to the other, and a gallant resistance. It is a very pretty animal, like a cat in all respects except its size, which nearly equals that of a small fox, and its long pointed nose. The common wild cat often occurs in this neighbourhood, and the civet is not unfrequent. During the fruit season the garden is sadly pillaged by swarms of monkeys, which then make their appearance from the jungles, as well as by the huge bats, which entirely live on fruits and vegetables, their vampire habits, as I have before observed, being utterly fabulous. Though they then abound, not one is now to be seen: they probably sleep during the cool weather.

There is another powder-mill in this neighbourhood besides those near Garden Reach, and half-way between this place and Calcutta. The immense quantities of salt-petre found in Bengal account for their frequency. The tendency of the soil to produce it is very annoying to the builders and the occupants of houses. It can scarcely be prevented from encroaching in a few years on the walls and floors of all lower rooms, so as to render them unwholesome, and eventually uninhabitable. Half the houses in Calcutta are in this predicament, and their ground-floors useless. Cellars are unknown in this part of India.

January 25.—On my return from Calcutta this morning, where I went to preach at the cathedral, I found that I had a fresh reason for thankfulness to God in my wife's safety, and the birth of a fine and promising little girl, to the exceeding delight of our dear Emily, who rejoices in her new plaything, kissing her little sister over and over again. God grant that they may both grow up in mutual love and equal virtue!

February 2.—I went to Calcutta for a Confirmation, which I held the next

day in the cathedral; the number of persons who attended were two hundred and thirty-six,—a good many more than were expected, as barely two years have elapsed since the last performance of the ceremony by Bishop Middleton.

Most of them were half-castes; but there were, however, several officers, and from twenty to thirty European soldiers, and three grown-up women of the upper ranks. They were apparently very seriously impressed with the ceremony, which to me, I will own, was almost overpowering. God Almighty grant his indulgence to me, and his blessing on those for whom I then prayed, for Jesus Christ's sake!

February 5.—I returned to Tittyghur. I had a curious visit a few days ago from a person who previously announced himself by letter as the Rev. Jacob Mecazenas, lately arrived from Rome, and anxious to wait upon me. I asked him to dinner two days after, but to my dismay, about ten o'clock on the morning of the appointed day, instead of the smooth well-spoken Jesuit I had made up my mind to expect, I heard a thundering voice in the portico, and was greeted by a tall stout ecclesiastic with a venerable beard, a long black cassock, a calotte, and a triangular hat, who announced himself as Father Mecazenas of the Dominican order, and came to pass the day with me! I found he was a native of Teflis, but brought up in one of the Roman Catholic Armenian convents established in Asia, and that he had passed his later years at Rome. He spoke wretched Italian, a very little French, no English or Hindoostanee, and scarcely more than a few words of Latin. I had an engagement at the Government House during a part of the morning, which I pleaded, and hunted about to find if I had any books which could enable the poor man to pass his time rather less irksomely in my absence, but I found that the few Latin books which I had unpacked were in Calcutta, that I had no Italian of any kind, and that the only French books which I could get at were the tragedies of Voltaire, a harmless work certainly, but bearing so formidable a name, that I doubted

whether, even if he could, he would read them. I was not mistaken, the name was enough for him, and though he made no objection in my presence, I was told that no sooner was my back turned than, with a deep groan, he laid them down, and desired a servant to take them away. Accordingly he passed the greater part of the morning in walking up and down the room, and looking out at the boats on the Hooghly. I pitied the poor man, and when I had finished my necessary business, on my return renewed my conversation with him, which got on better than I at first expected. I asked him some questions about Georgia and Armenia, but the most which I got was a list of the different tribes of Caucasus, a specimen of the Georgian vocabulary for the most common articles, and the Georgian alphabet, which he wrote out for me, and which I was surprised to find differ very materially from the Slavonic, the Armenian, and every other with which I am acquainted. At last dinner came to his relief as well as mine, and he soon began to display the appetite of a hardy mountaineer. I have seldom seen any one make such quick dispatch with whatever was put on his plate, and he made a no less good use of the three French words with which he seemed most familiar, "*à votre santé!*" tossing down one bumper of wine after another, laughing all the time with the voice of a lion, till I began to fear some exhibition would follow, not very creditable either to the Church of Rome or to the table of a Protestant Bishop. He was, however, too strong to be affected by what he drank, except that it a little increased his fluency and noisy hilarity; and as soon as the cloth was fairly off the table I thought it high time to call for coffee. I had been all this time expecting to be asked to subscribe to something or other, since, the dinner always excepted, I could not perceive why else the good man should have shown so much anxiety for my acquaintance; and accordingly at length he rose, brought out an immense paper book, and after a short complimentary speech, solicited my patronage to a fund he was employed in collecting, to repair the

temple of Fortuna Virilis, in Rome, which was, he said, appropriated as a hospital and place of instruction for Armenian and other youths, and pilgrims, but had been grievously injured by certain excavations which the French made while in Rome, in order to examine the nature of its substruction and foundations. His paper was to the same effect, but was written in English, and evidently the composition of some of the Calcutta native writers. He then talked of credentials from Rome; but though I asked for them, both in Latin and Italian, he produced none, but evaded the question. However, had he produced them, he would not have been at all more likely to gain his object with me, since I neither quite believed the story of the French having committed an outrage at variance with their general conduct, nor did I conceive myself called on to build up churches for the members of a different communion in Rome, when all which I can do is likely to fall so far short of the claims of charity in India. If the poor man, who was very pressing, had asked me for himself, and in the capacity which I suspect really belonged to him, of a mendicant, he would have fared better. As it was I was unrelenting, though civil; and we parted, with at least the satisfaction on my part, that I had given him a good dinner.

February 7.—I went down to Calcutta this morning, to attend a "durbār," or native levee of the Governor's, which all the principal native residents in Calcutta were expected to attend, as well as the vakeels from several Indian princes. I found on my arrival the levee had begun, and that Lord Amherst, attended by his aides-de-camp and Persian secretary, had already walked down one side, where the persons of most rank, and who were to receive "*khelâts*," or honorary dresses, were stationed. I therefore missed this ceremony, but joined him and walked round those to whom he had not yet spoken, comprising some persons of considerable rank and wealth, and some learned men, travellers from different eastern countries, who each in turn addressed his compliments, or petitions,

or complaints to the Governor. There were several whom we thus passed who spoke English not only fluently but gracefully. Among these were Baboo Ramchunder Roy and his four brothers, all fine, tall, stout young men, the eldest of whom is about to build one of Mr. Shakespear's rope bridges over the Camannasa.

After Lord Amherst had completed the circle he stood on the lower step of the throne, and the visitors advanced one by one to take leave. First came a young Raja of the Rajpootana district, who had received that day the investiture of his father's territories, in a splendid brocade khelât and turban; he was a little, pale, shy-looking boy of twelve years old. Lord Amherst, in addition to these splendid robes, placed a large diamond aigrette in his turban, tied a string of valuable pearls round his neck, then gave him a small silver bottle of attar of roses, and a lump of pawn, or betel, wrapped up in a plantain leaf. Next came forwards the "vakeel," or envoy of the Maharaja Sindia, also a boy, not above sixteen, but smart, self-possessed, and dandy-looking. His khelât and presents were a little, and but a little, less splendid than those of his precursor. Then followed Oude, Nagpoor, Nepaul, all represented by their vakeels, and each in turn honoured by similar, though less splendid, marks of attention. The next was a Persian Khân, a fine military-looking man, rather corpulent, and of a complexion not differing from that of a Turk, or other southern Europeans,

with a magnificent black beard, and a very pleasing and animated address. A vakeel from Sind succeeded, with a high red cap, and was followed by an Arab, handsomely dressed, and as fair nearly, though not so good-looking, as the Persian. These were all distinguished, and received each some mark of favour. Those who followed had only a little attar poured on their handkerchiefs, and some pawn. On the whole it was an interesting and striking sight, though less magnificent than I had expected, and less so, I think, than the levee of an European monarch. The sameness of the greater part of the dresses (white muslin) was not sufficiently relieved by the splendour of the few khelâts; and even these, which were of gold and silver brocade, were in a great measure eclipsed by the scarlet and blue uniforms, gold lace, and feathers, of the English. One of the most striking figures was the Governor-General's native aide-de-camp, a tall, strong-built, and remarkably handsome man, in the flower of his age, and of a countenance at once kind and bold. His dress was a very rich hussar uniform, and he advanced last of the circle, with the usual military salute; then, instead of the offering of money which each of the rest made, he bared a small part of the blade of his sabre, and held it out to the Governor. The attar he received, not on his handkerchief, but on his white cotton gloves. I had on former occasions noticed this soldier from his height, striking appearance, and rich uniform. He is a very respectable man, and reckoned a good officer.

CHAPTER IV.

CALCUTTA.

Rope Bridges—Wedding Procession—Hindoo Festival—Cholera Morbus—Fruits—
Ordination of Christian David.

IN passing Cossipoor, on my return to Tittyghur, I called on Mr. C. Shakespear, and looked at his rope bridges, which are likely to be most useful, in this country at least, if not in Europe. Their principle differs from that of chain bridges, in the centre being a little elevated, and in their needing no abutments. It is in fact an application of a ship's standing rigging to a new purpose, and it is not even necessary that there should be any foundation at all, as the whole may be made to rest on flat timbers, and, with the complete apparatus of cordage, iron, and bamboos, may be taken to pieces and set up again in a few hours, and removed from place to place by the aid of a few camels and elephants. One of these over a torrent near Benares, of 160 feet span, stood a severe test during last year's inundation, when, if ever, the cordage might have been expected to suffer from the rain, and when a vast crowd of neighbouring villagers took refuge on it as the only safe place in the neighbourhood, and indeed almost the only object which continued to hold itself above the water. He has now finished another bridge for the Caramnasa, at the expense of Ramchunder Narain, whom I met at the durbar, and who may expect to reap much popularity with his countrymen from such a public benefit, not only as facilitating intercourse, but as freeing their religious pilgrims from a great anxiety. The name of the river in question means "the destroyer of good works," from the circumstance of an ancient devotee, whose penances, like those of Kehama, had exalted him to Indra's heaven, having

been precipitated headlong by Siva, till his sacrifices broke his fall half way, directly over the stream in question. He now hangs in the air, head downwards, and his saliva flows into, and pollutes the whole water in such a manner, that any person who bathes in, or even touches it, loses the merit of all his antecedent penances, alms, and other acts of piety, reserving, however, the full benefit of his misdeeds of whatever description. All Brahmins who are obliged to pass it (and it lies in the way to some of the most illustrious places of pilgrimage) are in the greatest terror. They are sometimes carried on men's shoulders, sometimes ferried over; but in either case, if they are in the least splashed or wetted, it amounts almost to a matter of damnation, without hope or chance of pardon. The people on the bank who act as watermen, are not influenced by these superstitions; but to Indians in general Mr. Shakespear's bridge will be most valuable. The span of this bridge, which is strong enough to bear a field-piece, is 320 feet in length, its breadth 8: its flooring composed of stout bamboos, connected by coir-rope, with a net-work hand-rail on either side, also of coir, as are the shrouds and principal tackling which support the whole. The appearance of the bridge is light and graceful, and its motion on passing over is not sufficient to be either dangerous or alarming.

My wife tells me a curious circumstance which has occurred in my absence, illustrative of the timid character which seems to belong to the Bengalees. The coachman had asked leave to go

with me to Calcutta; and as the carriage-horses were consequently idle, she ordered the saees to lead them out for exercise. Some demur took place, and on asking the reason, she was actually told that they were afraid! She insisted, however, and the horses, when they appeared, were quiet as lambs. The men at first, out of pure precaution, had buckled up their heads so tight, that they could scarcely breathe, and when ordered to unloose them, held them as if they had tygers in a leash; yet the horses, as I have before observed, were quiet, and these are men who have been all their lives in the stable! I have, indeed, understood from many quarters, that the Bengalees are regarded as the greatest cowards in India; and that partly owing to this reputation, and partly to their inferior size, the Sepoy regiments are always recruited from Bahar and the upper provinces. Yet that little army with which Lord Clive did such wonders, was raised chiefly from Bengal. So much are all men the creatures of circumstance and training.

I had frequently heard of the admiration which the Indians feel for corpulency, but no instance had occurred within my knowledge. I am assured, however, that a young man, whose height and bulk I had noticed to-day at the durbar, takes a large draught of ghee every morning, in order to contribute to the bulk of which he is vain, and that very frequently the natives contract liver-complaints by their anxiety to fatten themselves.

March 1.—We bade adieu to Tittyghur with regret, but just as we were on the point of setting out, a severe storm of thunder, rain, and wind came on, which detained us about an hour, being the first regular north-wester which we had seen. It fairly lashed the river into high waves, and produced a delightful effect on the air, laying the dust, and refreshing vegetation, as if by magic. My wife and children went by water, and I took our sircar with me in the carriage. He is a shrewd fellow, well acquainted with the country, and possessed of the sort of information which

is likely to interest travellers. His account of the tenure of lands very closely corresponds with what I had previously heard from others. The "zemindars," or landholders, let their lands, sometimes in large divisions, to tenants corresponding to the Scotch tacksmen, who underlet them again, and occasionally, which generally occurs near Calcutta, to the cottagers and cultivators immediately, and in very minute portions. The lands are sometimes on lease for a good many years, sometimes from year to year only. The usual rent for rice-land in Bengal, at least in this part of it, is two rupees a begah, or about 12s. or 15s. an acre; for orchards five rupees, or about 1*l.* 12s. for the acre. All rents are paid in money, and the principle of "metaire," which I explained to him, is unknown. The tenant in most of the villages is at the expense of the buildings, but these are so cheap and frail, as probably to cost less than thatching a stack in England, and can hardly be said to last longer. Land in this neighbourhood sells at about fifty rupees the begah, but did not fetch near so much before the roads were opened, which has been a measure of exceeding utility to the landholders here. The Baboo pointed out two or three large houses which we passed, as the residences of wealthy zemindars, but who had also still more splendid houses in Calcutta. One of these, who was dignified by Lord Wellesley with the title of raja, has a really fine villa, surrounded with a sort of park, the borders of which are planted with a handsome myrtle-leaved tree, about as large as an English horse-chesnut, which is here very common, but which he has defaced by clipping each individual tree into a regular conical shape. This the Baboo pointed out as a piece of extreme neatness and elegance. Another gateway on the left hand, in a very picturesque wood of cocoa-trees and bamboos, was guarded by an immense wooden idol of a young man, having only sandals and a sash painted black, the rest being flesh-colour. It must have been, I should think, 30 feet high. The sircar said, smiling, "That great idol stands sentry

to all the gods and goddesses within." It was, in fact, the entrance to the pagoda at Kaida, which I had previously seen from the river. A little further, by the road-side, was a huge tower-like structure, about 16 feet high, supported on eight or ten massive but low wheels, of wood painted red, and adorned with a good deal of clumsy carving. "That," he said, again smiling, "is our god's carriage; we keep it on the main road, because it is too heavy for the lanes of the neighbouring village. It is a fine sight to see the people from all the neighbourhood come together to draw it, when the statue is put in on solemn days." I asked what god it belonged to, and was answered "Brahma." He added, it required between two and three hundred people to move it, which I do not believe, though I can easily suppose that number may usually assist. I asked if self-immolation ever took place here as at Juggernaut, but he assured me "never that he had heard of." As we passed through Chitpoor, he showed me the house of the "Nawâb of Chitpoor." Of this potentate I had not heard before. He is now called by Europeans the Nawâb of Moorshe-dabad, where he resides, and is, it seems, the descendant of the Mohammedan nobleman who was the lord of the district before our conquest, and still retains a considerable appanage of lands and pensions, to the amount of about 100,000 S. rupees monthly, with an honorary guard of Sepoys, and many of the exteriors of royalty.

While he resided in his house at Chitpoor he was always received by the Governor on state days at the head of the stairs, and conducted, after an embrace, to a sort of throne at the upper end of the room, and when he took his leave, he was distinguished by a salute from the fort, and turning out the guard. The Baboo told me all this, and did not fail to point out the different measure which the Mussulmans in India had received from that they had given to his countrymen. "When they conquered us, they cut off the heads of all our Rajas whom they could catch. When the English conquered them,

they gave them lands and pensions!" I do not exactly know whether he said this by way of compliment or no. I have reason to believe that the sentiment is very common among the Hindoos, and I doubt even, whether they would or would not have been better pleased had we, in such cases, been less lenient and liberal. Nevertheless it is evident that in thus keeping up, even at a considerable expense, these monuments of the Mohammedan power, our nation has acted wisely as well as generously. It is desirable that the Hindoos should always be reminded that we did not conquer them, but found them conquered, that their previous rulers were as much strangers to their blood and to their religion as we are, and that they were notoriously far more oppressive masters than we have ever shown ourselves.

In passing through the village of Chitpoor, I was surprised to see a jack-all run across the street, though it was still broad day, and there was the usual crowd of market-people and passengers. A man followed him laughing, and shaking his apron to frighten him, which the animal, however, to all appearance scarcely heeded. Some carrion had probably attracted him, but it is seldom that they venture to show themselves so early and in such public places. A little further we passed a sort of Sepoy, dressed very splendidly in the native style, with a beautiful Persian gun and crooked hanjar, but no bayonet. My companion pointed him out with much glee, as one of the attendants of Baboo Budinâth Roy,* who lives in this neighbourhood, and has a menagerie of animals and birds only inferior to that at Barrackpoor. This privilege of being attended by armed men is one greatly coveted by the wealthy natives of India, but only conceded to the highest ranks. Among the Europeans

* He was subsequently made Raja Bahadur by Lord Amherst, and to his munificent donation of 20,000 S. rupees, is the erection of the Central School for the education of native females in Calcutta mainly to be attributed. Other charitable institutions are likewise largely indebted to his liberality.—Ed.

no person now claims it in Calcutta, save the chief-justice and the commander-in-chief, each of whom is attended in public, besides his silver sticks, by four or five *spears*, very elegantly worked, the poles of silver, and the blades generally gilt, with a place for the hand covered with crimson velvet, and a fringe of the same colour where the staff and the blade join. The natives, however, like to have swords and bucklers, or muskets carried before them, and some have lately ventured to mount sentries at their gates, equipped very nearly like the regular troops in the pay of government. One of these the Baboo soon afterwards pointed out to me, at the great house of the Mullich family, near the entrance of Calcutta. I had afterwards, however, reason to know that this was without permission, and that Rooplal Mullich got severely censured for it by the Persian secretary, whose functions extend to the regulation of precedence among the natives throughout India, and, indeed, to many of the duties of our Heralds' College.

March 5, Friday.—This evening I preached the first of a course of Lent lectures on the Sermon on the Mount. Unfortunately I have all these to write *de novo*, my books and papers being as yet inaccessible, and I have very little time for either reading or composition. I must, however, do my best. The church was extremely well attended, far indeed beyond my expectations. In our way there we passed a marriage procession. The sort of palanquin in which the bridegroom was carried was according to the old Indian fashion, much handsomer than that now in use, but probably not so convenient. The vehicle of the bride was a common mehannah palanquin, closed up, and looking like a coffin. The number of torches carried before and on every side of the bridegroom was a practical illustration of the glorious simile of the rising sun in the Psalms. By the way, ought not the word *מִטְחָן*. (Canticles iii. 7.)

which our translators render "bed," to be "litter," or "palanquin?" It ap-

pears from what goes before, that Solomon had made a *journey* in it,—“coming up from the wilderness like pillars of smoke,” with all the dust of his bearers round him, and escorted by seventy warriors during his nightly journey. Nor are four-post bedsteads used (see ver. 9) in any part of the East. “*Pe-reant qui nostra ante nos!*” I find the same thought in Harmer, though in the midst of so much nonsense, that I am almost ashamed of my own conjecture. I believe it, however, to be right, though it has got into bad company.

March 8.—I had an interesting visit this morning from Rhadacant Deb, the son of a man of large fortune, and some rank and consequence in Calcutta, whose carriage, silver sticks, and attendants were altogether the smartest I had yet seen in India. He is a young man of pleasing countenance and manners, speaks English well, and has read many of our popular authors, particularly historical and geographical. He lives a good deal with Europeans, and has been very laudably active and liberal in forwarding, both by money and exertions, the education of his countrymen. He is secretary, gratuitously, to the Calcutta School Society, and has himself published some elementary works in Bengalee. With all this, he is believed to be a great bigot in the religion of his country's gods,—one of the few sincere ones, it is said, among the present race of wealthy Baboos. When the meeting was held by the Hindoo gentlemen of Calcutta, to vote an address of thanks to Lord Hastings on his leaving Bengal, Rhadacant Deb proposed as an amendment that Lord Hastings should be particularly thanked for “the protection and encouragement which he had afforded to the ancient and orthodox practice of widows burning themselves with their husbands' bodies,”—a proposal which was seconded by Hurree Mohun Thakoor, another wealthy Baboo. It was lost, however, the cry of the meeting, though all Hindoos, being decidedly against it. But it shows the warmth of Rhadacant Deb's prejudices. With all this I found him a pleasing man, not unwilling to

converse on religious topics, and perhaps even liking to do so from a consciousness that he was a shrewd reasoner, and from anxiety, which he expressed strongly, to vindicate his creed in the estimation of foreigners. He complained that his countrymen had been much misrepresented, that many of their observances were misunderstood, both by Europeans and the vulgar in India; that for instance, the prohibition of particular kinds of food, and the rules of caste, had a spiritual meaning, and were intended to act as constant mementos of the duties of temperance, humanity, abstraction from the world, &c. He admitted the beauty of the Christian morality readily enough, but urged that it did not suit the people of Hindoostan; and that our drinking wine and eating the flesh of so useful and excellent a creature as the cow, would, in India, be not only shocking, but very unwholesome. I said that nobody among us was *required* to eat beef if he did not like it. He, however, shook his head, and said that the vulgar of India *would* eat beef readily enough if they were allowed to do so. He asked me several questions respecting the doctrines of the Church of England, on which I hope I gave him satisfactory information (preferring to remove his prejudices against us, rather than to make any direct attack on his own principles). His greatest curiosity, however, was about the Free-masons, who had lately been going in solemn procession to lay the first stone of the new Hindoo College. "Were they Christians?" "Were they of my Church?" He could not understand that this bond of union was purely civil, convivial, or benevolent, seeing they made so much use of prayer; and was greatly surprised when I said, that in Europe both Christians and Mussulmans belonged to the society; and that of the gentlemen whom he had seen the other day, some went to the cathedral, and some to Dr. Bryce's church. He did not, indeed, understand that between Dr. Bryce and the other chaplains any difference existed; and I had no desire, on finding this, to carry my explanations on this point

further. He asked, at length, "If I was a Mason?" "If I knew their secret?" "If I could guess it?" "If I thought it was any thing wicked or Jacobinical?" I answered, that I was no Mason; and took care to express my conviction that the secret, if there was any, was perfectly harmless; and we parted very good friends, with mutual expressions of anxiety to meet again. Greatly, indeed, should I rejoice, if any thing which I can say should be of service to him.

I have for these few days past been reading the Hindoostanee Pentateuch, with my "Moonshee," or teacher, who has never seen it before, and is highly delighted with its beauty and eloquence, particularly with the account of Paradise, the flood, and the fall of man. "It must have been a delightful place," said he, when reading of Eden and its four rivers. He asked me many, and some very interesting questions, and I began almost to hope that what I had the opportunity of saying to him would, joined to the excellence of the Scriptures themselves, have gradually some effect, when one day he manifested a jealousy of the superiority of our Scriptures over those of his countrymen, and brought me a book, which he assured me greatly resembled the work of Moses, begging me to read it, which I readily promised. It was a translation into English of the "*Supta Sati*," a portion of the "Marcumdeya Purana," and recounts the exploits of a certain goddess, named "Maha-Maya" (Great Delusion), produced by the combined energies of all the deities united, in order to defeat the demons and giants. Some parts of it are not unlike the most inflated descriptions in the Edda; and though a strange rhapsody, it is not devoid of spirit. But it has not the most distant approach to any moral lesson, or to any practical wisdom. The translator is a Brahmin from Madras, now in Calcutta, soliciting subscriptions for the sufferers by famine on the Coromandel coast. He called on me the other day for this purpose; for which also he had contrived to assemble a numerous meeting of wealthy natives,

an event so unusual as to excite much surprise among those Europeans whom I have heard mention it. None of the sums subscribed were very large, but it is a new thing to see a charitable feeling of this kind awakened among them. I felt myself bound to subscribe, if it were only to show them that in such undertakings Christians would gladly co-operate with them, and even entrust their money to their distribution. On talking, however, with one of the most liberal of the subscribers (Vomanundum Thakoor), I found they had not the same confidence in each other which I placed in them. "Ramaswani Pundit," he said, "may be a very good man, but I took care at the meeting that all the money subscribed should be lodged with the house of Palmer and Co., and be distributed at Madras by the English committee there. I do not know the Madras Pundits,—but I know that *Europe gentlemen* have character to lose."

The external meanness of all the shops, depositories, and warehouses in this great city is surprising. The bazars are wretchedness itself, without any approach to those covered walks which are the chief glory of the cities of Turkey, Russia, and Persia, and which, in a climate like this, where both the sun and the rains are intolerable, would be more than any where else desirable. Yet I have read magnificent accounts of the shops and bazars of Calcutta. But they were in the same authors who talk of the picturesque appearance of its "*minarets*," whereas there is absolutely no single minaret in Calcutta; nor, so far as I have seen or heard, in any of its neighbouring towns. Hamilton's book, where this is mentioned, is generally regarded as very correct. How could such a mistake occur in a matter, of all others, the most obvious to the eye? There are many small mosques, indeed, but the Muezzins all stand at the door, or on some small eminence adjoining. Minarets there are none. Perhaps he confounded the church and steeple, and supposed that mosque and minaret were synonymous. But none of the mosques

are seen in any general view of Calcutta, being too small, too low, and built in too obscure corners to be visible, till one is close upon them. They rather, indeed, resemble the tombs of saints, than places for public worship, such as are seen in Turkey, Persia, and the south of Russia. Though diminutive, however, many of them are pretty, and the sort of eastern Gothic style in which they are built is to my eye, though trained up to reverence, the pure English style, extremely pleasing. They consist generally of a parallelogram of about thirty-six feet by twelve, or hardly so much surmounted by three little domes, the apex of each terminated by a flower, with small but richly ornamented pinnacles in the angles. The faces of the building are covered with a good deal of arabesque tracery, and pierced with a small door, of Gothic form, in the centre of one of the longest faces, and a small window, of almost similar form, on each side. Opposite to the door, which opens eastward, and on the western side, is a small recess, which serves to enshrine the Koran, and to direct the eyes of the faithful to the "Kibla" of Mecca. The taste of these little oratories is better than their materials, which are unfortunately, in this part of India, nothing but brick covered with plaster: while they last, however, they are really great ornaments to the lanes and villages where they occur, and might furnish some advantageous hints, I think, to the Christian architects of India.

March 25.—Our friends, Mr. and Miss Stowe, arrived, well and in good spirits, after a very tedious voyage.

April 9.—The Hindoo festival of "Churruck Poojah" commenced to-day, of which, as my wife has given an account in her journal,* I shall only add a few particulars.

* One of the Hindoo festivals in honour of the goddess Kali commenced this evening. Near the river a crowd was assembled round a stage of bamboos, fifteen feet high, composed of two upright and three horizontal poles, which last were placed at about five feet asunder. On this kind of ladder several men mounted, with large bags, out of which they

The crowd on the Meidân was great, and very picturesque. The music con-

threw down various articles to the bystanders, who caught them with great eagerness; but I was too far off to ascertain what they were. They then one by one raised their joined hands over their heads, and threw themselves down with a force which must have proved fatal had not their fall been broken by some means or other. The crowd was too dense to allow of my discovering how this was effected; but it is certain they were unhurt, as they immediately re-ascended, and performed the same ceremonies many times.

On the 10th we were awakened before day-break, by the discordant sounds of native musical instruments, and immediately mounted our horses, and rode to the Meidân. As the morning advanced we could see an immense crowd coming down the Chowringhee road, which was augmented by persons joining it from all the streets and lanes of the city. We entered the crowd, taking the precaution of making the saees walk close by my horse's head, who was frightened at the music, dancing, and glare of torches, accompanied at intervals by the deep sound of the gong.

"The double double peal of the drum was there,
And the startling sound of the trumpet's blare,
And the gong, that seemed with its thunders dread
To stun the living, and waken the dead."

In the midst of this crowd walked and danced the miserable fanatics, torturing themselves in the most horrible manner, and each surrounded by his own particular band of admirers, with music and torches. * * * * * Their countenances denoted suffering, but they evidently gloried in their patient endurance, and probably were supported by the assurance that they were expiating the sins of the past year by suffering voluntarily, and without a groan, this agony.

We had considerable difficulty in making our way through the crowd; but when we had arrived at a short distance from the scene of action, the *coup d'œil* was beautifully picturesque, and forcibly reminded me of an English race-course: flags were flying in every direction,—booths were erected with stages for dancing; the flowing white garments of the natives gave the impression of a numerous assemblage of well-dressed women; and though on a nearer approach their dingy complexions destroyed the illusion, yet the scene lost nothing of its beauty. I never saw in England such a multitude collected together; but this is one of their most famous festivals, and the people had assembled from all the neighbouring villages. The noise of the music continued till about noon, when the devotees retired to heal their wounds. These are said to be dangerous, and occasionally to prove fatal. One of our servants, a "Musal-

sisted chiefly of large double drums, ornamented with plumes of black feathers, like those of a hearse, which rose considerably higher than the heads of the persons who played on them; large crooked trumpets, like the "litui" of the ancients, and small gongs suspended from a bamboo, which rested on the shoulders of two men, the last of whom played on it with a large, thick, and heavy drum-stick, or cudgel. All the persons who walked in the procession, and a large majority of the spectators, had their faces, bodies, and white cotton clothes, daubed all over with vermilion, the latter to a degree which gave them the appearance of being actually dyed rose-colour. They were also crowned with splendid garlands of flowers, with girdles and baldrics of the same. Many trophies and pageants of different kinds were paraded up and down, on stages, drawn by horses, or bullocks. Some were mythological, others were imitations of different European figures, soldiers, ships, &c., and, in particular, there was one very large

chee," or torch-bearer, of the lowest caste (for it seems that none of a higher sort practise these cruelties), ran about the house with a small spear through his tongue, begging money from his fellow-servants; this man appeared stupefied with opium, which I am told is generally taken by these poor wretches, to deaden their feelings; and the parts through which the spears are thrust are said to be previously rubbed for a considerable time, till numbness ensues.

In the evening the Bishop walked to the Boitaconnah, the part of the city where the trees for swinging are erected; they are not suffered to be placed near the European residences. He arrived in time to be a spectator of the whole ceremony. The victim was led, covered with flowers, and without any apparent reluctance, to the foot of the tree: hooks were then thrust through the muscles of his sides, which he endured without shrinking, and a broad bandage was fastened round his waist to prevent the hooks from being torn through by the weight of his body. He was then raised up, and whirled round; at first the motion was slow, but by degrees was increased to considerable rapidity. In a few minutes it ceased; and the bystanders were going to let him down, when he made signs that they should proceed: this resolution was received with great applause by the crowd, and after drinking some water he was again spun round.—*Extract from the Editor's Journal.*

model of a steam-boat. The devotees went about with small spears through their tongues and arms, and still more with hot irons pressed against their sides. All were naked to the waist, covered with flowers, and plentifully raddled with vermilion, while their long, black, wet hair hung down their backs, almost to their loins. From time to time, as they passed us, they laboured to seem to dance, but in general their step was slow, their countenances expressive of resigned and patient suffering, and there was no appearance, that I saw, of anything like frenzy or intoxication. The peaceableness of the multitude was also as remarkable as its number; no troops were visible, except the two sentries, who at all times keep guard on two large tanks in the Meidân; no police except the usual "Chokeydar," or watchman,* at his post near Allypoor Bridge; yet nothing like quarrelling or rioting occurred, and very little scolding. A similar crowd in England would have shown three boxing-matches in half an hour, and in Italy there would have been half-a-dozen assassinations before night. In the evening I walked in another direction, towards the Boitaconnah, and the streets chiefly occupied by natives. Here I saw the "swinging."

April 15.—The weather is now very hot, unusually so, as we are told, owing to the want of that refreshment which north-westerns usually bestow at this time of the year, but my wife and I, by rising at four o'clock, continue to enjoy a delightful ride every morning, though by a little after six the sun is so hot as to drive us in again. We have tried to keep our rooms cool with "tatties," which are mats formed of the kuskos, a peculiar sweet-scented grass, set up before an open window, in the quarter of the prevailing wind, and kept constantly wet by a "bheestie," or water-carrier, on the outside. They

are very pleasant when there is a strong wind, but this year four days out of five we have no wind at all. They have also this inconvenience, that if the bheestie neglects his work for a few minutes (and unless one is always watching him he is continually dropping asleep), a stream of hot air enters, which makes the room and the whole house intolerable. We are, therefore, advised to shut up *all* our windows about eight o'clock every morning, merely agitating the air within by punkahs, and getting rid as much as possible of all outward breezes. Thus we certainly find that the atmosphere within doors is preserved at a much lower temperature than the outward air, *i. e.* at eighty or eighty-five degrees instead of a hundred. Thus confined, it is, however, close and grave-like: but if we go to an open window or door, it is literally like approaching the mouth of one of the blast-furnaces in Colebrook Dale.

April 21.—I entered into my 42nd year. God grant that my future years may be as happy, if he sees good; and better, far better spent than those which are gone by! This day I christened my dear little Harriet. God bless and prosper her with all earthly and heavenly blessings! We had afterwards a great dinner and evening party, at which were present the Governor and Lady Amherst, and nearly all our acquaintance in Calcutta. To the latter I also asked several of the wealthy natives, who were much pleased with the attention, being in fact one which no European of high station in Calcutta had previously paid to any of them. Hurree Mohun Thakoor observing "what an increased interest the presence of females gave to our parties," I reminded him that the introduction of women into society was an ancient Hindoo custom, and only discontinued in consequence of the Mussulman conquest. He assented with a laugh, adding, however, "It is too late for us to go back to the old custom now." Rhadacant Deb, who overheard us, observed more seriously, "It is very true that we did not use to shut up our wo-

* These watchmen are less numerous, and not more efficient, than their brethren in the streets of London. They do not cry the hour, but proclaim their wakefulness by uttering loud howls from time to time. They are armed with pistol, sword, and shield.—Ed.

men till the times of the Mussulmans. But before we could give them the same liberty as the Europeans they must be better educated." I introduced these Baboos to the chief justice, which pleased them much, though perhaps they were still better pleased with my wife herself presenting them pawu, rose-water, and attar of roses before they went, after the native custom.

April 24.—The cholera morbus is making great ravages among the natives. Few Europeans have yet died of it, but to all it is sufficiently near to remind us of our utter dependence on God's mercy, and how near we are in the midst of life to death! Surely there is no country in the world where this recollection ought to be more perpetually present with us than India. All persons experienced in this climate deny that any of the country fevers are contagious. A very blessed circumstance, whatever may be its immediate cause.

June 10.—The time that has intervened since the 24th of April has been spent in a very painful manner. I have had to deplore the death of my excellent friend Sir Christopher Puller, and for a considerable time had also to apprehend that it would soon be followed by those of his widow and son; but it pleased God to bless with success Dr. Abel's medical skill, and they embarked for England in the same vessel, which, six weeks before, had brought them out with a husband and father,—all happiness, and agreeable anticipation! May God protect and comfort them!

During the greater part of last month the weather was intensely hot and very sickly, though a temporary relief was afforded by a few north-westerns, accompanied by heavy showers, thunder, and lightning. These storms were some of them very awful at the time, but as they increased in frequency their fury abated, and recently the weather has not been unlike a close damp rainy autumn in England. The change which these storms produced, both on the animal and vegetable creation, is great. The grass and trees, which

always indeed retained a verdure far beyond what I could have expected, have assumed a richer luxuriance. A fresh crop of flowers has appeared on many of the trees and shrubs; the mangoes and other fruits have increased to treble and quadruple the bulk which the first specimens exhibited; the starved cattle are seen every where greedily devouring the young grass, which, young as it is, is already up to their knees; the gigantic cranes, most of whom disappeared during the drought, have winged their way back from the Sunderbunds (their summer retreats); the white and red paddy birds are fluttering all over the Meidân; and the gardens, fields, and ditches (and the ground-floors of some of the houses too), swarm with the largest and noisiest frogs I ever saw or heard. One of these frogs I saw, about as large, I think, as a good-sized gosling, and very beautiful, being green speckled with black, and almost transparent. Some of the lizards (also green) are very beautiful, but they are less abundant now than they were during the hot season. I have as yet seen in Calcutta neither snake, scorpion, nor centipede, nor any insect more formidable than a long thin starveling sort of hornet, or rather wasp, which has now disappeared. Of the fruits which this season offers, the finest are leeches and mangoes: the first is really very fine, being a sort of plum, with the flavour of a Frontigniac grape. The second is a noble fruit in point of size, being as large as a man's two fists; its flavour is not unlike an apricot, more or less smeared with turpentine. It would not, I think, be popular in England, but in India it may pass for very good, particularly when the terebinthian flavour does not predominate. When not quite ripe it makes an excellent tart.

June 14.—I have had a very interesting and awful ceremony to perform in the ordination of Christian David, a native of Malabar, and pupil of Schwartz, who has been for many years a catechist in the employ of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Ceylon, and now came to me, re-

commended by Archdeacon Twistleton, and qualified with the title of a colonial chaplaincy by Sir Edward Barnes, the governor of the island. David passed an exceeding good examination, and gave much satisfaction to every body by his modesty, good sense, and good manners. He was ordained deacon on Holy Thursday, on which day also I held my visitation, and had a good attendance of clergy, and a numerous audience, notwithstanding the early hour at which it was celebrated. On Trinity Sunday I had the satisfac-

tion (though by me it was felt at the same time, in some degree, a terrible responsibility) of ordaining him priest. God grant that his ministration may be blessed to his own salvation, and that of many others! He was lodged during his residence in Bengal in the Bishop's College, and received much attention and kindness from Lady Amherst and many others. He preached on Thursday evening at the old church, and it was proposed to publish his sermon; but this I thought it best to discourage.

CHAPTER V.

CALCUTTA TO SIBNIBASHI.

Departure—Pinnacle—Bengalee Boat—Hindoo Fanatics—North-Wester—Chinsura—
Ranaghât—Sibnibashi—Ruins—Raja Omichund—Durbar—Decoits.

JUNE 15.—This morning I left Calcutta for my visitation through the upper provinces. This excursion, to which both my wife and I had long looked forwards with delightful anticipations, will now become a dreary banishment to me, as the state of her own health, and the circumstance of her having an infant, are considered as insuperable obstacles to her undertaking such a journey. Accompanied by my domestic chaplain, Mr. Stowe, I embarked on board a fine sixteen-oared pinnacle for Dacca, which was to be the first station on my visitation. After about two hours' squabbling with the owner and navigators of the vessel, we got under weigh, with a fine south breeze and the flood-tide. Archdeacon Corrie, with his wife and children, accompanied us in a budgerow, and we had two smaller boats—one for cooking, the other for our baggage. We advanced to Barrackpore that night, and in order to make up for lost time, I urged the boatmen forwards a good while after it was dark, the river being familiar to us all. The lights in Serampore and Barrackpore, the tall massive shadows of the Government House, and of two state barges in the river, which, by this uncertain light, appeared like vessels of considerable importance, made our anchoring place very beautiful. Soon after we were made snug for the night a strong storm of rain and wind came on. Our course during this day was pretty steadily north-north-west by quarter west; the distance twenty-four miles.

June 16.—We weighed anchor about half-past four, and arrived at Chander-

nagore by half-past nine. We there paid the Governor, Mons. Pellissier, a visit, who pressed us to stay to dinner with him, which invitation we accepted. The Governor's house has been much beautified since I was here before, and now has really a very handsome appearance. Between Barrackpore and Chandernagore are some large and handsome pagodas, which are, however, excelled in beauty by one of a smaller size, under a noble grove of tall trees.

A Bengalee boat is the simplest and rudest of all possible structures. It is decked over, throughout its whole length, with bamboo; and on this is erected a low light fabric of bamboo and straw, exactly like a small cottage without a chimney. This is the cabin, baggage-room, &c.; here the passengers sit and sleep; and here, if it be intended for a cooking-boat, are one or two small ranges of brick-work, like English hearths, but not rising more than a few inches above the deck, with small, round, sugar-loaf holes, like those in a lime-kiln, adapted for dressing victuals with charcoal. As the roof of this apartment is by far too fragile for men to stand or sit on, and as the apartment itself takes up nearly two-thirds of the vessel, upright bamboos are fixed by its side, which support a kind of grating of the same material, immediately above the roof, on which, at the height probably of six or eight feet above the surface of the water, the boatmen sit or stand to work the vessel. They have, for oars, long bamboos, with circular boards at the end, a longer one of the same sort to steer with, a long rough bamboo for

a mast, and one, or sometimes two sails, of a square form (or rather broader above than below), of very coarse and flimsy canvas. Nothing can seem more clumsy or dangerous than these boats. Dangerous I believe they are, but with a fair wind they sail over the water merrily. The breeze this morning carried us along at a good rate, yet our English-rigged brig could do no more than keep up with the cooking-boat.

There is a large ruined building a few miles to the south of Chandernagore, which was the country house of the Governor during the golden days of that settlement, and of the French influence in this part of India. It was suffered to fall to decay when Chandernagore was seized by us; but when Mr. Corrie came to India, was, though abandoned, still entire, and very magnificent, with a noble staircase, painted ceilings, &c.; and altogether, in his opinion, the finest building of the kind in this country. It has at present a very melancholy aspect, and in some degree reminded me of Moreton-Corbet,* having, like that, the remains of Grecian pillars and ornaments, with a high carved pediment. In beauty of decoration, however, it falls far short of Moreton-Corbet, in its present condition. This is the only visible sign of declining prosperity in this part of the country. The town of Chandernagore itself, though small, is neat, and even handsome. It has a little Catholic church, and some very tolerable streets, with respectable dwelling-houses. An appearance of neatness and comfort is exhibited by the native villages; and, as an Indian generally lays out some of his superfluous wealth in building or adding to a pagoda, it is a strong mark of progressive and rapid improvement to say, as Mr. Corrie did to-day, that *all* the large pagodas between "Calcutta and this place have been founded, or re-built, in his memory." This, however, I must confess, does not tell much for the inclination of the Hindoos to receive a new religion. Indeed, except in our schools, I see no appear-

ance of it. The austerities and idolatries exercised by them strike me as much, or I think more, the more I see of them. A few days since I saw a tall, large, elderly man, nearly naked, walking with three or four others, who suddenly knelt down one after the other, and catching hold of his foot, kissed it repeatedly. The man stood with much gravity to allow them to do so, but said nothing. He had the string ("peeta") of a Brahmin. Another man passed us, on Sunday morning last, hopping on one foot. He was a devotee who had made a vow never to use the other, which was now contracted, and shrunk close up to his hams. Lately, too, I saw a man who held his hands always above his head, and had thus lost the power of bringing them down to his sides. In general, however, I must own that these spectacles are not so common, at least so far as I can yet judge, as, before I came to India, I expected to find them.

Chandernagore was taken by Lord Clive and Admiral Watson, in 1757, after a gallant and bloody defence: and it is worth recording, as a proof of the alterations which have taken place in this branch of the Ganges, that Watson brought up a seventy-four gun ship to batter it. It was afterwards restored to the French, who lost it again during the war of the Revolution, but who have now received some favours from the English Government, at which, when compared with the severity shown towards the colonists of Serampoor, the latter think they have reason to repine.

We spent a very pleasant evening with Mons. Pellissier. Our party consisted of his wife, daughter, and son, the physician and secretary of the factory, and an Abbé, whom I supposed to be the chaplain. The little church, which I had seen from the beach, belongs to the "Tibet Mission," a branch of the society "pro propaganda fide" at Rome, which seems to extend its cares all over India, which it supplies for the most part with Italian priests, though my old visitor, the Rev. Jacob Mécasenas, the Georgian monk, is one of its agents. They have a bishop

* A ruinous building in Shropshire.—Ed.

somewhere near Agra, an Italian, and the priests (for I understood there were more than one at Chandernagore) are of this nation also. We returned to our pinnace soon after ten.

June 17.—About two o'clock this morning we had a north-wester, accompanied with violent thunder and lightning. It lasted about two hours, and was so severe that we could not but feel thankful that it had not overtaken us the night before, while we were under sail. I have never heard louder thunder, or seen so vivid and formidable lightning. Happily our attendant boats were close in shore, under the shelter of the high bank, while our own mariners did their work exceedingly well and quietly, letting go a second anchor, and veering out as much cable as they had on board. After having done all that under such circumstances was to be done, they gave the cry of "Allah hu Allah!" and went to prayers, a circumstance which, unaccompanied as it was by any marks of confusion or trepidation, gave me a very favourable impression of them, though I afterwards recollected that it was in fact pretty near the hour when that call is uttered from the mosque, which used to thrill me when I heard it in the Crimea, "Prayer is better than sleep! prayer is better than sleep!" Our boat, with this length of cable, rode well and easily, but we had some troublesome work in closing the cabin windows, as our rooms, and all they contained, were getting a complete cold bath. Indeed there really ran something like a sea in the channel of the river where we now lay. What passed gave me confidence in the vessel and her crew. The latter are numerous, sixteen rowers, four men accustomed to the management of the sails, and the serang, all Mussulmans, and natives of Dacca and its vicinity. They are wild and odd-looking people, light-limbed, and lean, and very black, but strong and muscular, and all young men, with a fiercer eye and far less civil manner than the Hindoos of Calcutta, to which expression of character their dress contributes (when they wear any, which is the case this cool morning), being old

uniform jackets of the infantry and artillery, with red caps and dirty turbans wrapped round them. As they sat round the fire this morning, cooking their victuals for breakfast, they might pass for no bad representatives of Malay pirates. The wind, though much abated, continued till after five to blow so hard that the boatmen declined heaving anchor; but having then shifted to the south again we set off, and sailed with great rapidity by Chinsura and Hooghly, which form almost one town, with some large and handsome, though deserted-looking, houses. At Chinsura is a church, and beyond Hooghly, at a place I believe named Banda, is a large Italian-looking church, with what appears to be a convent. The river here contracts very much, the banks are higher and more precipitous, and the view of the channel, with our little fleet in it, extremely picturesque and pretty. I hailed Mr. Corrie, and was glad to hear they had sustained no damage in the storm. The river now again expanded into a broad sheet of water, with rice-grounds on each side, and the villages further removed from each other, but each marked out by its wood of tall fruit-trees. The country, except that the river is so much wider, is not at all unlike some parts of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire on the Thames. There are fewer pagodas to be seen, and none so handsome as those we have passed. There is, however, a rather more abundant sprinkling of European-like houses and bungalows, the residences of the indigo planters, as our boatmen tell us. And one of the villages, which has two or three brick houses, and a small low tower attached to one of them, was interesting to us, from the sort of resemblance it offered to some in our own dear England. A little above this village we passed "a sign of a civilised country," being a gibbet, with two men in chains on it, who were, as our serang told us, executed two years ago for robbery and murder in this neighbourhood, but not on the river. The district bears a bad name for all sorts of robbery. A mile or two higher up is a large island, which seems to have been recently de-

serted by the stream, and not yet taken possession of by man, being mostly bare sand, and bordered by long grass and reeds (not bamboos), a very likely place for wild beasts to harbour. It was, indeed, in this neighbourhood that Mrs. Corrie saw the fresh print of a tyger's feet, exactly like those of a cat, but each as large as a good-sized plate. Here again the banks of the river are precipitous, and Southey might have taken the spot as the scene of his Kail-yal, and the image of her guardian goddess falling down the crumbling steep into the river. A few miles further brought us to a broad channel, which diverged to our right hand from the main bed of the river, being in fact a stream flowing into the Hooghly, and itself derived from the Matabunga, a branch of the great Ganges, which flows from the neighbourhood of Jellinghey to the centre of the Sunderbunds. This, when there is water enough to float large vessels, is the most direct communication between Calcutta and Dacca, and we had some reason to hope we might find it navigable at present. We anchored, therefore, at the mouth, and sent the jolly-boat with the serang and Abdullah*, to make inquiry at Seebpoor, a place where toll is paid, a little within the entrance. I sent Abdullah, who speaks English, in the belief that an European was stationed there, from whom he was more likely than a dandee to obtain information. In the meantime, and after they had been gone a quarter of an hour, the wind changed two points more westerly, and began to blow harder, so that I perceived we should have some difficulty to avoid going ashore, from which we were scarcely half a cable's length distant. I, therefore, proposed to the boatmen to weigh anchor, and proceed a little farther while yet we had the power. They readily assented, and were going to do so, when the return

of the serang put a stop to our proceedings. He, indeed, immediately called to them, on reaching the vessel, to go on with what they had begun, at the same time sending some men with long bamboos to the stern to stave the vessel off the shore. This was very necessary, since ashore she went in a few minutes, and the wind freshening, and there being little or no tide to help us here, I concluded that we were to continue fixed till the rising of the river from the rains set us free. To my surprise, however, the matter was settled in a few minutes; all the crew but the serang, who remained to steer, jumped into the water about as high as their waists. Half the party by main strength and weight of pressure thrust off the boat from the bank, while, as soon as she floated, the rest began to tow a-head. They thus carried her merrily along the lee shore for about two hundred yards, when, the headland being passed, we had again sea-room, and they all swam on board like so many water-rats. This, of course, shows the extreme lightness of our vessel, and how little water boats of her class require. In the meantime I was hearing the report of Abdullah and the serang, who, as it appeared now, had discovered no "chokey" or toll-house, nor anything of the kind. They found, however, two large native boats which had just come down the river, whose crew assured them there was plenty of water for a vessel of greater burthen than ours, while their account was in other respects so favourable as to distance and time saved, that I made up my mind at once to go this way. Accordingly, as Mr. Corrie's budgerow was in sight, I got into the jolly-boat and went aboard to tell him my change of plan. We parted with mutual kind wishes, and in the hope of meeting again at Bogli-poor the 20th of July.

Besides the saving of time which my journey to Dacca by this course will occasion, I am not sorry to go through a part of the country which I am told not many Europeans traverse, and where there are no stations or other usual places of intercourse between them and the natives. We set sail about half-

* This man was a Mussulman convert of Mr. Corrie's, who had travelled in Persia with Sir Gore Ouseley, and accompanied him to England, from whence he was returning in the Grenville, in a state of great poverty, when the Bishop took him into his service as "jemautdar," or head officer of the peons.—Ed.

past one, and continued our course along the new channel till evening. We found it about as wide as the Dee a little below Chester, flowing with a gentle and equable stream from the north-east by north, through fields cultivated to a considerable extent with indigo. Several porpoises were playing round the vessel, and a good many fishermen came up to offer their wares for sale. We continued our course through a country more bare of trees and more abundant in pasture than those parts of Bengal which I had yet seen, till half-past five in the evening, when the men, heartily tired, begged leave to halt for the night at a place named Ranaghât. This is a large village, with two very noble villas, like those of the rich Baboos in Calcutta, the property of a wealthy Hindoo family of the name of Kishnapantee. A little before we reached these we had passed a ruined palace of an old Raja of Bengal (the boatmen knew no more of him), and its name Urdun Kali. We took a short walk after dinner, but found it too hot to go far. The scenery is still like that near the Thames, and the likeness is increased by the circumstance that there are no coco-trees. The high crumbling bank of the river is full of small holes, containing the nests of the muenas, and I saw a field of what I took for millet, which I did not know was a product of India. Our boatmen, who had been in and out of the water like any amphibious creatures, sometimes rowing, sometimes pushing, sometimes dragging our bark along the narrow and winding channel, displaying great spirit, cheerfulness, and activity, were seated on the bank dressing for supper the fish which they had bought from the boats I mentioned; while apart, at cautious distance, and within their magic circle of chalk, our Hindoo servants were preparing a more frugal repast of rice, currie, and pine-apples, which cost exactly a pice a piece. Of the small fish a pice will buy two large handfuls, as much as a man can well keep in his grasp. The fires of these different messes were very picturesque, and the more so, as a little further down, the

crews of the cooking and baggage boats had each their little bivouac. I was glad these poor people got their supper over before the usual north-wester and its fall of rain came to drive them under cover. The wind, however, was a mere nothing, and even if it had been a storm, it could not have touched us in our present situation.

June 18.—Our course from Ranaghât was up a wider and deeper stream, and chiefly to the N.W.—a circumstance irreconcilable with Rennell's map, unless the discrepancy can be accounted for by an extraordinary alteration of the river's channel. The banks here are higher and more precipitous, the country woody, and sometimes really very interesting, while coco-trees, of which we supposed we had taken leave, re-appeared, and continued to tower, from time to time, over the bamboos, banyans, and fruit-trees.

About half-past five we brought-to for the night, at a place which our crew called Sibnibashi, but so differently situated (being further to the south, and on a different side of the river) from the Sibnibas of Rennell, that I at first thought they must be mistaken. We landed, with the intention of walking to some pagodas, whose high angular domes were seen above the trees of a thick wood, at some small distance; which wood, however, as we approached it, we found to be full of ruins, apparently of an interesting description. Near our landing-place a row of large Kedgerree pots, with their mouths carefully covered with leather, as if just landed from a boat, attracted our attention. Abdullah said that they probably contained Ganges water from Benares or Hurdwar, which the Hindoos of high rank used for washing their idols; and that, in this case, they might be destined for the same employment in the pagoda before us. As we advanced along the shore, the appearance of the ruins in the jungle became more unequivocal; and two very fine intelligent-looking boys whom we met, told me, in answer to my inquiries, that the place was really Sibnibashi,—that it was very large and very old, and that there were good

paths through the ruins. These boys were naked, all but their waist-cloths, like the other peasants; they had, however, the Brahminical string over their shoulders; and Stowe, who, as well as myself, was much struck by their manner, pleasing countenances, and comparatively fair complexions, observed that the Brahmins seemed really to maintain a certain degree of superiority of intellect over the unprivileged classes. After a few questions, they whispered to each other, and ran towards the jungle, leaving us to pursue our track, which was narrow and winding, through masses of brick-work and earthen mounds, with many tamarind and peepul-trees, intermixed with thickets of cactus, bamboo, and a thorny plant, a little like the acacia, on the whole reminding me of some parts of the Roman wall at Silchester. We found four pagodas, not large, but of good architecture, and very picturesque, so that I much regretted the having left my sketch-book on board, and the more so, because it was now too late to get it before dusk. The sight of one of the peons, who had followed me, though without orders, with his silver mace, procured us much respect from the Brahmins and villagers, and the former were urgent to show us their temples. The first which we visited was evidently the most modern, being, as the officiating Brahmin told us, only fifty-seven years old. In England we should have thought it at least two hundred: but in this climate a building soon assumes, without constant care, all the venerable tokens of antiquity. It was very clean, however, and of good architecture; a square tower, surmounted by a pyramidal roof, with a high cloister of pointed arches surrounding it externally to within ten feet of the springing of the vault. The cloister was also vaulted, so that, as the Brahmin made me observe, with visible pride, the whole roof was "pucka," or brick, and "belathee," or foreign. A very handsome Gothic arch, with an arabesque border, opened on the south side, and showed within the statue of Rama, seated on a lotus, with a gilt but tarnished umbrella over his head;

and his wife, the earth-born Seeta, beside him. A sort of dessert of rice, ghee, fruit, sugar-candy, &c., was ranged before them on what had the appearance of silver dishes; and the remaining furniture of the temple consisted of a large gong hanging on the wall, and some Kedgerree pots similar to those which we had noticed. From hence we went to two of the other temples, which were both octagonal, with domes not unlike those of glass-houses. They were both dedicated to Siva (who Abdullah, according to his Mussulman notions, said was the same with Adam), and contained nothing but the symbol of the deity, of black marble. On paying my fee to the Brahmins who kept these shrines, I was surprised to find that they would not receive it immediately from my hand, but that they requested me first to lay it down on the threshold. I thought it right to explain that I meant it for them, and in return for their civility, not as an offering to their god; but they answered that they could not receive anything except from their own caste, unless it were thus laid before them. I therefore of course complied, though a little surprised at a delicacy of which I had found no symptom in those Brahmins whom I had previously met with. This was not the only unforeseen circumstance which occurred. As the two temples of Siva really contained nothing to see, I thought one rupee was enough, in all conscience, between them, and told the priests that they were to divide it. No sooner, however, had it touched the threshold, than the two old men began scrambling for it in a most indecorous manner, abusing each other, spitting, stamping, clapping their hands, and doing everything but striking; the one insisting that it belonged to him, whose threshold it had touched; the other urging the known intentions of the donor. I tried to pacify them, but found it of no use, and left them in the midst of the fray. Meantime the priest of Rama, who had received his fee before, and was well satisfied, came up, with several of the villagers, to ask if I would see the Raja's palace. On my

assenting, they led us to a really noble Gothic gateway, overgrown with beautiful broad-leaved ivy, but in good preservation, and decidedly handsomer, though in pretty much the same style, with the "Holy Gate" of the Kremlin in Moscow. Within this, which had apparently been the entrance into the city, extended a broken but still stately avenue of tall trees, and on either side a wilderness of ruined buildings, overgrown with trees and brushwood, which reminded Stowe of the baths of Caracalla, and me of the upper part of the city of Caffa. I asked who had destroyed the place, and was told Seraiah Dowla, an answer which (as it was evidently a Hindoo ruin) fortunately suggested to me the name of the Raja Kissen Chund. On asking whether this had been his residence, one of the peasants answered in the affirmative, adding that the Raja's grandchildren yet lived hard by. By this I supposed he meant somewhere in the neighbourhood, since nothing here promised shelter to any beings but wild beasts, and as I went along I could not help looking carefully before me, and thinking of Thalaba in the ruins of Babylon:—

"Cautiously he trode and felt

The dangerous ground before him with his
bow;

* * * *

The adder, at the noise alarmed,

Launch'd at th' intruding staff her arrowy
tongue."

Our guide meantime turned short to the right, and led us into what were evidently the ruins of a very extensive palace. Some parts of it reminded me of Conway Castle, and others of Bolton Abbey. It had towers like the former, though of less stately height, and had also long and striking cloisters of Gothic arches, but all overgrown with ivy and jungle, roofless, and desolate. Here, however, in a court, whose gateway had still its old folding doors on their hinges, the two boys whom we had seen on the beach came forward to meet us, were announced to us as the great grandsons of Raja Kissen Chund, and invited us very courteously, in Persian, to enter their father's dwelling. I looked round in exceeding surprise. There was no more appearance of ha-

bitation than in Conway. Two or three cows were grazing among the ruins, and one was looking out from the top of a dilapidated turret, whither she had scrambled to browse on the ivy. The breech of a broken cannon and a fragment of a mutilated inscription lay on the grass, which was evidently only kept down by the grazing of cattle; and the jackalls, whose yells began to be heard around us as the evening closed in, seemed the natural lords of the place. Of course I expressed no astonishment, but said how much respect I felt for their family, of whose ancient splendour I was well informed, and that I should be most happy to pay my compliments to the Raja, their father. They immediately led us up a short, steep, straight flight of steps in the thickness of the wall of one of the towers, precisely such as that of which we find the remains in one of the gateways of Rhuddlan Castle, assuring me that it was a very "good road;" and at the door of a little vaulted and unfurnished room, like that which is shown in Carnarvon Castle, as the queen's bed-chamber, we were received by the Raja Omichund, a fat shortish man, of about forty-five, of rather fair complexion, but with no other clothes than his waistcloth and Brahminical string, and only distinguished from his vassals by having his forehead marked all over with alternate stripes of chalk, vermilion, and gold leaf. The boys had evidently run home to inform him of our approach, and he had made some preparations to receive us in Durbar. His own Musnud was ready, a kind of mattress laid on the ground, on which, with a very harmless ostentation, he had laid a few trinkets, a gold watch, betel-nut box, &c. &c. Two old arm chairs were placed opposite for Stowe and me. The young Rajas sat down at their father's right hand, and his naked domestics ranged themselves in a line behind him, with their hands respectfully folded. On the other side the Sotabardar stood behind me; Stowe's servant took place behind him, and Abdullah between us as interpreter, which function he discharged extremely well, and

which was the more necessary, since, in strict conformity with court etiquette, the conversation passed in Persian. I confess I was moved by the apparent poverty of the representative of a house once very powerful, and paid him more attention than I, perhaps, might have done had his drawing-room presented a more princely style. He was exceedingly pleased by my calling him "Maha-raja," or Great King, as if he were still a sovereign like his ancestors, and acknowledged the compliment by a smile, and a profound reverence. He seemed, however, much puzzled to make out my rank, never having heard (he said) of any "Lord Sahib," except the Governor-General, while he was still more perplexed by the exposition of "Lord Bishop Sahib," which, for some reason or other, my servants always prefer to that of "Lord Padre." He apologized very civilly for his ignorance, observing that he had not been for many years in Calcutta, and that very few Sahibs ever came that way. I told him that I was going to Dacca, Benares, Delhi, and possibly Hurdwar; that I was to return in nine or ten months, and that, should he visit Calcutta again, it would give me great pleasure if he would come to see me. He said he seldom stirred from home; but as he spoke his sons looked at him with so much earnest and intelligible expression of countenance, that he added that "his boys would be delighted to see Calcutta, and wait on me." He then asked very particularly of Abdullah in what street and what house I lived. After a short conversation of this kind, and some allusions on my part to his ancestors and their ancient wealth and splendour, which were well taken, we took leave, escorted to the gate by our two young friends, and thence, by a nearer way, through the ruins to our pinnace, by an elderly man, who said he was the Raja's "Muktar," or chamberlain, and whose obsequious courtesy, high reverence for his master's family, and numerous apologies for the unprepared state in which we had found "the court," reminded me of old Caleb Balderstone.

We had not yet, however, done with

our acquaintance. In about an hour's time the muktar returned, and had a conversation with Abdullah, apparently to ascertain what my real rank was, and with directions to act accordingly. At least, after receiving satisfaction on the points in question, he desired to see me, and announced that his master intended visiting me. I at first declined the honour, saying that we were travellers, that I was obliged to be off very early in the morning, and that I had no means with me of receiving him as I could wish to do. The old man, however, persisted, saying that his master would come immediately, and that "where there was friendship (joining his hands, and cringing almost to the threshold) ceremony was unnecessary." Stowe was gone to bed; however I made ready to receive them; but the Raja after all excused himself on account of the night air, and only sent his sons, who had by this time completely transformed themselves into eastern beaux, by the addition of white muslin dresses, and turbans of gold brocade. They brought also a present of mangoes, sugar, and pastry, and advanced with the usual nuzzur, after the manner of Calcutta. They sate some time, occasionally answering me in Hindoostanee, but generally preferring Persian, of their acquirements in which they seemed proud, and they expressed some surprise that I did not speak it. They were like most of the young Indians I have seen, very lively, gentlemanly, and intelligent, anxious to obtain information about Europe, and expressing repeatedly the pleasure they expected from a visit to Calcutta. At length, as a sign of their "ruksut," or dismissal, I poured some lavender water on their hands and handkerchiefs, apologising that I had no attar, and saying that it was "belatee gulab" (foreign rose-water). They liked it to all appearance much, and we parted excellent friends. On the whole I have been greatly pleased with the evening's adventure. It has given me an opportunity of seeing the highest class of Hindoo families in their undress and daily habits of life. I had heard much of their simplicity, as compared with

the Mussulmans; and, even in the present instance, I am not quite sure whether it is to this simplicity, or to the poverty which I at first suspected, but which seemed contradicted by the appearance of the boys in the evening, that I am to attribute the sorry appearance of "the court," and the dilapidated state in which the mansion is allowed to continue. I ought to mention, that after the boys were gone, the old muktar remained for some minutes behind, hoping they had given me satisfaction, regretting that his master had the asthma, and saying, how grand a present would have been sent if they had had more notice, and at length asking permission to accompany his young lords

when they came to see me. So ended the evening, but not so the night. The news had probably spread through the village, that a "burra admee" (a great man) had come to see the Raja, with divers accounts of our riches and splendour; and about one o'clock an alarm of thieves was given by my sirdar-bearer, who happening to look out of one of the cabin windows, saw three black heads just above the water, cautiously approaching the sides of the vessel. His outcry of "Decoit! Decoit!" alarmed us, but also alarmed them: they turned rapidly round, and in a moment were seen running up the river banks. Thus we had a specimen of both the good and evil of India.

CHAPTER VI.

SIBNIBASHI TO DACCA.

Gypseys—Winged Bugs—Matabunga—Fishing—Difficult Passage in the River—Brahminy Bulls—Titybania—Ornamented Boats—Strong Current—Otters—Avalanches—Pawn—Khyr—Elephants bathing.

JUNE 19.—We again proceeded, still or the most part in a northerly or north-westerly direction. The river this day was much broader than we had yet seen it, with sandy banks, covered with low silky rushes. Many cormorants, cranes, and porpoises were seen, but no alligators or crocodiles, though these shores, I should have thought, were well adapted to them. The day was very hot. We anchored at a place called Kishenpol, where the river had a decidedly western course. This place is not marked by Rennell, who is indeed nearly useless here. The neighbourhood is dry, sandy, and open, but with a good many villages in sight, each with its adjacent wood, and the parts near the river cultivated with indigo, which I am told delights in a sandy soil. Some scattered ears of maize were growing among it. The banks were precipitous, and covered with fine long silky rushes, evidently of a kind which would be very valuable for cordage, &c., like the "esparto" of Spain. Here they are only used as thatch, for which they are reckoned better than straw. This sort of cover is, I understand, the favourite haunt of the tyger, who likes the neighbourhood of water, and the power at the same time of lying dry and clean. Abdullah told us several circumstances about the tyger, which at least were curious, as showing the popular notions respecting him in India. "He not fierce, but very *civil* when he not provoked or very hungry; he then meddle with nobody." He ascribed to him, in fact, many of the noble and generous properties which, perhaps with equal justice, have been ascribed to the lion. He had been, he said, when he

was in service before, at one or two tyger hunts. The tyger, once wounded, never thought of flying afterwards, and, except a short *little* roar when he sprung at his prey or his enemies, he was always silent both under wounds and in death. On asking, if a tyger should cross our path, what would he do? He steadily repeated, "he do no harm, we not fire at him." "Would he be frightened at us?" "Oh no, he afraid of nothing, and nobody."

On the other side of the river was a large encampment of wretched tents of mats, with a number of little hackeries, panniers, ponies, goats, &c., so like gypseys, that on asking what they were, I was not much surprised to hear Abdullah say they were gypseys; that they were numerous in the upper provinces, living exactly like the gypseys in England; that he had seen the same people both in Persia and Russia, and that in Persia they spoke Hindoostanee the same as here. In Russia he had had no opportunity of ascertaining this fact; but in Persia, by Sir Gore Ouseley's desire, he had spoken with some of the wandering tribes, and found that they understood and could answer him. I told him of Lord Teignmouth's conversation in Hindoostanee with the old gypsey on Norwood, and he said that in Persia it was not every gypsey who spoke it, only old people. He said they were so like each other in all the countries where he had seen them, that they could not be mistaken, though in Persia they were of much better caste, and much richer than here, or in England, or Russia. But he added, "I suppose in Russia, before Peter the Great, all people much like gypseys." There were

many curious circumstances which I deduced from his information; first, the identity of the gypsey race in Europe and India, and their connecting link seemed established by a very observant witness, and certainly one unprejudiced by system; secondly, on further inquiry I found the people, whom he identified with our gypsies in Persia, were the wandering tribes of Louristan, Curdistan, &c., whom he described with truth as being of "a good caste," valiant, and wealthy. It therefore follows that these tribes, whose existence in Persia seems to be traced down from before the time of Cyrus, and whose language is generally understood to differ from the Persians of the plains and cities, resemble in countenance and person the gypsies, and that their ancient language has been a dialect of Hindoostance. The probability is, indeed, that Persia, not India, has been the original centre of this nomadic population. In that case, however, it is strange that we do not hear of them sooner in Europe, where they could scarcely have existed in ancient times without being noticed by classical writers. It is no doubt true, indeed, that all the principal nations of Europe are derived from the same source with them; but still their continued adherence to a very ancient dialect of the common language, and their steady pursuance of nomadic habits, must have always distinguished them from the more settled and civilized branches of the same family. But the time and occasion of their arrival in Europe seems the chief problem in their history.

One of the greatest plagues we have as yet met with in this journey is that of the winged bugs. In shape, size, and scent, with the additional faculty of flying, they resemble the "grabbatic" genus, too well known in England. The night of our lying off Barrackpoor they were troublesome; but when we were off the Raja's palace, they came out, like the ghosts of his ancestors' armies, in hundreds and thousands from every bush, and every heap of ruins, and so filled our cabins as to make them barely endurable. These unhappy animals crowded round our candles in such

swarms, some just burning their feet and wings on the edge of the glass shade, and thus toppling over; others more bold, flying right into the crater, and meeting their deaths there, that we really paid no attention to what was next day a ghastly spectacle, the mighty army which had settled on the wet paint of the ceiling, and remained there, black and stinking, till the ants devoured them. These last swarm in my pinnace: they have eaten up no inconsiderable portion of my provisions, and have taken, I trust to their benefit, a whole box of blue pills; but as they do their best to clear it of all other vermin, I cannot but look on them with some degree of favour.

Besides the "mucharunga," a kind of king-fisher, which we had seen before, some other birds, whose appearance is new to me, continue to show themselves. One is a small black cormorant, or curlew, which we see standing with its wet wings spread on the sand-banks and shallows, praised as excellent eating: another is in colour and size not unlike a blackbird, but with a long tail. Abdullah says that early in the morning it "reads (meaning sings) very finely." This equivocal use of the two words I have noticed in other Indians, and it probably arises from the chant in which both the Koran and the religious books of the Hindoos are always read.

The prospect of our little fleet at anchor, of the fires made by the servants and boatmen on the shore, and of a little crowd of villagers who came down, attracted by curiosity, or in the hope of selling milk, was very beautiful this evening, and presented the elements for a picture as perfectly Polynesian as any in Cook's voyages.

June 20.—About ten o'clock, some fishermen brought a very noble fish alongside of us for sale, of exactly the shape and appearance of a chub, but weighing at least twenty or twenty-five pounds. After a good deal of haggling they sold it for twelve anas (about 1s. 6d.). The Khânsaman proposed selling the greater part, but I made the servants very well pleased, by saying, that I would only have a little boiled for

ourselves, and that the rest should be divided among them for their Sunday dinner, an arrangement which seemed to offend no religious prejudices either of Hindoo or Mussulman, inasmuch as the different messes seemed all eager to receive their portions, and in the evening, at our bivouac, their kettles were all supplied with it. The fish was very good, exceedingly firm and white, like a jack, which it a good deal resembled, except that the bones were larger and less numerous. Its name is "râhoo." With occasional supplies of this kind there is no fear of our provisions falling short, except our bread, which is become mouldy, and which in this part of the country we have no chance of replacing. Our boatmen continued their course to-day later than usual, and it was about seven o'clock when we brought up near a large village, surrounded by marshes and paddy grounds, but with a good deal of pasture intermingled. Its name is Cadampoor, as we were told by an old man, who added the gratuitous information, that he was himself the village "gaowala," or cowman. This he probably said in hopes that we might purchase some milk, but our goats supply us abundantly. They are taken on shore whenever we stop, to graze on the fiorin, which to my surprise grows in large patches on these sandy banks. On our return from our evening's stroll, we met the gaowala with his herd, and I had a fresh opportunity of noticing (what had struck me more than once before) the falsehood of the idea, that Indian cattle are particularly wild or surly with white men. These animals in passing us displayed no more shyness than a similar herd would have done in England.

June 21.—Holland itself could not have furnished a thicker or more stinking fog than hung over the banks of the river early this morning. It cleared up towards seven, leaving the promise of a tremendously hot day without a breath of wind. Indeed for these three days we have had by no means the sort of weather we were told to expect, and if we find water enough for our course, we must, I apprehend, thank the melting snows of the distant Himalaya for

it, more than any rain which has yet fallen in Bengal. We had proof this morning of the neighbourhood of Europeans of some description or other (probably indigo-planters) in two gentlemen, apparently in the pursuit of game, who appeared on the banks, mounted on elephants, and followed by two men with long bamboos, as if to beat the bushes. Though they rode for two or three minutes near us, they showed no disposition to have communication with our party. I was at first going to hail them, and felt vexed at myself afterwards for the shyness, or whatever it was, which made me lose the opportunity of learning many points respecting our present situation and our future course, on which I wished much to be informed. A number of little boys came to the side of the river, and ran along by our vessel, which the crew were towing slowly along, singing an air extremely like that of "My love to war is going." The words were Bengalee, and unintelligible to me; but the purport I soon found out, by the frequent recurrence of "Radha," to be that amour of Krishna with the beautiful dairy-maid, which is here as popular a subject with the boatmen and peasantry, as the corresponding tale of Apollo and Daphne can have been with the youth of Greece and Hellenized Syria. A few pice were thrown to these young singers by some of my servants. Their mode of begging strongly recalled to my mind something of the same sort which I have seen in England. Dear, dear England! there is now less danger than ever of my forgetting her, since I now in fact first feel the bitterness of banishment. In my wife and children I still carried with me an atmosphere of home; but here every thing reminds me that I am a wanderer. This custom of the children singing I had not met with before, but it seems common in this part of the country. All the forenoon, at different villages, which are here thickly scattered, the boys ran out to sing, not skilfully, certainly, but not unpleasantly. The general tune was like "My boy Billy," Radha! Radha! forming the burden.

The increase of the population is very striking to-day. It is now apparently as dense as in any part of Bengal which I have seen; and the crowds of villagers bathing, washing linen, &c., and the lowing of cattle, barking of dogs, and all other rural sounds except the crowing of cocks, enliven our progress between the high mud-banks, which would else be sufficiently tiresome. Dense, however, as the population is, it seems exclusively Bengalee and agricultural. Except the two Europeans, who might have come from a considerable distance, we have seen no symptom of white men, nor have we passed a single indigo manufactory, since one a few miles on this side of Ranaghât. The barges, which are very numerous, bring salt from Calcutta, and carry back chiefly mustard-seed, which, in the shape of oil, is one of the most indispensable necessities in a Hindoo family. "We eat mustard-oil, (said my sircar to me one day, when lamenting an additional tax which had been imposed on this commodity,) we burn it,—we rub ourselves with it,—it is quite as useful as rice."

We have been these last three days in some perplexity about our further progress. The account given us of the depth of water by the crew of the large pulwars which we passed at Sebpour, appears either to have been exaggerated, or to refer to the largest and most circuitous of three streams which flow out of the great Ganges into that where we are now gliding. The most direct of these, by Catchergatty, is said to be generally at this season tolerably supplied with water for a vessel of our small draught. But the rain has for these three days been suspended, or nearly so. We have the ill-luck to observe, by the mark on the bank, that the river has actually been a few inches higher than it is now; and the different boats which meet us hold very different language indeed, as to the probability of our reaching Dacca by that course. The second, or next straightest channel, is notoriously shallower than the Catchergatty, so that there only remains the third, which is nearly by three days more tedious; we are, however, likely

to obtain some more certain accounts to-night. The two cavaliers, or elephanteers, whom we passed in the morning, and whom I regretted the not having spoken with, it seems hailed the cook-boat after we were gone by, and most civilly and modestly, without introducing themselves, wrote a note, which they committed to my peon, to the native Daroga of Catchergatty, ordering him to give me all the assistance and information in his power, and to convey any letters for me, either to Calcutta or Dacca.

We this afternoon passed a very large tortoise, considerably above a foot, I should think, in length, basking on one of the sand-banks.

We moored at about half-past six, after a very hot day, and a fatiguing one for the poor men, at a place called Bunvunya, a desolate, sandy spot, but which promised good air. On landing, we found that beyond the immediate vicinity of our berth, the country was really pretty. A considerable indigo work, with an European bungalow, was at a little distance, the owner of which was gone to Kishnagur, but which afforded us an amusing and instructive occupation in walking round the works, and seeing the manner in which indigo is made, by maceration in water in a succession of brick cisterns, and at last, by kiln-drying, to evaporate the moisture from the dye. The Daroga, for whom we had the letter, was gone, we found, to a neighbouring village, to hold an inquest over a man who had been found dead in a well.

June 22.—After unmooring again, we were disappointed to learn that we had passed the nearest way to Dacca. There were still, however, two rivers opening before us, and that which lay to our right, we were told, was nearer than the other by some days; the serang went off in his jolly-boat to obtain intelligence from a little village. He brought back word that there was water enough, but that there were several bad and narrow places, where we should have some difficulty in getting the pinnace along. I could not conjecture what sort of narrow places we could have to apprehend, inasmuch as

the river was here almost a quarter of a mile broad, and rocks, I knew, were things unheard of in Bengal. But whatever were the hindrance, I determined on proceeding this way, since the rapid rise of the river, which might now inevitably be reckoned on, would clear away every thing of the sort, most probably, in less time than would be lost by taking a circuitous route, even if (which we could not be sure of) that route also should not produce its impediments. We therefore turned into this branch, which trended directly south-east, and where we found the wind indeed against us, but a strong, whirly, dimpling stream, urging us merrily forwards. In both these respects we had previously experienced the contrary; so that we found that to this point we had been ascending one branch of the Matabunga, flowing westwards towards the Hooghly, but that the present was another, which reverted by a southerly course, and with greater rapidity, to the mighty Ganges, from which it at first had issued. Our sails were now useless, but so fine a stream promised our boatmen easy work with the tow-line. If, however, the poor fellows formed any such expectation, they were soon undeceived. They had, indeed, no occasion to urge the boat forwards: stern foremost, or broadside foremost, or whirling round and round like a reel, she was hurried on with more than sufficient rapidity. But they had continually to bring her up short by main strength, or to jump into the water, and with long bamboos or with their arms and shoulders, to stave her off, or push her over, different obstacles. This is not a peaceable stream like the one we had quitted, but hurries with it trees and bushes, and throwing up numerous sand-banks, between which our course was indeed very often narrow and often perplexing, though in the bed of the river there was always a considerable depth of water, a circumstance which, obliging our boatmen to swim every ten or twenty yards, materially increased their labours. At the more difficult of these places we generally found a Mussulman fakir or two established, who came, or sometimes

swam, to beg alms, pleading the efficacy of their prayers in getting us past the dangers; and supplying at the same time, in many instances, some useful hints as to the best course for our vessel, a service cheaply rewarded by a few pice, which, indeed, few would grudge, who are aware how often this is the sole resource of the unfortunate boatmen, victims to disease or premature old age, brought on by the severity of their labours. Our own men, though all in the prime of youth, well fed, and with figures such as a statuary might delight to model after, themselves showed too many symptoms of the ill effects occasioned by their constant vicissitudes of water, sun, and toil. The backs and limbs of many of them were scaly, as if with leprosy, and they spoke of this complaint as a frequent consequence of their way of life; though this particular eruption, they said, always left them if they remained any time at home, and re-appeared on their return to their aquatic labours. The same thing I have heard of among the boatmen of Madras, where it is, ignorantly enough, mistaken for a saline incrustation from the sea-water. Here the water is fresh, yet the same spectacle is presented, and must therefore, I suppose, be attributed to checked perspiration.

After advancing six or eight miles in this manner, sometimes banging on the sunken trees, sometimes scraping against sand-banks, but still trundling on at a rate faster than might have been expected, we arrived in a broad deep pool with unusually still water, on seeing which the serang immediately brought to, and leapt on shore, exclaiming that we were near one of the difficult places. It was now about four o'clock, and the day pleasantly cool and cloudy, so that Stowe and I followed his example, in the hope of seeing what was the obstacle. We found about a hundred yards farther a regular dam of earth, sand, and clay, thrown up across the river, (a quarter of a mile wide) by the force of this restless stream, which now struggled on through the impediments which it had itself raised, with great violence and impetuosity, through two

narrow and irregular channels, with a considerable fall, into a lower and troubled, but still deep bason, some three feet below. No vessel larger than a jolly-boat could pass these channels in their present condition, and the question was whether we were to return up the rapid stream which we had descended, or get labourers to widen the most promising, though the narrowest, of these sluices. This was a question, however, very easily decided. The bank was evidently nothing but earth easily worked, and of which the rubbish would be as easily washed away by the stream, and I therefore sent Abdullah to Matabunga, the nearest village, with directions to find the Daroga first, or if he were not forthcoming, to hire work-people without delay. In the meantime I sat down to make a drawing of the scene before me, and to enjoy the delightful sound and coolness of the rushing water, as well as to observe the success of a crowd of people, men, women, and children, who covered every part of the bank, catching fish with long fish-spears, scoop, and casting nets. In the use of these instruments they were very dexterous. I never in my life saw a net so thrown, either for the extent of water covered, the precision of aim, or the apparent absence of effort, as by one young man, a very little fellow too, who stood near us. To these people we had in the first instance applied to help us, but they excused themselves, saying they had no tools. They were, indeed, already very fully and profitably employed, since the water was teeming with fish of all sizes, and the young man whom I have mentioned told us that at this time of year nothing was eaten but fish, and that every body might have it. He said that a few days ago there had been no passage here at all, for the river had been standing in tanks all the way to the "Burra Gunga," but that now the rains had once forced their way, they would soon widen the channel, and that some large vessels which he pointed out to us above and below the fall, had been waiting several days for this to happen, but that now they would get through at our expense. "Ucha oon

ke waste." "Good for them," he added. At length Abdullah returned. No Daroga, however, lived nearer than the one we had left behind the day before, and the villagers refused to come on the plea that it was a Hindoo holiday. This objection he in part removed, by assuring them of good pay. One old man, indeed, urged that the Brahmins would curse them, but Abdullah gravely rejoined, "the curse be on me and mine," and eight men, being pretty nearly the whole effective force of the hamlet, came off with him. Seven of these were equipped with very large and heavy hoes (which are here universally used instead of the spade, and in a soil where there are no stones, are certainly very serviceable tools). The eighth had only his stick, but was, according to the strange usage of Bengal, where nobody can do any thing without a leader, the "sirdar," or master of the gang, without whom they would not work, and whom they allowed (voluntarily, since there is nothing but custom which makes them do so) to receive their wages, and draw poundage on them in consideration of his superintendence. This number fell short of my wishes and expectations. They were, however, as good, dexterous, and diligent labourers as I ever saw. They got on at a great rate in the loose soil, and we had soon the pleasure to see that the stream worked almost as fast as they did. In fact, between five o'clock and nine, they had enlarged the channel so much as to make it almost certain that the stream in the night would do all which yet was necessary. I gave the men three anas each, including the sirdar. They were exceedingly grateful, and it was, indeed, I well knew, more than they expected. But they had worked very hard and willingly at an hour when few Hindoos can be prevailed on to touch a tool, and the latter part of the time up to their knees or middles in water. I bid them, however, come again in the morning at four o'clock lest they should be wanted. The country round these rapids (if they deserve the name) is really pretty, open, and cultivated, but interspersed with groves, and displaying as much

variety as Bengal is susceptible of. We saw several tortoises swimming near the bar. On the bank we found a dwarf mulberry-tree, the first we had seen in India. A very handsome and sleek young bull, branded with the emblem of Siva on his haunches, was grazing in the green paddy. He crossed our path quite tame and fearless, and seeing some flirin grass in Stowe's hand, coolly walked up to smell at it. These bulls are turned out when calves, on different solemn occasions, by wealthy Hindoos, as an acceptable offering to Siva. It would be a mortal sin to strike or injure them. They feed where they choose, and devout persons take great delight in pampering them. They are exceeding pests in the villages near Calcutta, breaking into gardens, thrusting their noses into the stalls of fruiterers and pastry-cooks' shops, and helping themselves without ceremony. Like other petted animals, they are sometimes mischievous, and are said to resent with a push of their horns any delay in gratifying their wishes.

June 23.—We were up this morning early to see the channel which had been made, and our serang's preparations for passing it. The former was sufficiently wide, but the stream rushed through it with a fall at least equal to that at London Bridge. The latter were extremely simple. The boatmen confided to their strength of arm, and long bamboos, which, with the real lightness of the vessel, carried her through triumphantly, preceded by our cooking and baggage-boats. The only precaution which the serang thought necessary, was to fasten a long rope from the head of his vessel to a stake on the little island between the falls, which brought her up, after passing the strait, in the deep and agitated bason beneath it.

From hence we proceeded, during the day, along a deeper and more navigable stream, though still frequently perplexed by islets and bars. We saw several of the tortoises, which I mentioned, swimming round us, and the shells of many more on the sand-banks. The country was extremely pretty, the high banks being fringed almost down to the water's edge with bamboos, long

grass, and creepers, and the shore above covered with noble banyans, palms, and peepuls, with very neat villages under their shade, while the figures of the women, in coarse but white cotton mantles, walking under the trees, and coming with their large earthen jars on their heads to draw water, gave a liveliness to the picture which was very interesting. Several indigo-works were on the river side, and I thought the appearance of the boats, the houses, and the peasantry, all improved as we approached the Burra Gunga. We had a storm of thunder and heavy lightning to-day about noon. The serang made fast on the lee of a small sandy point. There was no real occasion for his doing so, but he pleaded that if it came on to blow hard, he could not manage his vessel in a river of so rapid a stream, and the depth and direction of whose channel was so uncertain. This, indeed, was one of the points on which I had been cautioned, that I should never force a serang to proceed when he was anxious to "lugana" (make fast). These people, when engaged by the trip, have no interest in needless delays, and though they may sometimes be over-cautious, they always know their own rivers, and the state of the weather, better than we can do. Most if not all the accidents which occur to Europeans on the Ganges, arise from their making their crew proceed against their wishes and judgment. We made a tolerable progress this day, and brought to for the night under a high steep bank, with some fine old banyans, and a small village overhung by beautiful flowering trees and tamarinds; beyond was a large circular space enclosed by a mud wall, which appeared to be the ruins of a manufactory of coarse earthenware. The peasants were civil and communicative, and we should have been well pleased to make further inquiries, but a storm of rain drove us to our cabins again. We here had an opportunity of judging of the height to which the annual inundation rises. The river bank rose at least twenty-five feet higher than the present surface of the water, yet, at this village, they were throwing up mud-banks for causeways,

and making other provision for communication and security, to the height of three or four feet more; and all the table-land which the bank supported was planted with paddy, and obviously prepared for the reception of water.

The jackalls were very noisy this night, and there was another noise in my cabin so exactly like the bubbling up of water through a narrow crevice, that I felt convinced that our vessel leaked, a circumstance which would not have been wonderful, considering how she had been bumped about during the two last days. On inquiry, however, I was told that it was a sort of cricket, or Indian death-watch, which always emitted this sound. This was the first time I had heard it.

June 24.—We this day made a better progress, the river being deeper and wider, while the stream continued almost equally powerful. In the neighbourhood of the place where we halted for the night, which was chiefly cultivated with rice, with some patches of sunn hemp, were two villages, to one of which we walked, and found it large, populous, and beautifully embosomed in trees, some of them of a kind which I had not before met with. A large tree bearing a small and not ill-tasted fig, attracted my attention, from the strange manner in which its fruit grew, attached to the bark both of boughs and stems, like a gall-nut, oak-apple, or similar excrescence. Its name is Goolun. We met, during our walk through the village, the Brahmin of the place, a young and intelligent man, who very civilly not only answered our questions, but turned back to accompany us in our walk. He said the name of the village was Titybania, and that it, with a property round it, amounting to a rental of 14,000 rupees a-year, belonged to a Hindoo family, whose name I forget, and who were now engaged in a law-suit. That a muktar was named to receive the rents, and that, as he shrewdly observed, "The Company get their taxes, the poor people their receipts as usual, and all things go on as before, except the two brothers, who are rightly served for quarrelling." I asked if indigo were cultivated; he said no, and that

probably the soil might be too clayey for it; but added, "The indigo is a fine thing to put money into the purse of the Baboo, but we poor people do not want to see it. It raises the price of rice, and the rent of land." The rent of indigo-ground, he said, was above twelve anas the begah (5s. an acre). That of rice-ground five (about 2s. the acre). This is far less than in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, but the place is certainly very sequestered. No tigers, he said, are ever seen here. We passed by some Mussulman cottages, distinguished by the poultry which were seen round them, and a very small, but new and neat Hindoo cottage, before whose door its owners were busy preparing a small garden, an unusual sight in India, and at a short distance from which a young banyan-tree was planted on a hillock of turf, carefully surrounded with thorns, woven into a sort of dead-hedge, with much care and neatness. I pointed out this last to the Brahmin, who merely said it would be a great tree in time, and very beautiful in that part of the village. A handsome young woman, adorned with unusual gaiety of silver anklets, &c., went into the house, and the owner himself was a young man, so that probably the banyan was a votive offering on occasion of their marriage, or the birth of their first child. At a small distance, and on the brink of the river, was a little wretched hut of straw and reeds, removed from all other dwellings, with a long bamboo and a small ragged flag stuck into the ground, on each side of its front. It was, the Brahmin said, the tomb of a Mussulman holy man. While we were passing on, several other villagers collected round us. Some of them seemed greatly amused with our unusual figures and complexion, and our imperfect Hindoostanee, but there was not the least expression of shyness, nor any real incivility. Abdullah said it was quite amazing to see how familiar the common people had become with Englishmen during the last twenty years. He remembered the time when all black people ran away from a white face, and the appearance of a single European soldier struck consternation

into a village. "They used to them now," he said; "they know they no harm do." The country-people in this neighbourhood seem contented and thriving, for them, though of course their most flourishing condition would be reckoned deep poverty in England. The boats on this river are much neater than those on the Hooghly. Their straw tilts are better made, their sterns are not so unreasonably high, their sails less flimsy, nay, many of them are painted, and have copper or gilded eyes fixed into their bows, and on each side of the helm.* We had two beggars by the boat, the one an old man with a white beard, blind, and led by two boys, who were, he said, his children. I asked how old he was, but he did not seem to understand my question, merely answering that he had been blind forty years, and had lost his eyes soon after he married. There are surprisingly few beggars in Bengal. Of those whom I have seen, the greater part have super-added some religious character to the natural claims on our pity. This old man, however, had nothing of the sort, and had merely asked alms as a helpless and unhappy being. I was heartily glad that I had come out provided. The other beggar was a Pariah dog, who sneaked down in much bodily fear to our bivouac, and was exceedingly delighted by a few pieces of mouldy toast which we threw him. He was like a large terrier; he would have been handsome had he been in better plight, and had he had anything like the confidence and alacrity of his species in England. I have been often struck, and more than ever in these remote districts, by the variety of colours and breeds which Indian dogs display, and their similarity to many in Europe. Terriers and hounds, or something very like them, are however the most usual. Are they indigenous, or is it possible that their stock can have been derived from us? I should think not, considering the recent date of our establishment

in the country, and the extreme smallness of our numbers any where but at Calcutta.

I forgot to notice that this morning, about eight o'clock, we experienced one of those accidents which are not unfrequent on Indian rivers, and, in small or ill-built vessels, perilous. We were skirting pretty near the base of a high crumbling bank, whose top was at least thirty feet above us, when the agitation of the water caused by our oars, and the motion of the vessel, dislodged some of the sandy brink, and immediately a large body of sand and loose earth, weighing perhaps several hundred weight, slipped down in a formidable avalanche into the water, half filled our cabin, and wetted me to the skin with the splash it raised, and, though it would hardly have sunk us had it fallen on our deck, would doubtless have swamped the greater part of the boats we see around us.

July 25.—The river this day rapidly increased in size, and became very beautiful and interesting. The banks are still high and precipitous, but the vegetation which overhangs them is splendid, and some of the villages would be reckoned neat even in Europe. Several considerable indigo-works also appeared on the banks; but the bungalows attached to them did not seem to be occupied by Europeans. We ascertained to-day that the tortoise of these waters is no contemptible eating, having some good turtle-soup at dinner. There was not, indeed, much green fat, but what there was was extremely sweet and good, without the least fishy taste, and the lean very juicy, well-flavoured meat, not unlike veal. We want, in fact, no comfort or luxury but bread, having had none eatable for many days back.

We stopped at night at a beautiful village, with splendid banyan and peepul-trees, and surrounded by natural meadows and hedge-rows, so like English, that, but for the cocos, we could have supposed ourselves at home. The hedge-rows were of young toon-trees, which, to my surprise, I found so like ash as easily to be mistaken for it. Even the wood, when fresh felled, re-

* These are not merely ornamental. Dr. Abel, when he accompanied Lord Amherst on his embassy to China, observed the same thing, and the Chinese justified it by saying, "No can see, No can savey."—Ed.

sembles ash, more than the dark colour which it bears when wrought into furniture in Calcutta. It differs, however, from ash, in being extremely heavy. The inner rind, which is white and glutinous, tastes like liquorice.

We passed through a large paddy field, which the villagers were diligently weeding, and which they had already got extremely clean. Part of it had evidently been eaten down by sheep or cattle, a practice apparently common in India. The path which we followed led us at length close to an indigo-work, with a small but very pretty bungalow, which on inquiry we found was occupied by Mr. John Davies, belonging to the firm of Palmer and Co. I meant at first to call, but found, on entering the compound, that neither master nor mistress was at home, though there was a fine and numerous family of white children, and the usual swarm of black *bonnes*, &c. I thought of leaving my name, but did not like to give a man the trouble, on his return home, of coming late in the evening a considerable distance to the pinnace, which I knew would be the consequence of my doing so.

June 26.—Soon after day-light this morning we passed an empty pinnace, (empty at least of all but its crew,) proceeding from Dacca to Calcutta. From the *serang*, whom I hailed in passing, I had the disappointment of hearing that we were still three days from the Burra Gunga, and eight from Dacca. It was, however, a satisfaction to find that there was sufficient water, and that (of which we had lately begun to entertain some suspicions) our *serang* really was in the right course.

About noon we passed a handsome upper-roomed house, with large verandahs, the property also, as the workmen near it told us, of Palmer and Co., but occupied by a Frenchman, one of their agents in the indigo trade. An old gentleman with powdered hair, and sundry other whites, male and female, came out, but disappeared again before we could hail them. I sent, however, one of my silver-sticks, with my compliments to the gentleman of the house, requesting him to send us some leaven

to make bread with; and with the further request, that, if not inconvenient, he would favour us with a loaf. The answer came back, to my surprise, that they had no leaven in the house, and no bread! A singular answer to receive from a domiciliated European in decent circumstances, and most of all from a Frenchman!

The river still continued to increase in size, and was now very little narrower than some parts of the Hooghly, the banks of less beauty than we have lately seen them. Our course for these last two days has been generally S.E. by E., the wind strongly against us, but the current as decidedly in our favour. The fishing-boats here have very few of them oars; they are moved by small paddles with great swiftness and dexterity. We have had the mortification of seeing that they are unwilling to come near us, being, I apprehend, afraid that our *dandees* will seize their fish without payment. Three of our men took to the jolly-boat just now, to speak one of their canoes, when the poor men on board it, as well as two or three other skiffs in the neighbourhood, paddled off with all speed, and soon distanced their pursuers. This does not tell well for the general character of *dandees* in India, and indeed it is easy to see that though our crew dare not plunder the country people in our presence, their morality is pretty much like that of an English bargeman—an animal by no means scrupulous with regard to his neighbour's property. About four o'clock we turned short to the left, leaving the Mohanna river with its broad stream flowing southwards to the Sunderbunds, and ascending a narrow and very rapid current nearly due north. This our *serang* called the Matacolly, and he still holds out to us the prospect of reaching the Burra Gunga to-morrow. A large herd of cattle, apparently intended for the Calcutta market, passed us; they were swimming across the river, a task which they performed very dexterously. They were not fat, but in other respects fine and well-grown animals. Their white heads and horns had a very singular appearance, all, or nearly

all, the rest of their bodies being under water. We passed one other indigo-work to-day, and that was ruined, the bank of the river having given way with the house, which consequently now showed us an architectural section of its inside. We saw an ingenious water-pump, worked by twelve men, and intended, as I conceive, to irrigate a piece of cane-ground. We halted for the night at seven, by the side of a low sand-bank, with a vast extent of open and marshy country round us; the river, with its banks of mud, the flat prospect, and its own width, a good deal reminded me of the Dee below Chester, in the neighbourhood of the King's ferry.

June 27.—The river expanded in about four miles into a noble piece of water, I should think little less than a mile across, but still running with increasing rather than diminishing rapidity. The whole lake literally swarmed with small fishing-boats, and we passed some larger vessels loaded with jars of salt. The fishery, we were told by these people, was of the "Hilsa," or "Sable Fish," and the salt was for preserving them. To the north-west, about a mile further, we saw the mouth of another broad stream, which the *serang* said was the *Commercolly*; *colly* and *nuddee* seem in this part of Bengal synonymous. The correctness of this name was confirmed by some people on shore, who told us that in about four hours more we should be opposite the town of *Boonsbah*, one of the few names on *Rennell's* map of which we have been able to learn any tidings. Every body laughed at the idea of our reaching the *Gunga* to-day; indeed with such a current as we are now contending against, we can hardly hope to advance a mile an hour. The northern bank of this new river was flat and grassy, the southern very high, precipitous, and displaying many recent marks of the havoc made by the current, which must, I should apprehend, be at this moment swollen unusually by some violent storm higher up. Instead of a gradual rise, everything resembles the circumstances of a sudden torrent. Trees, sods, bushes, earthen-

ware, all sorts of stray rubbish float past us, the river is covered with foam and floats rippling and whirling along. The poor men worked like horses at the towing line, but could hardly make head against it. This precipitous bank, however, is very woody, picturesque, and populous, and the fishing-boats mooring under it in great numbers give a pleasing air of life to the scene.

We passed, to my surprise, a row of no less than nine or ten large and very beautiful otters, tethered with straw collars, and long strings, to bamboo stakes on the bank. Some were swimming about at the full extent of their strings, or lying half in and half out of the water, others were rolling themselves in the sun on the sandy bank, uttering a shrill whistling noise, as if in play. I was told that most of the fishermen in this neighbourhood kept one or more of these animals, who were almost as tame as dogs, and of great use in fishing, sometimes driving the shoals into the nets, sometimes bringing out the larger fish with their teeth. I was much pleased and interested with the sight. It has always been a fancy of mine that the poor creatures whom we waste and persecute to death for no cause, but the gratification of our cruelty, might, by reasonable treatment, be made the sources of abundant amusement and advantage to us. The simple *Hindoo* shows here a better taste and judgment than half the otter-hunting and badger-baiting gentry of England.

One of the fishing-vessels came on board with some fine large fish, and one of the *dandees* had caught us a turtle in the morning, which turned out extremely well, so that we had a feast to-day. The *Hilsa* fish I had heard compared to a herring, but to which it bore no resemblance that I could find, either in taste or size, being at least six times as large. It is reckoned unwholesome to eat in any quantity. In going along I witnessed a disturbance on the shore, and found that one of the *dandees* had carried off a fowl belonging to a *Musulman* cottage. I, of course, made him restore it, and cautioned the whole crew, that if I saw any more misconduct of the kind, I would have the

offender before the next magistrate. I am not sorry to have had an opportunity of reading them this lesson.

Between five and six this morning we passed Mattacolly, the town whence the stream takes its name, or vice versâ. It was the largest assemblage of native dwellings (for there are no brick houses among them) which I have seen since we left Calcutta, and a very considerable number of native vessels, some of large size, were moored before it. The serang spoke of it as a place of great trade, being the mart for salt to all the central provinces of Bengal, and the principal source whence rice, mustard-oil, salt-fish, and butter were obtained for the Calcutta market. The usual channel of communication with Calcutta was by the Sunderbunds and the Mohanna river, which we left behind, and whose principal stream, as I then noticed, falls into them. Our people complain of the dearth of rice. The last harvest was not a very good one, and the famine in Malabar has in some degree occasioned scarcity in Bengal. At least, rice is now more than twice the usual price.

We had several severe storms of wind and rain during the day, and, unluckily for us, the place where we brought to for the night was a spit of sand cut off from the land by a strong crop of indigo, almost as high as our heads, and so wet that one might as well have walked through a waterfall. Stowe succeeded in turning a corner, and got into some green meadows beyond, with a pretty little river like the Cherwell winding through them. I was less venturesome, and contented myself with examining some of the peculiarities of the indigo, with which I was previously unacquainted. It is, I find, a real vetch, having a blossom like a pea, as well as a vetch-shaped leaf. It is chiefly cultivated on the banks of the rivers, as the driest situations. One indigo-establishment was near us, and Abdullah had already sent to know if any leaven or bread were attainable. The answer was that the Sahibs had nothing of the kind, and never got anything better than the unleavened bread of the country. So that it appears the old Frenchman

was not singular in his privations. We have lately seen a few instances of a curious hat, worn by the boatmen and peasantry. It is precisely the head of a small umbrella, made of straw, like the umbrellas which they usually carry, but without a handle, and tied under the chin by two strings, which come somewhere from its middle, resembling, in fact, pretty nearly the straw hats worn by the Chinese, except as being more clumsy. It must be very useful, however, both in rain and sunshine, and I wonder that it is not more general. Many of the larger boats which we passed this day were painted black, the bamboo pillars which support the platform carved, and the sterns ornamented with large brass studs.

June 28.—The river takes a remarkable twist here, so that our course lay north-east by north. This indeed threatens to lengthen our journey to Dacca, but it is a great relief to the men, as they are enabled to make sail, and our progress is much more rapid, though certainly not in so favourable a direction as yesterday. We saw a striking specimen of the precarious tenure of these high banks, and how slight causes will sometimes make them topple over. One of these cliffs or scars, for they pretty nearly answer to the latter name, without any reason that we saw but the agitation of the water occasioned by our vessel, though we were at some distance, fell suddenly to the weight of many tons, and immediately, as if answering a signal, in two other places the bank gave way in the same manner. Had we been under any of them our vessel must have gone to the bottom, and the ripple was distinctly felt, even where we were. About nine o'clock we passed Ruperra, a considerable village, with a large ruinous building. Ruinous as it is, after the specimen which Sibnibashi afforded us, we were not surprised to find it still occupied by the Zemindar of the district. In its present state, and rapidly as we passed it with a favourable wind, it is not very easy to judge of what it originally has been, but from its Grecian architecture it can hardly be old, while it has evident marks of having been constructed

in a striking and picturesque taste. But, as I have before observed, a building soon becomes ruinous here, and to repair any thing does not seem the habit of India. Abdullah had more than once told us strange things of the "Birds of Paradise" which we were to see as we approached the Great Ganges. I confess I was slow to give credit to him, having always understood that the remarkable birds usually so called, were inhabitants of the Malayan and Sooloo Archipelagos only. He described them, however, accurately enough, as large birds, of a gold colour, with a crest and very long tail; adding that the feathers were the same with those silky golden ones which he had seen sold in London. This morning he called to us in a great hurry that one of them was in sight, perched on a tree not far from the water's edge. Unfortunately I could not distinguish it, but Stowe, who saw it, though imperfectly, said it appeared to answer his description.

The nets used for fishing these waters are very simple and imperfect; their casting nets are indeed large, and good of their kind, but of course chiefly applicable to the smaller fry. We have seen no instance of the seine or drag-net, and the rest, even their largest, seem on the principle of a scoop, triangular, and terminating in a purse. They are extended on two long bamboos, to catch the stream and all it brings with it, and when supposed to be tolerably full, are lifted suddenly. Sometimes they are thus managed in boats in the middle of the stream, where they must require considerable dexterity; sometimes they are fastened to bamboos, in likely eddies, near the banks. In either case the tame otters must be of most essential service to drive the fish and terrify them from escaping. This rudeness of net struck me more, because on the Hooghly very large nets, apparently of the seine kind, are used, with kedgeriee-pots for floats. The river continues a noble one, and the country bordering on it is now of a fertility and tranquil beauty, such as I never saw before. Beauty it certainly has, though it has neither mountain, nor waterfall, nor rock, which all enter into

our notions of beautiful scenery in England. But the broad river, with a very rapid current, swarming with small picturesque canoes, and no less picturesque fishermen, winding through fields of green corn, natural meadows covered with cattle, successive plantations of cotton, sugar, and pawn, studded with villages and masts in every creek and angle, and backed continually (though not in a continuous and heavy line like the shores of the Hooghly) with magnificent peepul, banyan, bamboo, betel, and coco-trees, afford a succession of pictures the most riants that I have seen, and infinitely beyond any thing which I ever expected to see in Bengal. To add to our pleasure this day we had a fine rattling breeze carrying us along against the stream, which it raised into a curl, at the rate of five miles an hour; and, more than all, I heard from my wife. We brought to at seven near a large village, called Tynybanya. The banks near the river were cultivated in alternate quilletts with rice and cotton. Then followed long ridges of pawn, which grows something like a kidney-bean, and is carefully covered above and on every side with branches of bamboo, forming a sort of hedge and roof, as high as a man's head. When these branches and leaves become withered (which they soon do), they look exactly like a high mud wall, so like indeed, that when we first saw them in the course of this morning we both thought they were garden walls, and that the pawn was cultivated within instead of under them. Pawn seems one of the most highly valued productions of India, if we judge either by the pains taken in its cultivation, or the price which it bears; we were told that its retail price was sixty leaves (each as large as a bay leaf) for an ana (1½d.), no contemptible rate in a country where all products of agricultural labour are so cheap, and where rice may be had at less than half an ana the seer, a weight of nearly two pounds. Yet the only use of pawn (which has a hottish spicy flavour) is to wrap up the betel-nut, which the natives of India delight in chewing, and for which I should have thought many other leaves

would answer as well. Our servants, indeed, have an idea that the root of the pawn is collected by the apothecaries as medicine, and sold at a high rate for exportation, but I never remember hearing of it. I tried chewing the betel to-day, and thought it not unpleasant, at least I can easily believe that where it is fashionable people may soon grow fond of it. The nut is cut into small squares and wrapped up in the leaf, together with some chunam. It is warm and pungent in the mouth, and has the immediate effect of staining the tongue, mouth, and lips, of a fiery orange colour. The people here fancy it is good for the teeth, but they do not all take it. I see about half the crew without the stain on their lips, but I do not think the teeth of the others are better.

The betel is a beautiful tree, the tallest and slenderest of the palm kind, with a very smooth white bark. Nothing can be more graceful than its high slender pillars, when backed by the dark shade of bamboos and other similar foliage. A noble grove of this kind succeeded to the pawn-rows at our village this evening, embosoming the cottages, together with their little gardens, and, what I see here in greater perfection than I have yet seen in Bengal, their little green meadows and home-steads. We rambled among these till darkness warned us to return. The name of this river is Chundnah. We saw a large eagle seated on a peepul-tree very near us. On the peepul an earthen pot was hanging, which Abdullah said was brought thither by some person whose father was dead, that the ghost might drink. I before knew that spirits were supposed to delight in peepul-trees, but did not know, or had forgotten, the coincidence of the Brahminical with the classical *χοαί*.

June 29.—This morning we continued our way, with a strong and favourable breeze against "a broader and a broader stream, that rocked the little boat," and surpassing the Hooghly almost as much in width as in the richness, beauty, and cheerfulness of its banks, which makes me believe that Calcutta is really one of the most un-

favourable situations in Bengal. We passed some fishing-boats of very ingenious construction, well adapted for paddling in shallow water, and at the same time not unsafe, being broad in the beam and finely shaped. They were also clinker-built, the first of that kind which I have seen in India. About twelve o'clock we passed on our left-hand a large and handsome European house, very nobly situated on a high dry bank, with fine trees round it; and immediately after, we saw before us a sheet of water, the opposite bank of which was scarcely visible, being in fact Gunga in her greatest pride and glory. The main arm, which was visible, stretched away to the north-west, literally looking like a sea, with many sails on it. Directly north, though still at a considerable distance, the stream was broken by a large sandy island, and to the south, beyond some low sandy islets and narrower channels, we saw another reach, like the one to the north, with a sandy shore, looking not unlike the coast of Lancashire, as seen trending away from the mouth of the Mersey. To one of these islets we stood across with a fine breeze. There the boatmen drew ashore, and one of them came to ask me for an offering, which it was (he said) always customary to make at this point, to *Khizr*, for a good passage. *Khizr*, for whom the Mussulmans have a great veneration, is a sort of mythological personage, made up of different Rabbinical fables concerning Eliezer the servant of Abraham, and the prophet Elijah, on which are engrafted the chivalrous legends respecting St. George! They believe him to have attended Abraham, in which capacity he drank of the fountain of youth, which gave him immortality. This is Rabbinical, but the Mussulmans also believe him to have gone dry-shod over Jordan, to have ascended to heaven in a fiery chariot, and lastly, to be a valourous knight, who helps the arms of the believers, and will return at length on a white horse, a little before the day of judgment, together with, and as the Vizier of, our Lord, to destroy Dejjal or Anti-Christ, and subdue the multitudes of Gog and Magog.

But, as having access to the fountain of life, and as having passed Jordan, he is particularly disposed to love and cherish the waters, and all which belong to, or sail on them. Dacca, under the Mogul dynasty, was placed under his peculiar protection, and he naturally succeeded to that veneration which, in the same district, the Hindoos had previously been in the habit of paying to their Varuna, god of the seas and rivers.

Our vessel found something like a sea running in the mid-channel, and I could observe our two sirdar-bearers sitting close to each other with very melancholy countenances. I observed to mine that this river was greater than the old Gunga, and was amused by the faint and dismal assent he gave, though he endeavoured to conceal his unmarinerlike sensations. We stood across to the other side, leaving a large sandy island on the right, and halted to wait for our boats, though in a bad situation, where a heavy sea beat on the shore, and the pinnae thumped continually on the sand. We ought to have anchored further out, but that would have been contrary to the naval tactics of Bengal, which always incline to hug the shore as much as possible; and what followed made me rejoice that this was the case. A poor miserable-looking man came along-side, and with joined hands, and in accents of deep distress, asked for medicine. On inquiring what was the matter, he said that he and eight others, a boat's crew, were all lying within a few yards, so ill and weak that they could not navigate their vessel, and only himself and two more had strenght to crawl about at all. The complaint he called "play," which I was told was a bilious fever. We went to the vessel, which presented indeed a dismal scene of misery. I would not let Stowe go into the cabin, which he was about to do, but made the poor fellows come to the gang-way. Their case seemed a very plain one, their tongues white, pulse very quick and hard, and skin much suffused with yellow, and they had almost given up hope of life. Our serang said it was the Sunderbund disease, in fact, a marsh fever. Stowe immediately fell to work to make some

pills of calomel and colocynth, which they took very thankfully; and he left them more to take if required.

We soon found indeed, and on their account found with less regret, that many things were to be done before we could resume our voyage. As the wind was full against us, our top-masts were to be struck, and other preparations made for tacking. The boatmen wished to show their gratitude to St. George (or St. Khizr), by a little feast; and as the village where our lot was thrown bade fair to be interesting, we disposed ourselves for an earlier and longer walk after dinner than usual. Meantime we were besieged by beggars: a wretched old leper, all over sores, a younger object of the same kind, a blind man, with many others, came down to the beach; and when after dinner, we walked into the village, a very small and deformed dwarf, an old man not above three feet high, was brought on a man's shoulders. He seemed to set a tolerably high value on himself, and instead of being grateful for the alms I gave him as a beggar, wanted to be paid as a curiosity. The most characteristic, however, of these applicants, was a tall, well made, but lean and raw-boned man, in a most fantastic array of rags and wretchedness, and who might have answered admirably to Shakspeare's Edgar. He had a very filthy turban round his head, with a cock's feather in it, two satchels flung over his broad shoulders—the remains of a cummerbund, which had been scarlet—a large fan of the palmetto-leaf in one hand, and over the other wrist an enormous chaplet of wooden beads. He came up to our boatmen with a familiar air, bade them salam with great cordiality, then, half laughing, but with moments in which his voice assumed a tone as deep as a curfew, appeared to ask their benevolence. He was a Mussulman religious mendicant, and was come to congratulate his brethren on their arrival, and receive their bounty. That bounty was small: neither his own merits, nor those of Khizr, could extract a single pice either from serang or boatmen. They gave him, however, a little rice,

which he received in a very bright and clean pot, and then strode away, without asking anything of us, and singing *Illa, illahu!*

The evening was very fine, and we had a beautiful stroll along the beach and through the village, which, more than most I have seen, reminded me of the drawings of Otaheite and the Friendly Islands. It was surrounded by quillets of cotton, sugar-cane, and rice, overgrown with bamboos and palms, and on the shore were some fine specimens of the *datura stramonium*, which, as night came on, opened a magnificent and very fragrant white lily-shaped flower, while all the grass and bushes were gemmed with brilliant fire-flies. A number of canoes were building on the beach, many of them very neatly made, and like those which I have lately seen, clinkered. These were, however, dear (at least I thought so). On asking the price of one of them, the carpenter who was painting her said forty-six rupees. Dragon-root grows plentifully in all these thickets.

On going at night-fall to inquire after our patients, we found them already better, but very anxious for wine or spirits, which they said always cured the Sunderbund fever. Rhadacant Deb had assured me that no Hindoo ought or would on any account take spirits, or even any liquid medicine, from the hands of an European. Yet these people were all Hindoos; so that it appears that the fear of death conquers all the rules of superstition, or else that these people in general really care less about the matter than either Europeans or such bigots as Rhadacant Deb would have us believe.

The river, I should guess, at this place, is about as wide as the Mersey a mile below Liverpool, but its very flat shores make it look wider. The place where we lay was evidently frequented by people who either were frightened, or had recently been so, since there were very many traces of that devotion which originates from a supposed dangerous enterprise. I saw no fewer than three turf-built kiblas for the devotion or thanksgiving of Mohammedans, and

a small shed containing the figure of a horse, rudely made of straw plastered over with clay, which I was at a loss whether to regard as Mohammedan or pagan, since the Mussulmans of this country carry about an image of the horse of Hossein, and pay much honour to that of Khizr. Near it was a small shed of bamboos and thatch, where a man was watching a field of cucumbers, which interested me as being the same custom to which Isaiah alludes in chap. i. ver. 8. I pointed out the coincidence to Abdullah, who was greatly delighted, and observed, after some praises of Isaiah, that surely the old religion of the Brahmins must have had some truth, since they all, he said, looked forward to an incarnation of Vishnu, on a white horse, to restore the world to happiness. "They only not know," he said, "that Vishnu already incarnate, and that he come again when they mention, on white horse, as they speak," alluding, as he afterwards explained himself, to the description of Christ in Revelations xix. ver. 11. This man is certainly intelligent, and, for his situation in life, extremely well-informed.

And thus we are, literally, in India beyond the Ganges. We have had the mortification, however, of learning that we have come hither too soon, and that our serang ought to have kept on the western bank till almost opposite Jaffergunge. Through his ignorance we shall have the greatest strength of the monsoon to contend with to-morrow, instead of having its force broken by a weather-shore, or one which partly answers to that description.

June 30.—This morning we heard a very good account of our patients, and left them with a small stock of bark and wine, enough, I should hope, to set up men who are entirely unaccustomed to any stimulant. We found, unfortunately, but too soon, the difficulty of proceeding on our way to Dacca. The men towed us a few miles, with much labour, against a fierce wind, which thumped us every moment with right good will on the clay bank—then begged leave to rest—then to try the middle of the river. To this

measure we were much inclined, as the stream we thought would of itself be enough to carry our vessel down, while the wind (with the driver and jib) would serve to steady us. We soon found, however, that the pinnace, from its want of keel, had no guidance or stability in the water; that she neither answered to her helm, nor in the least bore up against the wind; nay, that the stream itself had not so much hold on her shallow construction as the wind had, even when all the sails were down. I urged them to try their oars; but the sea ran so high, and the vessel rolled so much in the middle of the stream, that these too were useless, or nearly so. We tried to regain the shore from which we had parted, but found this difficult, without a very serious loss of ground. Under these circumstances it seemed still advisable to stretch over to the western bank which we had prematurely quitted, and accordingly we stood across for the sandy island, which, on our arrival, we found divided by a broad channel. Our serang was very coolly going to establish himself for the night on the first land which he touched; but I insisted on his at least proceeding over the next broad stream, so as to get in a favourable direction for towing next day, and for remaining with a weather-shore during the night. He obeyed, and we at 5 o'clock again took up our quarters on a sandy beach, the very likeness of Southey's Crocodile Island, being pretty nearly the spot where we should have been yesterday evening, had our serang known where he was. The only interesting occurrence was the capture of a very large and beautiful iguana, or lizard, two feet nine inches long, with five toes on each foot, and a forked tongue, beautifully marked with tiger-like stripes of yellow and black. It was basking on the river bank, but was no sooner disturbed than it ran into the water, then, seeing the boats, instead of diving it began to creep up the bank again, when one of the boatmen caught it in a snickle. They were all much afraid of it, and spoke of its bite as poisonous, which, from its appearance, I am little inclined

to believe. It did not, indeed, seem to have any teeth at all. Stowe rambled about the island, and waded through a marsh after some widgeons, and shot two; on cutting them up an egg was found in each. This supply will not be unseasonable to our rapidly decreasing larder.

July 1.—This morning, the wind being more moderate, we continued our course to the western bank of the river, without any great loss of ground, and then proceeded favourably enough by towing. The river soon became free from islands of any sort, and expanded into the most noble sheet of fresh water I ever saw, I should guess not less than four miles wide. The banks are tolerably high when we are near them, but while we creep along the one, the other is only seen as a long black line on the horizon. Of course, though the view is striking, it is not picturesque, and it would soon weary us, which could hardly be the case with the beautiful Chundna.

I had the delight to-day of hearing again from my wife, and this is worth all the fine scenery in the world.

The fishermen are a finer race here than those in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and their boats better. They have also large seines, like those on the Hooghly. Yet many circumstances in their equipments are extremely rude. Many have for sail a mat or cloth suspended between two bamboos, one on each gunwale, like the New Zealanders; and one skiff passed us scudding under a yet simpler contrivance, two men standing up in her, and extending each a garment with his feet and hands. I have seen some such representations of Cupids and Venuses on gems, but little thought that the thing had its prototype in real life, and was the practice of any modern boatmen.

The noise of the Ganges is really like the sea. As we passed near a hollow and precipitous part of the bank, on which the wind set full, it told on my ear exactly as if the tide were coming in; and when the moon rested at night on this great, and, as it then seemed, this shoreless extent of water, we might have fancied ourselves in the

cuddy of an Indiaman, if our cabin were not too near the water. About half-past five we stood across the river, which ran really high, and washed the decks handsomely, and brought to amid rice, indigo, and sugar-fields, near the native town of Jaffiergunge, and had an interesting walk, though it was too late for a long one. The people were cutting indigo, which they then packed in large bundles, and loaded in boats. It both looked and smelt something like new-made hay, though with rather a stronger flavour. A good deal of wild celery was growing on the bank, which Abdullah said the people of this country boil and eat in large quantities, believing it to be very wholesome. The night-blowing stramonium was also abundant.

July 2.—We entered the river of Jaffiergunge, called Commercolly in Rennell's map, which here, however, as in other places, probably from some alteration in the course of the stream, is utterly useless. The country all populous, highly cultivated with rice, sugar, cotton, and indigo; and though woody, the banks are not oppressed with such exuberant and heavy arborage as those of the Hooghly. We passed a considerable indigo-factory, with a very pretty house attached to it. There seemed more machinery, and more activity here, than in any which we have seen. The appearance of the workmen, whose naked limbs and bodies were covered with the blue dye, was very singular.

The wind favoured our progress to-day; and though the serang did not care to abandon his trusty tow-line, the men had light work, and were in high spirits. On passing a banyan-tree, where were an old mat and a pitcher, one of them ran forwards without giving any notice of his intentions, drew the mat round his loins, placed the potsherd by his side according to rule, and so ridiculously imitated the gestures of a "Yogi" (a religious mendicant), singing all the time in the dismal tune which they use, putting his hands over his head, sprinkling earth on his face, &c., that his comrades were quite disabled from their work with laughing,

and I was myself exceedingly amused. Indeed, not having seen him run forwards, I really at first supposed him to be the person whom he counterfeited, and wondered at the irreverent mockery with which so holy a man was treated, till in a few minutes he sprang up, threw his mat and handful of ashes at his comrades, and catching up his truncheon of bamboo, resumed his place in the team with an agility and strength which urged all the rest into a round trot. This is only one out of twenty instances which every day offers, of the vivacity of these fellows, who are in fact always chattering, singing, laughing, or playing each other tricks. Yet I have met many people in Calcutta who gravely complain of the apathy and want of vivacity in the natives of India. My own observation, both of these men and of the peasants and fishermen whom we pass, is of a very different character. They are active, lively, gossiping, and laborious enough when they have any motive to stimulate them to exertion. Had I an indigo plantation, I would put them all to task-work, and I am sure that, with due inspection to prevent fraud, few labourers would surpass them in steady work, and still fewer would equal them in cheapness. Their habit of coming late to their labour, and breaking off early, arises from the variety of callings which each man at present exercises, and the time which he loses in preparing his food. Make it worth their while to establish messes, where one should cook for the remainder, and give them facilities of eating a noon-day meal on the scene of their work, and they would, I think, be easily persuaded, with far greater comfort to themselves, and advantage to their employers, to begin and leave off work at the same time with English labourers. Indeed, at some of the indigo-works which we have passed, this seems the case; and I am sure that the fishermen and dandeers work as late and as early as any people.

The stream as we advanced became broader, and the country assumed the character of inundation. The villages, on land a little elevated, were each

surrounded by its thicket of bamboos and fruit-trees. Some fine tall spreading banyans and peepuls were scattered on the driest patches of the open country, but the rest was a sheet of green rice, intersected in every direction by shallow streams, which did not as yet cover the crop, but made it look like rushes in a marsh. The low banks of the river were marked out by the bushes of datura stramonium, and long silky tufted grass, which from place to place rose above the water, and here our boatmen waded sometimes mid-leg, sometimes knee-deep. Indigo, in this low country, is confined to the banks round the villages, whence we saw several boats conveying it to the works which we had left behind us.

About two o'clock we entered on an immense extent of flat and flooded country, stretching as far as the eye could reach to the north-west, without even trees or any similar object to break the line of horizon. Here at Gwalparah, we, for the first time since leaving the Ganges, had the stream in our favour. As the wind was not altogether unfavourable, we hoisted sail, and the stream strengthened as we got into the middle of the river. The serang told me we should do extremely well, provided we could make a particular clump of trees, which we were in a very fair way for, when suddenly the wind drew round to the south-east, and began to blow hard, with rain, which fairly compelled us to bring up on the opposite side of the "Jeel"* to that which we intended, on a rotten marsh, overgrown with beautiful jungle-grass, tall and silky, and at least eight feet high, so as completely to bury the men who endeavoured to get through it. Towards sun-set the breeze moderated, when, by help of a little rowing, we got off from shore, and found ourselves in a wide stream of muddy water, rushing at the rate of eight or ten knots an hour, in which our sails just served to keep us steady, and which carried us in little more than an hour to the point we were anxious to attain. We re-

ceived two messages from Mr. Master, judge of Dacca, in the course of the day, with a most liberal supply of bread, fresh butter, and fruit. His servants say we may easily reach Dacca to-morrow.

July 3.—This morning we advanced about twelve miles with the current, making some little advantage of our sails. About eight o'clock, however, the wind was so strong and so completely in our teeth, that we were forced to bring to, as usual on a lee-shore, but so soft and yielding, being in fact all marsh and reeds, that no harm was likely to happen to the vessel. We lay in this manner till past ten, when, it being very clear that, with such a wind, it was impossible for the pinnace to reach Dacca by church-time next day, I determined on going thither in the jolly-boat, leaving Stowe, whose health would not admit of his joining such an expedition, behind. I accordingly embarked, taking with me, besides my clothes, a pocket-compass, and a common Bengalee umbrella, which being of straw, I thought would keep off the sun more effectually than my own. I took Abdullah and four of the best rowers of our crew, leaving on board the pinnace four of Mr. Master's police boatmen instead, who came to offer their services. The adventures of such a voyage were not likely to be very numerous. We found a really heavy sea in the middle of the jeel, which washed our faces liberally. The width of this expanse of water was on an average, I think, about a mile, showing, in many places, marks of the vegetation which it covered, and bordered, mostly, by tall rushes, jungle-grass, and rice fields, as yet only partially inundated. The stream was exceedingly strong, so much so as perfectly to account for the height of the waves which the wind raised by their opposition. This latter, however, became more moderate after we had rowed about an hour and a half, and the remainder of our progress was very rapid and easy, the men having little more to do than now and then to give a pull at their oars. A striped flag at the entrance of a smaller stream on our left hand at-

* In the dry season a jeel is merely a swamp, but during the rains, when near a river, it becomes navigable for pinnaces.—Ed.

tracted my attention, and the boatmen told me that a toll was paid there by all boats frequenting a market to which that nullah led. These local taxes are all, throughout the Company's territories, applied to the improvement of the districts where they are levied. A little farther we were hailed from the shore by a man earnestly begging to be taken on board. The dandees only laughed, but I told them to pull in and hear his story. He said he was a soldier in the 14th, Colonel Watson's regiment, that at their last night's halting place he had missed the boat to which he belonged, and that now all the flotilla was passed by, and unless we gave him a lift he had no chance of getting to Dacca, the country being all flooded, and he unable to swim even a few yards. I immediately turned the boat's head to the shore, and he came on board, a very fine handsome man, naked save his waist-cloth, and with a Brahminical string, but with all the carriage and air of a guardsman. Nobody could, indeed, mistake his profession, even if he had not made his military salute very gracefully. He said he had begged a passage that morning in six or eight boats, but seeing him naked and penniless they had all (as he said) "run over to the other side, as if he had been a tyger." He added, on seeing a Sahib his hopes revived, but, continued he, "these cursed Bengalees are not like other people, and care nothing for a soldier, or any body else in trouble." "To be sure," he said, laughing, "they always run away well." He pointed out some budgerows and other large boats dropping down the stream a few miles before us, and said his comrades were there, and he should be very thankful if we would put him on board of any one. We were about an hour overtaking them, but the first we approached turned out to be a cook-boat, and he begged hard that I would not put him in a vessel where he could not escape defilement (showing his string).

We accordingly proceeded through the fleet, which consisted of about twenty vessels, all deeply loaded, with their masts struck, and their long cum-

bersome oars answering very little purpose, except to keep them steady in the middle of the current. Such of them, indeed, as were in its strength, were only to be approached with caution, since as they dropped down at the rate of five or six miles an hour, and were perfectly unmanageable, they would, if they had struck her, have swamped our little boat in an instant. There was one, however, which we could board without difficulty, but this was a washerman's boat, and our passenger again objected. This second scruple excited such a burst of laughter from the Mussulman dandees, that the soldier blushed up to the eyes as soon as he had made it, and begged pardon of me, saying, "the boat would do very well," then jumping on board with another military salam, he left us to proceed with more rapidity when freed from his weight. The towers of Dacca were already in sight, at least the dandees could see them at the end of a reach of water, perhaps twelve miles in length, along which we sped merrily. As we drew nearer I was surprised at the extent of the place, and the stateliness of the ruins, of which indeed the city seemed chiefly to consist. Besides some huge dark masses of castle and tower, the original destination of which could not be mistaken, and which were now overgrown with ivy and peepul-trees, as well as some old mosques and pagodas, of apparently the same date, there were some large and handsome buildings, which, at a distance, bid fair to offer us a better reception, and towards which I, in the first instance, proposed to direct our course, knowing the difficulty which we should have, if we passed them, in returning against the stream. The boatmen said, they did not think the "Sahib Log" lived in that part of the town, but were not sure, and the appearance of a spire, which, as it seemed to mark the site of the church, confirmed me in my resolution of bearing off to the left. As we approached, however, we found these buildings also (though of more recent date than Shah Jehanguire, and many of them of Grecian architecture) as ruinous as the rest, while the spire turned out to be a

Hindoo obelisk. While we were approaching the shore, at the distance of about half a mile from these desolate palaces, a sound struck my ear, as if from the water itself on which we were riding, the most solemn and singular I can conceive. It was long, loud, deep, and tremulous, something between the bellowing of a bull and the blowing of a whale, or perhaps most like those roaring buoys which are placed at the mouths of some English harbours, in which the winds make a noise, to warn ships off them. "Oh," said Abdullah, "there are elephants bathing; Dacca much place for elephant." I looked immediately, and saw about twenty of these fine animals with their heads and trunks just appearing above the water. Their bellowing it was which I had heard, and which the water conveyed to us with a finer effect than if we had been ashore. Another mile, or thereabouts, of rowing brought us to some buildings of a more habitable description, and pretty much like those of Calcutta. One of these, close to the

water's edge, was pointed out to me as Mr. Master's, who was himself in the court of justice, but whose servants, though surprised to see the style in which I arrived, had an excellent bedroom for me, with every thing ready for bathing and dressing. I found myself in no respect the worse for my boating, except that my face was a little burnt, in spite of my chahtah, by the reflection of the water, while my shins (which had been exposed to the sun, owing to my trowsers slipping up in the uncomfortable situation in which I was compelled to sit) were scorched as if I had laid them before a great fire. These I washed in milk, which relieved them a good deal. Mr. Master, when he returned, said that, though I had, perhaps, done a rash thing in coming through the sun, yet certainly I took the only means of arriving in time for church. He said that he would send a guard-boat to help the pinnace on, but that she could not possibly get to Dacca under twenty-four hours. For my part, except my shins, I never felt better.

CHAPTER VII.

DACCA.

Ruins—Visit from the Nawáb—Visit returned—Death of Mr. Stowe—Consecration of Church, and Burial Ground—Confirmation—Armenian Archbishop—Farewell visit to Nawáb—Meer Israf Ali.

JULY 4.—I preached to a small congregation in a very small but pretty Gothic church. Mr. Parish read prayers, and gave notice of the Consecration and Confirmation for the Wednesday and Friday ensuing. About four o'clock the pinnacle arrived, but Stowe, to my great concern, sent word that he was too ill to leave it, having had a very severe relapse of dysentery. I took Mr. Todd, the surgeon of the station, to him, who pressed him to make the attempt for the sake of a more airy apartment than his cabin, and in an hour's time, the wind having abated, he got into Mr. Master's house and to bed, I hope not the worse for the exertion. Nothing can exceed Mr. Master's kindness to us both, but, I am sorry to say, he is himself by no means in good health.

The river on which Dacca stands has greatly altered its character since Rennell drew his map. It was then narrow, but is now, even during the dry season, not much less than the Hooghly at Calcutta. At present it is somewhat wider, but from the upper windows of Mr. Master's house, the opposite bank may be seen also in a great degree flooded, and though the green rice rising with the water gives it no other appearance than that of a swampy meadow, small boats are seen everywhere paddling about amid the crop, which yields them way without difficulty.

Dacca, Mr. Master says, is, as I supposed, merely the wreck of its ancient grandeur. Its trade is reduced to the sixtieth part of what it was, and all its splendid buildings, the castle of

its founder Shah Jehanguire, the noble mosque he built, the palaces of the ancient Nawábs, the factories and churches of the Dutch, French, and Portuguese nations, are all sunk into ruin, and overgrown with jungle. Mr. Master has himself been present at a tyger-hunt in the court of the old palace, during which the elephant of one of his friends fell into a well, overgrown with weeds and bushes. The cotton produced in this district is mostly sent to England raw, and the manufactures of England are preferred by the people of Dacca themselves for their cheapness. There are still a few Armenians resident in the town, some of them wealthy, with a church, and two priests. Their Archbishop, who makes once in four or five years a journey from Nakitchvan to India, is now in the place, on the same errand with me. There are also a few Portuguese, very poor and degraded. Of Greeks the number is considerable, and they are described as an industrious and intelligent people, mixing more with the English than the rest, and filling many of the subaltern situations under government. The clerk at the English church (it happens singularly enough) is a Greek, and the Greek priest has sent to request permission to call on me. Of English there are none, except a few indigo-planters in the neighbourhood, and those in the civil or military service. But the Hindoo and Mohammedan population Mr. Master still rates at 300,000, certainly no immoderate calculation, since, as he says, he has ascertained that there are above 90,000 houses and huts. The

climate of Dacca Mr. Master reckons one of the mildest in India, the heat being always tempered by the vast rivers flowing near it, and the rapidity of their streams discharging the putrid matter of the annual inundation more rapidly than is ever the case in the Hooghly. The neighbourhood affords only one short ride at this season, and not many even when the ground is dry, being much intersected by small rivers, and some large and impenetrable jungles coming pretty close to the north-east of the town. Boating is popular, and they make boats very well here. Indeed I cannot conceive a situation which more naturally would lead men to take delight in sailing. No vessels, however, larger than the small country-built brigs ever come to Dacca; during the rains ships of any moderate burden might do so, but it would be attended with some risk, and the inducements to enter this branch of the Ganges are not sufficient to encourage men to endanger their vessels or themselves, though as far as Luckipoor small European craft have been known to come. The majority prefer Chittagong, though even this last has a harbour little adapted for vessels of burden.

Of Chittagong I learnt many interesting particulars. The town of Islamabad itself is not large, and the English society is still smaller than at Dacca. The country round is pretty and romantic, consisting of a number of little round steep hills, covered with verdure, coffee, pepper, vines, and bamboos, on the summits of which the villas of the English are generally placed. These are not very accessible, the roads being often too steep and stony to admit of carriages or horses, and the usual method of visiting being in tonjons, and even these, no bearers but the practised ones of Chittagong would be able to carry in such a country. At some distance from the coast are mountains which divide this territory from that of the Burmese, and are covered by almost impenetrable woods and thickets. The climate, Mr. Master thinks, has been over-praised. It is certainly cooler during the hot months than Calcutta, but not than Dacca, while during the

rainy season, and the winter, it is exceedingly raw, aguish, and asthmatic, being subject to continual and very offensive fogs, from the quantity of uncleared land, and the neighbouring mountains. But little has been attempted at Dacca or Chittagong for the conversion of the natives, and that little has had very small success. At the former place is a Baptist minister, who is described as a very good and diligent man, and has succeeded in establishing one Christian school (among the Portuguese and Greek children), and some few Bengalee schools for the natives. But in these last he has either not ventured to introduce the New Testament, or has failed in doing so; a result so different from what has been the case in every other part of India, that I suspect some want of address, at least, in the instructor. He appears, however, to have received considerable encouragement from the English families, and I apprehend that a Church Missionary establishment of the same sort would find the situation by no means a bad one.

July 5.—To-day I had visits from most of the civil and military functionaries of Dacca. I had also a visit from Mr. Lee, a sort of secretary to his highness the Nawâb Shumsheddowlah, to congratulate me on my arrival, and to appoint a day for his calling on me. This potentate is now, of course, shorn of all political power, and is not even allowed the state palanquin, which his brother (whose heir he is) had, and which his neighbour, the Nawâb of Moorshedabad, still retains. He has, however, an allowance of 10,000 a. rupees per month, is permitted to keep a court, with guards, and is styled "highness." The palanquin, indeed, was a distinction to which his brother had no very authentic claim, and which this man could hardly expect, having been very leniently dealt with in being allowed the succession at all. He had in his youth been a bad subject, had quarrelled with government and his own family, and been concerned in the bloody conspiracy of Vizier Ali. For his share in this, he was many years imprisoned in Calcutta, during which time he acquired a better knowledge of

the English language and literature than most of his countrymen possess. He speaks and writes English very tolerably, and even fancies himself a critic in Shakspeare. He has been really a man, Mr. Master tells me, of vigorous and curious mind, who, had his talents enjoyed a proper vent, might have distinguished himself. But he is now growing old, infirm, and indolent, more and more addicted to the listless indulgences of the Asiatic prince; pomp, so far as he can afford it, dancing-girls, and opium, having, in fact, scarce any society but that of his inferiors, and being divested of any of the usual motives by which even Asiatic princes are occasionally roused to exertion. To such a man a strong religious feeling would (even as far as this world is concerned) be an inestimable treasure. But to inspire Shumsheddowlah with such a feeling, there are, alas! few if any facilities.

Government has seldom more than five companies of infantry at Dacca; but this number is now doubled, and they have also sent a small flotilla of gun-vessels, which are said to be on their way. Had the Burmese really possessed any considerable force of war-boats in the neighbourhood of Teak Naaf, Dacca might easily have fallen their prey; and the alarm excited lately was very great, and with some better reason than I had supposed. Among other objects of fear and suspicion was the poor old Nawâb, whom the English suspected of plotting against them, and sending information to the Burmese. That the Nawâb would not weep his eyes out for any reverses of the British army is, indeed, probable; but as to intelligence, he had none to send which was worth the carriage, and was so far from contemplating the approach of the Burmese with indifference, that he had taken means for removing his family as soon as possible, in case of serious alarm, while he himself requested leave to attach himself to Mr. Master, to remain or go, whenever and wherever he might think proper.

Dacca, as Abdullah truly said, "is much place for elephant." The Company have a stud of from two to three

hundred, numbers being caught annually in the neighbouring woods of Tiperah and Cachar, which are broken in for service here, as well as gradually inured to the habits which they must acquire in a state of captivity. Those which are intended for the upper provinces remain here some time, and are by degrees removed to Moorshe-dabad, Bogwangolah, Dinapoor, &c., since the transition of climate from this place to Meerut, or even Cawnpoor, is too great, and when sudden, destroys numbers. I drove in the evening, with Mr. Master, through the city and part of the neighbourhood. The former is very like the worst part of Calcutta near Chitpoor, but has some really fine ruins intermingled with the mean huts which cover three-fourths of its space. The castle which I noticed, and which used to be the palace, is of brick, yet showing some traces of the plaster which has covered it. The architecture is precisely that of the Kremlin of Moscow, of which city, indeed, I was repeatedly reminded in my progress through the town. The Grecian houses, whose dilapidated condition I have noticed, were the more modern and favourite residences of the late Nawâb, and were ruined a few years since by the encroachments of the river. The obelisk, or "mut," which I saw, was erected as an act of piety, very frequent in India, by a Hindoo, who about twenty-five years ago accumulated a large fortune in the service of the East India Company. Another mut of an almost similar form was pointed out to me a little way out of the town. The pagodas, however, of Dacca, are few and small, three-fourths of the population being Mussulmans, and almost every brick building in the place having its Persian or Arabic inscription. Most of these look very old, but none are of great antiquity. Even the old palace was built only about two hundred years ago, and consequently, is scarcely older than the Banqueting-house at Whitehall. The European houses are mostly small and poor, compared with those of Calcutta; and such as are out of the town are so surrounded with jungle and ruins as to give the idea of desolation and un-

healthiness. No cultivation was visible so far as we went, nor any space cleared except an area of about twenty acres for the new military lines. The drive was picturesque, however, in no common degree; several of the ruins were fine, and there are some noble peepul-trees. The Nawáb's carriage passed us, an old landau, drawn by four horses, with a coachman and postilion in red liveries, and some horse-guards in red also, with high ugly caps, like those of the old grenadiers, with gilt plates in front, and very ill-mounted. The great men of India evidently lose in point of effect, by an injudicious and imperfect adoption of European fashions. An eastern cavalier with his turban and flowing robes is a striking object; and an eastern prince on horseback, and attended by his usual train of white-staved and high-capped janizaries, a still more noble one; but an eastern prince in a shabby carriage, guarded by men dressed like an equestrian troop at a fair, is nothing more than ridiculous and melancholy. It is, however, but natural, that these unfortunate sovereigns should imitate, as far as they can, those costumes which the example of their conquerors has associated with their most recent ideas of power and splendour. Stowe has been very ill ever since he arrived here; to-day he is better, but still so unwell as to make me give up all idea of leaving Dacca this week.

I met a lady to-day who had been several years at Nusseerabad in Rajpootana, and during seven years of her stay in India had never seen a clergyman, or had an opportunity of going to church. This was, however, a less tedious excommunication than has been the lot of a very good and religious man, resident at Tiperah, or somewhere in that neighbourhood, who was for nineteen years together the only Christian within seventy miles, and at least three hundred from any place of worship. Occasionally he has gone to receive the Sacrament at Chittagong, about as far from his residence as York from London. These are sad stories, and in the case of Nusseerabad, I hope, not beyond the reach of a remedy.

July 6.—The Nawáb called this morning according to his promise, accompanied by his eldest son. He is a good-looking elderly man, of so fair a complexion as to prove the care with which the descendants of the Mussulman conquerors have kept up their northern blood. His hands, more particularly, are nearly as white as those of an European. He sat for a good while smoking his hookah, and conversing fluently enough in English, quoting some English books of history, and showing himself very tolerably acquainted with the events of the Spanish war, and the part borne in it by Sir Edward Paget. His son is a man of about thirty, of a darker complexion, and education more neglected, being unable to converse in English. The Nawáb told us of a fine wild elephant, which his people were then in pursuit of, within a few miles of Dacca. He said that they did not often come so near. He cautioned me against going amongst the ruins, except on an elephant, since tigers sometimes, and snakes always, abounded there. He asked me several pertinent questions as to the intended extent and object of my journey, and talked about the Greek priest, who, he said, wished to be introduced to me, and whom he praised as a very worthy, well-informed man. I asked him about the antiquities of Dacca, which he said were not very old, the city itself being a comparatively recent Mussulman foundation. He was dressed in plain white muslin, with a small gold tassel attached to his turban. His son had a turban of purple silk, ribbed with gold, with some jewels in it. Both had splendid diamond rings. I took good care to call the father "his highness," a distinction of which Mr. Master had warned me that he was jealous, and which he himself, I observed, was very careful always to pay him. At length pawn and attar of roses were brought to me, and I rose to give them to the visitors. The Nawáb smiled and said, "What, has your lordship learned our customs?" Our guests then rose, and Mr. Master gave his arm to the Nawáb to lead him down stairs. The staircase was lined with attendants with

silver sticks, and the horse-guard, as before, were round the carriage; this was evidently second-hand, having the arms of its former proprietor still on the panel, and the whole show was anything but splendid. The Company's Sepoys were turned out to present arms, and the Nawâb's own followers raised a singular sort of acclamation as he got into his carriage, reckoning up the titles of his family, "Lion of War!" "Prudent in Counsel!" "High and mighty Prince!" &c. &c. But the thing was done with little spirit, and more like the proclamation of a crier in an English court of justice, than a ceremony in which any person took an interest. I was, however, gratified throughout the scene by seeing the humane (for it was even more than good-natured) respect, deference, and kindness, which, in every word and action, Mr. Master showed to this poor humbled potentate. It could not have been greater, or in better taste, had its object been an English prince of the blood.

July 8.—Stowe, who has had a relapse, is rather better this morning, but his situation is very uncomfortable. There is no probability of his being able to go with me up the country, or to leave Dacca, perhaps for many weeks. This is very distressing. To delay my departure so long will be to endanger the whole prospect of effecting my arrival at Cawnpore during the rains; or possibly of performing at all, during the present year, the Visitation, on which, and for so many reasons, I have set my heart, and for which I have already given up so much. The prospect of being so long burdensome to Mr. Master is not agreeable. Nor, though this is a minor consideration, can I look forward without annoyance to so large a pecuniary sacrifice as is involved in abandoning a voyage, which I have already paid for, and have by so doing largely anticipated the allowance made by Government, and which I can only expect to receive if I persevere in my journey. On the other hand, I will not leave my friend so long as he is in danger, or till I see him in a really convalescent state.

In the afternoon I accompanied Mr. Master to pay a visit to the Nawâb, according to appointment. We drove a considerable way through the city, then along a shabby avenue of trees intermingled with huts, then through an old brick gateway into a sort of wild-looking close, with a large tree and some bushes in the centre, and ruinous buildings all round. Here was a company of Sepoys, drawn up to receive us, very neatly dressed and drilled, being in fact a detachment of the Company's local regiment, and assigned to the Nawâb as a guard of honour. In front was another and really handsome gateway, with an open gallery, where the "Nobut," or evening martial music, is performed, a mark of sovereign dignity, to which the Nawâb never had a just claim, but in which Government continues to indulge him. Here were the Nawâb's own guard, in their absurd coats and caps, and a crowd of folk with silver sticks, as well as two tonjons and chahtahs, to convey us across the inner court. This was a little larger than the small quadrangle at All Souls, surrounded with low and irregular, but not inelegant buildings, kept neatly, and all whitewashed. On the right hand was a flight of steps, leading to a very handsome hall, an octagon, supported by Gothic arches, with a verandah round it, and with high Gothic windows well venetianed. The octagon was fitted up with a large round table covered with red cloth, mahogany drawing-room chairs, two large and handsome convex mirrors, which showed the room and furniture to considerable advantage, two common pier-glasses, some prints of the king, the emperor Alexander, lords Wellesley and Hastings, and the duke of Wellington, and two very good portraits, by Chinnery, of the Nawâb himself, and the late Nawâb, his brother. Nothing was gaudy, but all extremely respectable and noblemannerly. The Nawâb, his son, his English secretary, and the Greek priest whom he had mentioned to me, received us at the door, and he led me by the hand to the upper end of the table. We sate some time, during which the conversation

was kept up better than I expected; and I left the palace a good deal impressed with the good sense, information, and pleasing manners of our host, whose residence considerably surpassed my expectations, and whose court had nothing paltry, except his horse-guards and carriage. The visit ended in an invitation to dinner, but without fixing a day. I said I should be happy to accept it, and hinted that an early day would suit me best. So that it does not delay my journey, I shall like it very well.

Dacca is sometimes visited by earthquakes, though not very severe ones. Mr. Master's house was much shaken last year. The general run of European houses here is about equal to the second or third-rate of those in Calcutta: the rents seem nearly the same. Few are actually on the river, but those are the best, and bear the highest prices.

July 12.—A long interval has occurred, during which I have had neither time nor heart to continue my journal, having been closely occupied in attending the sick and dying bed of my excellent and amiable friend, Stowe, and in the subsequent necessary duties of taking care of his interment and property. She for whose eyes I write these pages, will gladly spare me a repetition of the sad story of his decline, death, and burial.

I this morning left Dacca, after a residence of eighteen days, marked by great, and to me most unusual, anxiety and sorrow; but during which I, as well as my poor friend, received in our affliction a degree of hospitality, attention, affectionate and delicate kindness from the civil and military officers attached to the station, and their families, and most of all from our excellent host, Mr. Master, which I shall never forget, and for which, I trust, I shall be always grateful.

I do not recollect anything very material which I saw or heard during this period, having, indeed, been pretty closely confined to my friend's sick room. On Saturday, the 9th, I confirmed about twenty persons, all adults, and almost all of the higher ranks. On the following Sunday I consecrated

the Church. This, perhaps, ought, in strictness, to have preceded the Confirmation; but the inversion afforded the Catechumens an immediate opportunity of attending the Lord's Supper, of which they all availed themselves, as well, I believe, as all the other inhabitants of the station. The whole number of communicants was thirty-four or thirty-five, and I never witnessed a congregation more earnestly attentive. On this occasion poor Stowe was to have preached, but that duty now devolved on me.

In the evening I consecrated the burial-ground; a wild and dismal place, surrounded by a high wall, with an old Moorish gateway, at the distance of about a mile from the now inhabited part of the city, but surrounded with a wilderness of ruins and jungle. It is, however, large and well adapted for its purposes, containing but few tombs, and those mostly of old dates, erected during the days of Dacca's commercial prosperity, and while the number of European residents was more considerable than it is at present. One was pointed out to me, over the remains of a Mr. Paget, Chaplain to the Company, in July, 1724. He then little thought or feared how strangely the centenary anniversary of his interment would be kept up! Some of the tombs are very handsome; one more particularly, resembling the buildings raised over the graves of Mussulman saints, has a high octagon Gothic tower, with a cupola in the same style, and eight windows with elaborate tracery. Within are three slabs over as many bodies, and the old Durwan of the burial-ground said, it was the tomb of a certain "Columbo Sahib, Company ka nuokur," Mr. Columbo, servant to the Company; who he can have been I know not; his name does not sound like an Englishman's, but as there is no inscription, the Beadle's word is the only accessible authority. Another tomb is over a Chinese convert to Christianity and Protestantism, who seems to have resided here about one hundred years ago. The remainder are of various, but not very remote date, in the usual Anglo-Indian style

of obelisk or pyramid, but all overgrown with ivy, and the destructive peepul tree. Some fine elephants, with their mohouts, were browsing on the trees and bushes round the wall, and amid the neighbouring ruins. Indian cattle occupied the little grassy glades which intersected what would else have been a trackless forest, and the whole had so wild and characteristic an appearance, that I regretted that I had no time to make a drawing.

One evening I drove with Mr. Master to see the prisons. The first we visited was a place of confinement for the insane, which the humanity of government provides in every district. There were altogether a considerable number, the curable and incurable, the male and the female, separated in distinct wards, under the care of the surgeon of the station and several native doctors. The place was airy, well suited to the climate, and the prisoners seemed well treated, though, when I praised their cleanliness, Mr. Master observed, that he feared they knew we were coming. The patients, however, when asked if they had any complaints, only urged (which some of them did very fluently) that they were unjustly confined, and could prove themselves either to have been never mad, or now to be quite recovered. Two only seemed dangerous, and were kept in small grated cells, though several had light handcuffs on. One of these talked incessantly, with violent gesticulations, menacing his keepers through his bars; the other was a gloomy and sullen wretch, stretched out on his mat, but now and then uttering a few low words, which Mr. Master said were bitter curses. The first was a Brahmin schoolmaster, and had murdered his brother; the second was in a decent rank in society, and had repeatedly attempted the lives of his wife and children. Melancholy or mere fatuity seemed the most general characters which the disease assumed. Mad persons may be sent hither by their friends, on payment of a small sum, or, if poor, by the "Daroga" of each "pergunnah" (the superintendent of a district), whose duty it is to apprehend and send to the dis-

trict asylum any dangerous or disgusting object of this kind who may be at large.

The prison was very well arranged, with roomy wards, dry and airy apartments, and permission given once a day to all the prisoners to go out on a large plain, with a low outer wall, to dress their victuals. This indulgence, indeed, joined to the lowliness of even the main wall, makes it necessary to keep them all in irons, but that is, in this climate, a far less evil than a closer confinement, or the increased interruption of the fresh air. The prisoners complained loudly that their allowances were not sufficient. Mr. Master told me that the present dearth of rice made them, indeed, far less than they used to be, but that the original scale was too high, and more than a man could earn by labour. Some Burmans were here, and the only persons not handcuffed (except the debtors). They had been taken in the Company's territory, not in arms, but unable to give any good account of themselves, and therefore supposed to be spies. They seemed, however, poor simple peasants, and Mr. Master said he had recommended government to discharge them, since, in truth, there had always been a little smuggling trade on the Munni-poor frontier for salt and ivory, and these men, he verily believed, had no further or more sinister views. They were middle-sized, well-made men, in complexion and countenance half-way between the Indian and Chinese, and a good deal tattooed. The debtors were numerous and very miserable objects. So long as they continue here, their creditors are bound to make them the same allowance as government makes to the criminals, but a Hindoo creditor, though murmuring grievously at this expense, is generally (Mr. Master said, and Dr. Carey had said the same thing before) intensely cruel, and prefers the gratification of revenge, even to that of avarice. Several of the debtors here were very old men, and some had been kept many years in prison.

Another evening I went in a beautiful boat of Mr. Mitford's to the "Pagla

Pwll," or Mad Bridge, a ruin four miles below Dacca. It is a very beautiful specimen of the richest Tudor Gothic, but I know not whether it is strictly to be called an Asiatic building, for the boatmen said the tradition is, that it was built by a Frenchman. There is a very fine and accurate engraving of it in Sir Charles D'Oyley's "Ruins of Dacca."

I had two visits during the week from the Armenian Archbishop of Ecmiazin (near what *they* call Mount Ararat), who, attended by one of the suffragans of the patriarch of Jerusalem, is making a visitation of all the different churches of their communion in Persia and India. The Archbishop has every appearance of a mild, respectable, intelligent man: he of Jerusalem seems shrewd. I was anxious to be civil to them both, but they only spoke Turkish and their own tongue. Fortunately one of their Dacca congregation could officiate as interpreter, and then we got on well by the help of my Russian acquaintance and recollections. They were both well acquainted with Georgia; and Abraham, of Jerusalem, had been at Mosdok, Nakitchewan, Kalomna, and Mosco. I was able to do them some trifling services, and we parted with mutual good wishes.

July 20.—I went to pay my farewell visit to the Nawâb, who had been really more than civil. Almost every day during the last week, he had sent baskets of fruit, dressed dishes and pastry, some (which is a common eastern compliment) for my own dinner, others with a special recommendation for my sick friend. All the return I could make, and it was one which I heartily pray God in his goodness may make useful, was the present of my Hindoostanee prayer-book, which being splendidly bound, and containing much which a Mussulman would not dislike, I cast, "like bread on the waters," though I fear on a stormy sea, and one turbid with gross indulgences and prejudices. Poor old man! I should rejoice to learn that he had sometimes looked into its pages. This he voluntarily promised to do in his last visit, and, as we were alone, we had a good

deal of talk about politics and other things, in the course of which he desired I would sometimes write to him. He then said, "I am not going to offer you a valuable present, but only trifles which are here common, but which in Europe would be curiosities. This muslin I do hope you will offer in my name to your lady, and instead of your present stick, now that you are lame (I had not quite recovered the effects of the sun on my legs), that you will walk with my cane." Of the former I am no judge: the latter is very pretty, of a solid piece of ivory, beautifully carved. It is too fine for me to walk with, but I shall always value it. I was received and dismissed on this, as on the former occasion, with presented arms.

I went from the palace to the house of Meer Israf Ali, the chief Mussulman gentleman in this district. He is said by Mr. Master to have been both extravagant and unfortunate, and therefore to be now a good deal encumbered. But his landed property still amounts to above three hundred thousand begahs, and his family is one of the best (as a private family) in India. He was himself absent at one of his other houses. But his two eldest sons had been very civil, and had expressed a hope that I would return their visit. Besides which, I was not sorry to see the inside of this sort of building. Meer Israf Ali's house is built round a court-yard, and looks very much like a dismantled convent, occupied by a corps of Uhlans. There are abundance of fine horses, crowds of shabby-looking servants in showy but neglected liveries, and on the whole a singular mixture of finery and carelessness. The two young men, and a relation, as they said he was, who seemed to act as their preceptor and as their father's man of business, received me with some surprise, and were in truth marvellously dirty, and unfit to see company. They were, however, apparently flattered and pleased, and showed their good manners in offering no apologies, but leading me up a very mean staircase into their usual sitting-rooms, which were both better in themselves, and far better

furnished than I expected from the appearance of things below. After the few first compliments, I had recourse to Abdullah's interpretation, and they talked very naturally and rather volubly about the fine sport their father would show me the next time I came into the country, he having noble covers for tigers, leopards, and even wild elephants. At last out came a wish for silver sticks! Their father, they said, was not in the habit of asking favours from government, but it was a shame that the Baboos of Calcutta should obtain badges of nobility, while real *Seyuds*, descendants of the prophet, whose ancestors had never known what trade was, but had won with their swords from the idolaters, the lands for which they now paid taxes to the Company, should be overlooked. I could promise them no help here, and reminded them that an old family was always respected whether it had silver sticks or no, and that an upstart was only laughed at for decorations

which deceived nobody. "Yes," said the younger, "but our ancestors used to have silver sticks, and we have got them in the house at this day." I said if they could prove that, I thought that government would be favourable to their request, but advised them to consult Mr. Master, who was their father's intimate friend. We then parted, after their bringing pawn and rose-water in a very antique and elegantly-carved bottle, which might really have belonged to those days when their ancestors smote the idolaters. Mr. Master afterwards said, that if the Meer himself had been at home, I never should have been plagued with such topics; that he was a thorough gentleman, and a proud one, who wished for the silver sticks, but would never have asked the interest of a stranger. The young men called afterwards to see me to my boat, and brought me some toys for my children, and a travelling cap often worn by Mussulmans in this district.

CHAPTER VIII.

Dacca to Furreedpoor.

Inundation—Gun-boat attacked—Mussulman Fakir—Furreedpoor—System of Robbery—Domestic Habits of Hindoos—Extract from Calendar.

HAVING preserved these hasty recollections of the past week, I return to my journey.

Being anxious to prevent Miss Stowe, who I feared had, on hearing of her poor brother's illness, set out from Calcutta to join him, from coming to Dacca, I did not take the direct northern course by the great jeels, but sailed eastward across the Delaserry river and a wide tract of flooded country, which offered a strange and dreary spectacle, from the manner in which the wretched villages were huddled together on little mounds of earth, just raised above the level of the inundation, while all the rest was covered with five or six feet of water. I thought of Gray's picture of the Egyptian Delta, whose peasants

"On their frail boats to neighbouring cities glide,

Which rise and glitter o'er the ambient tide."

But these villages do anything but glitter. At length we passed them all, and entered what might be called a sea of reeds. It was, in fact, a vast jeel or marsh, whose tall rushes rise above the surface of the water, having depth enough for a very large vessel. We sailed briskly on, rustling like a greyhound in a field of corn: while in one place where the reeds were thickest, and I tried the depth with an oar, there was, I should guess, at least ten feet water, besides whatever else there might be of quagmire.

After this we entered a nullah, with rice only partially flooded, and a succession of woods and villages, till at six we halted for the night, in a very plea-

sant spot, near a large village, named Nawâb Gunge. I should have enjoyed my little walk, if my recollections would have allowed me.

July 23.—We commenced our journey this morning with unusual alertness, but ere long it was interrupted. A sudden turn of the river exposed us, about twelve at noon, to so strong a contrary wind, that after a few trials the men declared they could not proceed, and begged leave to get their dinner, in the hope that the breeze might moderate. I was not sorry for this delay, as I hoped to receive information from Dacca which might set me at liberty to go directly northward, but letters arrived which, to my great sorrow, established the fact that Miss Stowe was on her way to Dacca, and made it advisable for me to push on to meet her as fast as possible. I put, therefore, into immediate force the magic of my own silver sticks, and the potent talisman of brass which adorned the girdle of the Chuprassee whom Mr. Master had ordered to accompany me to Hajy-gunge, and sent to the Jemautdar* of the nearest village a requisition for twenty men to drag my boats, with the information, at the same time, that the service would not be, as I fear it often is in this country, gratuitous. No sooner, however, were the messengers seen approaching, than half the village, fearing that it was some government duty which was required, ran away to hide themselves, and it was not till the

* This appellation is variously given to a house-servant, the chief man of a village, and to an officer in the army, of a rank corresponding to a lieutenant.—Ed.

Jemautdar had gone round to explain matters to some of their wives, that any tolerable workmen made their appearance. At last the prescribed number arrived, and we began moving with tolerable rapidity, and continued advancing prosperously till nine o'clock at night, when the twenty men were extremely well satisfied with two rupees among them! and willingly promised to attend next morning; so cheap is labour in this part of India. An event has occurred on the Matabunga since we traversed it, which shows the low state of morality among the peasants of India, and how soon and how surely a sudden temptation will transform the most peaceable into banditti. A large boat attached to the gun-boats which arrived the other day at Dacca from Calcutta, loaded with ammunition, got aground pretty near the same place where we had the bank cut through. The country people were called in to assist in getting her off, very likely from the same village whose inhabitants we found so diligent and serviceable. The ammunition, however, was packed in cases resembling those in which treasure is usually conveyed in this country, and in consequence, as is supposed, of this mistake, the boat, being by the accident separated from the fleet, was attacked the following night by (as is said) near three hundred people, armed with spears, bamboos, hoes, and whatever else a tumultuary insurrection usually resorts to. They were repulsed by the Sepoys with difficulty, and not till several had been shot. The affair made a great noise in Dacca, nothing of the kind having been heard of for many years in that neighbourhood. A commission had gone to the spot to inquire into the case, and one of the small neighbouring Zemindars was said to be in custody. Natives, Mr. Master said, are often pillaged, and travel always in more or less danger. But decoits seldom venture on an European boat, and still more rarely on a vessel in the Company's service, and guarded by soldiers.

In the course of our halt this day a singular and painfully interesting cha-

racter presented himself in the person of a Mussulman Fakir, a very elegantly formed and handsome young man, of good manners, and speaking good Hindoostanee, but with insanity strongly marked in his eye and forehead. He was very nearly naked, had a white handkerchief tied as an ornament round his left arm, a bright yellow rag hanging loosely over the other, a little cornelian ornament set in silver round his neck, a large chaplet of black beads, and a little wooden cup in his hand. He asked my leave to sit down on the bank to watch what we were doing, and said it gave his heart pleasure to see Englishmen; that he was a great traveller, had been in Bombay, Cabul, &c., and wanted to see all the world, wherein he was bound to wander as long as it lasted. I offered him alms, but he refused, saying he never took money—that he had had his meal that day, and wanted nothing. He sat talking wildly with the servants a little longer, when I again told Abdullah to ask him if I could do anything for him; he jumped up, laughed, said "No pice!" then made a low obeisance, and ran off, singing "La Illah ul Allah!" His manner and appearance nearly answered to the idea of the Arab Mejnoun, when he ran wild for Leila.

July 24.—I met yesterday evening with a severe disappointment. I had left Dacca cheered with the hope that my wife, who had expressed great anxiety to accompany me in the event of Stowe's illness terminating fatally, would be able to join me with our children at Boglipoor; but I received a letter from her, forwarded by Mr. Master, which made me see that this would be impossible. This news, added to the uncomfortable state of my mind and feelings, kept me awake great part of the night, and I arose ill and unfreshed.

The labourers were after their time, and the wind being moderate, we set off without them. They overtook us, however, in two boats, in about three miles, and were of very material use in helping us on to the junction of this stream with the great Ganges. Just before we arrived at this point I saw

two pinnaces in the offing. In the hope that one might prove to be Miss Stowe's, I immediately brought to, and sent off a letter to prepare her for the sad tidings of her brother's death; but the boats belonged to another party.

We now proceeded again with the tow-line: the wind was strongly against us, the stream in which we were running almost full south, but the additional coolies did wonders for us. Including the crew, there were no less than twenty-eight men at the rope of my pinnacle, and eight to each of the other boats. About half-past one we reached the place where our stream rejoined the Ganges, which lay before us with its vast expanse of water.

The woods near Hajygunge and Furreedpoor lay like a long dark outline on the horizon, at the distance of about twelve miles, six miles being, I should guess, pretty nearly the width of the river. I here dismissed the country people, but found that though the wind was full south, it was still not over and above favourable, since, though it would carry us up the river, it would effectually prevent our making Furreedpoor. While Mohammed (the serang) and Abdullah were consulting as to what was best to be done, I saw a small pinnacle creeping slowly towards us amid the long reeds, which we hailed; when it was ascertained who we were, a young officer jumped into the dingy and paddled up towards us, whom I soon recognized to be my old shipmate Gresley, who, with his companion, Lient. P., dined with me. There were few medical applications which could have done me so much good as a motive for an extra glass of wine, and the lively conversation of two young men, for one of whom I had a sincere regard. We parted soon after four, and I had a very good sail over the river, and might, I soon found, have had a better, had not Mohammed, from his exceeding terror of being carried out of his knowledge, or of being compelled to pass a night *at sea*, instead of fairly sailing straight for the river on which the villages stand, laboured hard, by keeping his boat as near the wind as her construction allowed, to make the

opposite bank as soon as possible. We arrived there in consequence about six o'clock, at least eight miles to the S. of the point we wished for; and in the neighbourhood of a little village overhung with palms, we made fast to a green meadow. Our people had learnt caution by the recent events on the Matabunga, and Abdullah came to request that I would give orders for two sentries for the night.

July 25.—I slept well, and have seldom awakened with more reason for gratitude. My health, which had been for some time a good deal deranged, appeared renovated, and I felt myself ready to adopt any line of conduct which circumstances might claim from me.

We were obliged to track our boat, the wind having fallen, and it was ten o'clock before we reached the Hajygunge nullah. Before we had advanced far, a boat came up with a letter from Mr. Warner, the magistrate of these districts, and to my inexpressible delight, one from my wife, which Mr. Master had forwarded. Her account of herself was comfortable, but I was again forcibly convinced that it would be impossible for her to join me at Bogliipoor. My main anxiety therefore was, that she should not fret about a separation which was unavoidable, and that she should be convinced that I am likely to do extremely well, and travel very safely; and that, though now alone, I should have companions the greatest part of the way.

Mr. Warner soon after called on me, and I accompanied him to his house, where I found a very well-furnished library. At present his house was full of ladies, fugitives from Chittagong; but except his own family and inmates, he had no society, no Europeans, not even a medical man being within very many miles. In the evening we walked in the garden, and Mr. Warner pointed out one tree on which two pelicans never failed to roost, and another which had an eagle's nest. Eagles are, he said, very common on all these rivers, and pelicans by no means rare; and he expressed some surprise at learning how few of either I had seen during my

progress. A beautiful and fragrant purple flower was shown me as the jalap-plant. Mr. Warner then took me a pleasant drive in the carriage, and I had some very interesting conversation with him; on our return to the house I read prayers and a sermon, and then went to my boat. On the whole, between the books I found, the things I saw, and the people I met with, I passed a pleasant, and I trust not an unprofitable Sunday.

Mr. Warner told me, that even now I was, in his judgment, a fortnight too late to succeed in getting up to Cawn-poor, but that to Benares I might do very well.

Among Mr. Warner's books I found in a volume of the "Edinburgh Annual Register," a dialogue from an ancient Arabic MS. in the Bodleian, translated six years ago by Dr. Nicol, containing a dispute between a Christian monk and certain learned Mussulmans, at the court of one of the Seljuckian sultans, which I thought so clever, and so evidently authentic, that it greatly delighted me, and I borrowed it for Abdullah, as more likely than most things which I have seen to do him good, and confirm his faith in Christ. The original Arabic ought by all means to be published, if it is not already, and sent out for circulation in the East by the societies interested in such good works. I here dismissed the police-boat and chuprassee with which Mr. Master had furnished me. It is pleasing to see how popular Mr. Master is; he is spoken of here in just the same way as he is at Dacca.

Mr. Warner I find had not heard a word of the alleged attack on the Company's boats on these waters. Such a thing might, he said, have occurred in the Kishnagur district without his hearing of it, but he conceived it must have been greatly exaggerated. He said that the Indians can never tell a story without excessive falsification one way or the other. He had frequently had cases of assault brought before him, in which the plaintiff at first stated that he had been attacked and nearly killed by above a hundred men, when it turned out that he had received a beating from

one or two men, twenty or thirty others being possibly present (as in a village or market), but taking no part in the quarrel. In the same way if a house or a boat is robbed, the complainant generally exaggerates the number of decoits to any multitude which he may think likely to excite the magistrate's attention and pity. Nevertheless there was, he said, a great deal of gang robbery, very nearly resembling the ribband-men of Ireland, but unmixed with any political feeling, in all these provinces. It is but too frequent for from five to ten peasants to meet together as soon as it is dark, to attack some neighbour's house, and not only plunder, but torture him, his wife, and children, with horrible cruelty, to make him discover his money. These robbers in the day-time follow peaceable professions, and some of them are thriving men, while the whole firm is often under the protection of a Zemindar, who shares the booty, and does his best to bring off any of the gang who may fall into the hands of justice, by suborning witnesses to prove an alibi, bribing the inferior agents of the police, or intimidating the witnesses for the prosecution. In this way many persons are suspected of these practices, who yet go on many years in tolerably good esteem with their neighbours, and completely beyond the reach of a government which requires proof in order to punish. Mr. Warner thinks the evil has increased since the number of spirit shops has spread so rapidly. At present these places bring in a very considerable revenue to government, and are frequented by multitudes both of the Hindoo and Mussulman population. They are generally, however, resorted to at night, and thus the drunkenness, the fierce and hateful passions which they engender, lead naturally to those results which night favours, at the same time that they furnish convenient places of meeting for all men who may be banded for an illicit purpose. I asked what the Brahmins said to this. He answered that the Brahmins themselves were many of them drunkards, and some of them decoits, and that he thought what influence they retained

was less for good or moral restraint, than evil. Yet he said that they had a good deal of influence still, while this had been quite lost by the Mussulman Imams and Moulahs. He spoke, however, favourably of the general character of the people, who are, he said, gentle, cheerful, and industrious, these great crimes being, though unhappily more common than in Europe, yet certainly not universal. He had learned, from different circumstances, more of the internal economy of the humbler Hindoo families than many Europeans do, and had formed a favourable opinion of their domestic habits and happiness. As there is among the cottagers no seclusion of women, both sexes sit together round their evening lamps in very cheerful conversation, and employ themselves either in weaving, spinning, cookery, or in playing at a kind of dominoes. He says it is untrue that the women in these parts, at least, are ignorant of sewing, spinning, or embroidery, inasmuch as, while the trade of Dacca flourished, the sprigs, &c., which we see on its muslins, were very often the work of female hands. This is a strange and blended tissue of human life and human character! which it is most painful to hear of, since one cannot contemplate the evening enjoyments of a happy and virtuous family, such as is described, without anticipating the possibility of their cottage being made, during the night, a scene of bloodshed, torture, and massacre. Yet, alas! can we forget that, in all these respects, India is too like Ireland!

July 26.—Still I had no news of Miss Stowe, and I was compelled to remain at Furreedpoor. I am sadly weary of waiting; and the worst is, I am told that there will be very little more south wind this year; if so, my progress will be slow indeed. I got a very pleasant walk this morning, without feeling tired, and breakfasted and dined with the Warners. The interval between breakfast and dinner I spent in the study, partly in writing letters, and partly in looking over a curious document which he allowed me to see, being his Gaol Calendar, as to be returned to the Circuit Judge. His

"Cutcherry," or Court of Justice, the gaol, and a small unoccupied bungalow, are the only buildings, besides his own house, in the station. The huts of the natives are in no compact village, but scattered thinly up and down a large and fertile extent of orchard-garden and paddy-ground. To return, however, to the Calendar.

So far as the present quarter, it stands thus:—

Case 1, Affray, and assault on a single person, by fourteen criminals.

2, One man charged with the murder of his fellow-workman in the fields.

3, One man charged with forgery.

4, Five with house-breaking.

5, Two charged with house-breaking.

6, Five charged with affray and riot, destroying property, &c. [This is connected with the succeeding case of forgery, being an attempt, under colour of a forged instrument first, and afterwards by violence, to obtain possession of an indigo-work.—See Cases 14 and 19.]

7, Four for house-breaking and attempt to murder.

8, Three for house-breaking.

9, Five for child-stealing. [In this case one of the accused parties, in whose house the little girl was found, declared in his own justification, that desiring to obtain a wife for his son (a boy), he had given some rupees to a neighbour (one of the robbers) to buy one: that the said neighbour brought him the little girl, saying she was his niece, and that he received her as such. But there was little doubt that this was untrue, and that the design of the whole gang was to sell the child to some person at a distance.]

10, Two for murder by poison, administered in brandy.

11, Five for false imprisonment and murder. [A man was seen bound and dragged along by the five prisoners, was taken to the house of one of them, and there confined two or three days, and beaten, as it is said, to death. They plead that the man was mad, and his death occasioned by his distemper. It appears, however, that there was previous malice, and that they were not bound to take care of him, if he had been mad.]

12, Seven for house-breaking, with torture.

13, Three for homicide, in executing an arrest.

14, Seven for an affray and riot at another indigo-factory, arising out of the same dispute with the one formerly mentioned.

15, Four for piracy and attempt to murder.

16, One for murder, by striking with a bamboo.

17, Nine for an attack on a dwelling-house, plundering, beating, and false imprisonment.

18, One for false imprisonment, assault, and compelling the plaintiff to sign a false deposition.

19, Seven for forgery and subornation of forgery.—See Cases 6 and 14.

- 20, Six for robbing a boat.
 21, Two for assault with intent to kill.
 22, Five for piracy and attempt to kill.

In all ninety-one prisoners for trial, not including a very curious case, now under investigation, in which a wealthy Brahmin is accused of having procured his enemy to be seized and carried before the altar of Kali in his private house, and having there cut off his head, after the manner in which sheep and hogs are sacrificed to their deities. This offers, certainly, no favourable view of the morals of the country, considering that the district of Furreedpoor is not larger than the ordinary run of Welsh counties. Two circumstances worth notice are, the gangs in which most crimes are committed, and the nature of the defence usually set up, which I observed was, in nine cases out of ten, an alibi, being the easiest of all others to obtain by the aid of false witnesses. Perjury is dreadfully common, and very little thought of.

In the evening I again drove out with Mr. Warner. A large lake is at a small distance from the house, which holds water all summer. The natives say it was part of the original bed of the Ganges which used to cover all Furreedpoor, till a Raja requiring a portion for his daughter, implored Varuna to give him one. The god sent a tortoise which swam out, making a large circuit in the bed of the river, and immediately within that space dry land appeared. I read prayers to Mr. Warner's family circle, and returned to my pinnacle. Furreedpoor used to be a favourite station of-banditti, and so dangerous, that till a local magistrate with a strong police was settled here, no valuable boat ever risked the passage. This part of its former history may possibly have made the manners of its present inhabitants more unruly, and account in some degree for the heaviness of the calendar.

July 27.—This day passed as the preceding. I heard nothing of Miss

Stowe, and the disadvantage of any further delay to my voyage seemed so serious, that I determined, unless some news reached me in the course of this day or night, to go on.

July 28.—No tidings arriving, and having done every thing I could think of to ensure the gradual impartment of the sad news of her brother's death to poor Miss Stowe, and provided as far as I could for the comfort and safety of her dismal homeward journey, about noon, when I was hurrying the serang to make sail, I received a letter from my poor wife, with an account of the severe illness of both our babies, and of the merciful deliverance which our beloved little Emily had received from God. This letter grievously agitated me, so much so that I think for some time I hardly felt or understood what had happened. My first impression was to hurry home to Calcutta. But on reading the letter over again, I knew I could implicitly trust my wife when she told me that the danger was over; that if she had apprehended the probability of a relapse, she would not have concealed it from me; that I was engaged at this time in a solemn professional duty, to desert which without the strongest grounds, would be a criminal distrust of God, and neglect of his service; that my presence would not help my poor child, and that in case of the worst which I might hear at Bogwangola, I might at all events then return to comfort my wife under her affliction. On the whole I determined to go on, though, when I had made that determination, and was actually on the broad stream of the Ganges, it seemed as if I first became sensible of the bitterness which I had escaped, and which might still threaten me. I did not, however, repent of the resolution which I had taken, and I hoped I acted right, and not unfeelingly to my dear wife, in thus preferring a public to a private duty.

CHAPTER IX.

FURREEDPOOR TO BOGLIPOOR.

Blind Beggar—Crocodile—Ape—Silk Manufactory—Basket for catching Fish—Bogwangola—Strength of Current—Begging Dervises—Ant-hills—Rajmahâl Hills—Gour—Rajmahâl—Sultan Sujah's Palace—Puharrees—Caves—Gossain—Boglipoor—Schools—Religion of Puharrees.

WE had a noble breeze, and went on rapidly, all sail spread, when all at once, to my great surprise, the serang brought up the pinnace so suddenly, that he almost laid her on her beam-ends, and the water flowed in at her lee cabin windows; a very little more wind, and she would have turned quite over. On running out to learn the reason of this manœuvre, I found Mohammed pale, Abdullah scolding, and the crew endeavouring, with more haste than good speed, to get in the top and top-gallant sails. It appeared that the steersman had seen a shoal right ahead, and so close under the bows, that even the rapid bringing-up of the boat's head was barely sufficient to avoid it. The fact is, however, that such mud-banks as are usually met with here would have been less dangerous with our flat bottom, than the expedient which they put in practice. However, I ordered two men forward with long bamboos, to sound wherever there appeared suspicion in future; and exhorted them, when they found occasion to bring up so suddenly again, always to let the sails go at the same time.

The river is here, I should think, from four to five miles wide. We advanced up it with our fine breeze at a great rate, till nearly seven, when we brought to in a swampy and inconvenient spot, immediately opposite Jaffiergunge, being very nearly the same place where, with poor Stowe, I had crossed the river a month before. It now swarmed with fishing-boats, but offered vessels of no other description.

Many nullahs branch out of the main stream in every direction. I found to-day that these people do not apply the name of Gunga at all to this stream, but call it "Pudda." My ignorance of this fact used to perplex me exceedingly, both in asking questions and receiving answers. They know no Gunga but the Hooghly; and the Burra Gunga (Great Ganges), by which I tried to explain myself, was always mistaken by Mohammed for the "Boori-gonga," a comparatively insignificant stream near Dacca.

I forgot to mention in their proper places the things which I saw while at Furreedpoor. One was a specimen of the native fox, running near Mr. Warner's house, and so little afraid that one might almost have laid hold of him. He was a beautiful little animal, not much larger than a hare, of a more silky fur and squirrel-like tail than the English reynard, and is rather serviceable than otherwise, inasmuch as though he sometimes catches small birds, his chief food is of field-mice and white ants. Another circumstance was, that my boat was visited by a blind beggar (a young countryman), with his wife, a fine young woman, her features not very delicate, but her person remarkably well made, and the tallest female whom I have seen in India. I gave them alms, and when she thrust out her hand to receive them, she displayed massive silver bracelets, worth, I should think, at least twenty-five or thirty shillings. Yet these were beggars; and to judge from their scanty and wretched cloth-

ing in all other respects, I doubt not objects of pity. But for this poor woman to sell her bracelets was a thing which probably never would occur to her as possible, except under urgent and hopeless hunger. She had also rings on her ankles, which, indeed, drew my attention to her sex, for her height made me at first suppose her to be a young man, and her dress, which was a coarse sackcloth mantle, might have belonged either to male or female. Her manner was extremely modest; she never let go her husband's hand, and was evidently annoyed by the sort of notice she attracted from the boatmen and my servants. The old blind man led by a little boy, whom we saw on the Chundna, made his appearance also at Furreedpoor, a proof of his wandering habits. The existence of these beggars, as it implies that they obtain some relief, may seem to exculpate the mass of Hindoos from the charge of general inhumanity and selfishness, so often brought against them. At the same time, in a country where there is no legal provision for distress, it is almost needless to observe, that in cases of blindness, leprosy, lameness, and helpless old age, to give to beggars as we have the means, is an obligation of justice as well as charity.

July 29.—Our course the early part of to-day was chiefly along the north-east bank, and in part through a succession of "aits," beds of reeds, and overflowed ground cultivated with rice. The weather pleasant, and not very different from an English summer day. Indeed, I have as yet seen nothing to make me lose the opinion that the rains in India are by no means an unpleasant season. Several circumstances reminded me painfully of poor Stowe. At about half-past nine we passed what he and I had, in our previous passage, taken for a clump of tall trees, but which, now that I saw it nearer, appeared to be a single but very majestic banyan. I looked in vain for the islet where we passed our evening (his last evening of health and high spirits), and where he waded after the wild ducks into the marsh, which so unhappily affected him. The increasing flood had

now covered it; but I recognised the village where we passed our first night in what we called, in merriment, "India beyond the Ganges," where we saw the dwarf, and the "lodge in the garden of cucumbers;" while, standing out a little, to avail ourselves of the wind in the next reach, we grounded on a part of the same line of marshy islets which we had traversed on foot a few weeks before. I could not help feeling that now I had nobody to compare my impressions with—none whose attention I might call to singular or impressive objects—that I was, indeed, a lonely wanderer! Such thoughts are, however, useless, and perhaps they are hardly innocent; with a great object before me, with Providence for my guide, and with the power of a constant correspondence with a beloved wife, I have no right to regard myself as solitary or forsaken. But having nobody to talk to will probably swell the size of my journal.

The country improved very much in the course of the morning, and the number of fishing-boats was really extraordinary; most of them had their sails spread between two bamboos, one on each gunwale, as common in the South Seas; and the groupes, both of boats and fishermen, skimming past the beautifully wooded bank, afforded subjects for painting such as I should have delighted, had I possessed the necessary talent, to transfer to paper.

About half-past one, and when we were not far from the stream which diverges from the Pudda, between Pulna and Radanuggur, Mohammed, in excessive carelessness or ignorance, contrived to lose his way, by going directly north, round a large island in the middle of the river, and consequently in a channel leading back again towards Jaffiergunge. We soon found that we had the stream with instead of against us, and asking some fishermen, learned the mistake. We had scarcely, I think, gone a mile wrong, when we attempted to return; but having both wind and stream against us, and very bad towing ground, it took up the whole afternoon, till past six, to get out of the scrape again, and to moor in the main

stream, by some marshy ground, so completely drenched with water, that my bearers were unable to find a place to dress their victuals. This loss of half a day's fine wind was excessively provoking. The delay, however, gave time for the servants' boats to join us, which must else have been completely distanced. We passed, this evening, the first crocodile I have seen. It was swimming leisurely, pretty close to our boat, but I could distinguish little but what looked like a heavy log of wood, drifting down the stream. The people, however, called out "Coomer! Coomer!" and my servants, being Calcutta people, seemed interested and curious to see it. Abdullah said it was rather a large one, but that I should see enough to tire me by the time we got to Rajmahâl.

After all, our progress during this half day was not inconsiderable; and I began to entertain better hopes of a timely arrival in the upper provinces than I had for some days ventured to cherish.

July 30.—We still suffered this morning from Mohammed's ignorance, which had completely embayed us in the curve of the northern shore, so that to get round the point between us and the Pulna reach occupied nearly half a day's grievous labour, up to their breasts in water, to the poor boatmen. About half-past five we arrived at the mouth of the Comercolly; the wind had now in a considerable degree died away; it was still, however, enough to carry our boats in a full west course by my compass, across the opening of the Comercolly (which is about as wide at this season as the Thames at Vauxhall), and some small distance along the right bank of the main river, where we brought to on the margin of a fine dry pasture of florin grass, one of the airiest and best stations which we have had during the voyage. At a short distance was a collection of very poor huts, with a herd of cattle round them. I walked to them, and found a complete dairy, or rather, perhaps, grazier's establishment, for they had not many milch cows. They were the herds of the village, united under the common care of two

or three men "gaowale" (cow-men), who kept them in these and similar pastures, this being a celebrated grazing country. The calves and young stock were penned up in two circular enclosures of bamboo and thorns, and the cows and oxen lay quietly ruminating on the outside. I saw no dogs, nor did the herdsmen (for there were no females among them) seem to have any weapons or means of defence against wild beasts, a sufficient proof that they are not numerous here. The men, however, seemed to be prepared for, and accustomed to watching in the open air, having a greater wrap of turban round the head and neck, and longer and warmer mantles than are usual in Bengal. They are a caste by themselves, tall robust men, many with long beards, and all wilder-looking than the majority of their countrymen. I was reminded of Crim Tartary, but missed the long spears, the huge dogs, the high-mettled horses, and covered carts of those noble shepherds. These men were very civil, and regretted they had no milk for me, as they only took a very little from each cow once a day, the remainder going to the calf. One old man, however, brought up some milk which he was boiling for his own supper, and willingly sold half of it for a couple of pice, my own goats now supplying me with little. The evening was very fine, and, though the night was too dusky for me to walk far, I strolled backwards and forwards, enjoying the delightful elasticity of the dry turf, the fresh breezes of the river, and the fragrant breath of the cows, till near ten o'clock. A great many small boats still continued to glide along the stream, as if engaged in nightly fishing, and the dash of their paddles, and the blowing of the porpoises, were almost the only sounds which broke the general stillness. Altogether it was an evening to enjoy and to be thankful for, and a scene which I left with regret.

July 31.—About half an hour after we set out, and while we were close to the shore, we passed by a number of extremely small and mean huts, patched up in a temporary way with boughs and rushes. I asked Mohammed what

they were, and he answered "they were people from the upper *kingdom*." Abdullah said they were a sort of gypsies, who lived by fishing. Some of them came out of their booths as we passed, a race that no man can mistake, meet them where he may, though they are, as might be expected from their latitude and their exposure to the climate, far blacker here than in England, or even than the usual race of Bengalees are. They are the same tall, fine-limbed, bony, slender people, with the same large, black, brilliant eyes, lowering forehead, and long hair curled at the extremities, which we meet on a common in England. I saw only one woman, and her figure was marked by the same characters. In height she would have made two of the usual females of this country, and she stepped out with the stride and firmness of a Meg Merrilies. Of the gypsy cast of her features I could not however judge, since, though half naked, she threw a ragged and dirty veil over her face as soon as she saw us. This trait belongs to the upper provinces. In Bengal a woman of her rank would not have thought concealment necessary. There were no boats immediately near them, but a little further we overtook several filled with the same sort of people. The river was here much narrower than it had been for the last day or two, being, as I suspect, divided by islands. Many birds of the crane and stork species were feeding, and there were two at some distance which I thought were pelicans. But if they were, they were smaller than those of Russia, and had more brown on their wings. We passed several stacks of millet, just gathered and piled up, with a small stage and shed erected in the middle for a watch-house. This is the season, I was informed, for reaping millet; they thresh it out with oxen and a small roller. I also observed some maize, of which I have frequently seen the ears at table, plain boiled, and eaten with salt and butter, like artichokes. The rice along the banks was growing very tall, green, and beautiful; this is the first crop, and to be cut next month as soon as the water has reached it; the rice is reck-

oned most valuable and wholesome which remains the longest dry.

At a neighbouring village I saw an ape in a state of liberty, but as tame as possible, the favourite, perhaps the deity, certainly the sacred animal, of the villagers. He was sitting in a little bush as we stopped (to allow the servants' boats to come up), and on smelling dinner, I suppose, for my meal was getting ready, waddled gravely down to the water's edge. He was about the size of a large spaniel, enormously fat, covered with long silky hair generally of a rusty lead colour, but on his breast a fine *shot* blue, and about his buttocks and thighs gradually waving into a deep orange; he had no tail, or one so short that the hair concealed it; he went on all fours only. I gave him some toast, and my sirdar-bearer (a Hindoo) sent him a leaf full of rice. I suspect he was often in the habit of receiving doles at this spot, which is the usual place for standing across a deep bay of the river, and I certainly have never yet seen a human Fakir in so good case. To ascend a tree must be to a hermit of his size a work of considerable trouble, but I suppose he does so at night for security, otherwise he would be a magnificent booty for the jackalls.

We now stood across the bay, passed through another nullah, and then again stood over a wide extent of marsh, of which the long rushes still appeared above the water. Porpoises continued to rise, which, considering the distance from the sea, is what I should not have expected.

The extent of water here really surprised me: we stood north-west by north, and to the west and east I could not, from my cabin windows, see any land. We anchored on a sandy islet partly covered with reeds, partly with the remains of a crop of indigo, which a herd of cattle were eating down.

August 1.—Our wind unhappily failed us in a part of the river where we might have derived the most essential service from it, and the greater part of the day we were towed. I feel much regret at occasioning these poor men to labour on a Sunday; but even if I lost a day, that day would not be

spent by them in any devotional exercises, and to lose one in my present journey, and at this time of the year, might hazard all my hope of that journey tending to God's service. Soon after we set out this morning we found the river divided by a large island, and ascended the northern branch, the southern leading towards Jellinghey. About one o'clock we emerged into the broad stream, and continued our progress as far as within two miles of Surdah. The country on this side is very populous, well cultivated, and as beautiful as verdure, shade, water, and the splendid variety of Indian shrubs and trees can make it.

At Surdah is one of the Company's silk manufactories, and the river on which it stands is also the usual route from Dacca to the upper provinces. We stood directly up the Ganges in a north-west direction, favoured by a little breeze. The crew on leaving the shore set up as usual, though I believe I never before mentioned it, their cry of "Allah ul Allah." I cannot help admiring in the Mussulmans the manner in which their religion apparently mixes itself with every action of their lives; and though it is but too true that all this has a tendency to degenerate into mere form or cant, or even profanation of holy things, for the constant use of God's name in the manner in which some of them use it, scarcely differs from swearing, it might be well if Christians learned from them to keep their faith and hope more continually in their minds, and more frequently on their lips, than the greater number of them do. Above all, it seems to be an error, particularly in a heathen country, to act as if we were ashamed of our religion, to watch the servants out of the room before we kneel down to our prayers, or to dissemble in secular matters the hope and trust which we really feel in Providence. By the way, it is only during this journey that I have had occasion to observe how strictly the Mussulmans conform to the maxim of St. James, to say, "if the Lord will, we shall live and do this or that." All the Mohammedans whom I have heard speak of their own purposes, or any

future contingencies, have qualified it with "Insh Allah."

Abdullah asked me if the Gunga was one of the rivers of Paradise? I told him it was a difficult question, but that the four rivers of Irak were generally supposed to be those meant by Moses. I instanced the Frat and Dikkel, but had forgotten the modern names of the other two. He seemed sorry the Ganges had no chance, but expressed some satisfaction that he himself had seen them all when with Sir Gore Ouseley. While passing Surdah, I could easily distinguish a large brick building, with a long range of tiled warehouses attached, which I was told was a silk manufactory. Had it been another day I should have regretted passing it unvisited. The Italian method of curing and managing silk is practised here, having been introduced about fifty years ago by workmen brought from Italy at the Company's expense. I know not whether it is now kept up with any spirit. On arriving at the west bank we went on prosperously enough, till at last, near a ruined indigo-factory, and by that time of evening when the wind usually failed us, we found the stream so strong as to require all hands to pull against it, and the serang said he could do no more than get to some trees a little further, under which he thought he saw a vessel. What he took for the sail, however, turned out, when we arrived, to be the wall of a ruined house, of which the greater part had been swept away by the river, and we found a most inhospitable beach, a fierce current, and nothing but desolation. Some country-people came to us, and said we were in one of the worst places of the whole river, that a large village and indigo-work had been washed away here last year, that ropes were often broken, and vessels sometimes lost, and that no boat of any size ever came hither that could help it. This was very provoking; but nothing was now practicable, as it appeared, except to make our vessels as fast to shore as we could; though after we had done so about an hour, and when it was too dark to move again, a fisherman who came up said there was a very tolerable

place for bringing to a few hundred yards farther on. Our distance from Bogwangola was seven coss (fourteen miles). The line of coast differs greatly from Rennell; but the changes which the river is making on this shore are obviously such as to account for very considerable discrepancies. The latter part of our sail this day afforded a very striking sea view. As the course of the river is from north-west to south-east, the sun literally set into it without any appearance of land on the horizon in that quarter. I was very strongly reminded of a sun-set at the mouth of the Mersey. The Ganges is not really so wide; but the general flatness of its shores makes the distance appear greater, and the large pulwars with sails, gliding in every direction, at a certain distance reminded me of the Manks jagger-boats. I tried to find a place for walking, but did not succeed. The whole country was intersected with ditches and little nullahs, and the evening was shutting in too fast to attempt discoveries. No rain had fallen for some days, but the weather was not unpleasant, though now the night closed in with divers prognostics both of rain and wind. A north-wester in our actual situation would have gone near to wreck us. The night, however, thank God, passed off in great stillness.

August 2.—We had little or no wind, and were compelled to continue our toilsome and tedious course for about four miles further. The channel into which we here entered was full of vessels carrying cotton down from the upper provinces. Their freight upwards consists of European goods, salt-fish, salt, and coco-nuts. I have missed the coco-nut tree for some days, and I am told they are not found to the north of Jellinghey and Moorshedabad. Great herds of cattle are seen on the shore; and the groupes of some of them, cooling themselves in the water, intermingled with fishing-boats and pulwars, and with the meadows bordered by low cottages and bamboos in the back-ground, would have furnished Cuyt with more beautiful subjects, in his peculiar style, than any which he

could find in his own country. Since we left the Hooghly, we had bidden adieu to those vast Egyptian brick-kilns which are so common on its shores. I had scarcely seen anything of the kind either on the Matabunga, the Pudda, or the river of Dacca. Here they are beginning to re-appear. Our course continues nearly west, though a little inclined to the south. I saw here a succession of baskets opening out of one another, like traps, or rather on the principle of the eel-net in England, for catching fish, which, once entered, cannot conveniently turn round, and therefore go on to a chamber contrived at the end, the entrance to which is guarded with sharp reeds pointing inwards, like a mouse-trap. The same invention is practised in Russia, and probably in many other countries, though in England I have only seen it applied to eels.

About nine o'clock, while passing a large collection of boats, the wind suddenly began to blow briskly from the north-east, and I had an example of how soon and suddenly mischief may be done among the weak and clumsy boats of the country. Our pinnace broke from the hold of the men who were towing her, and came against the broadside of a large pulwar laden with corn, with so much violence that I thought she had staved in her quarter, breaking with a great crash the bamboo supporters of her platform, the mat and wicker walls of her cabin, her oars, spars, and everything else that came in the way. She was no sooner made clear of this vessel, which was done by the united strength of both crews, and with loud cries of "Ullah," and "Ali! Ali!" than she drifted bodily on our cook-boat, which, had she reached, she would probably have sunk. The crew, however, seeing their danger, pushed themselves with much readiness and dexterity up between a pulwar which we had just passed and the bank, breaking, indeed, all their own oars, but avoiding a greater risk. Happily no mischief was done but such as a few hours would repair; but had the boats been weak, and the wind stronger, both pulwar and cook-boat would pro-

bably have gone to the bottom. The pinnace held the place of the brazen pot in the fable, and was more likely to be the breaker than the broken. She, however, had one of her venetians carried away, but luckily it was picked up again.

We arrived at Bogwangola between four and five, and stopped there for the night. I found the place very interesting, and even beautiful: a thorough Hindoo village, without either Europeans or Mussulmans, and a great part of the houses mere sheds or booths, for the accommodation of the "gomastas" (agents, or supercargoes), who come here to the great corn fairs, which are held, I believe, annually. They are scattered very prettily over a large green common, fenced off from the river by a high grassy mound, which forms an excellent dry walk, bordered with mangoe-trees, bamboos, and the date-palm, as well as some fine banyans. The common was covered with children and cattle, a considerable number of boats were on the beach, different musical instruments were strumming, thumping, squeeling, and rattling from some of the open sheds, and the whole place exhibited a cheerfulness, and, though it was not the time of the fair, an activity and bustle which were extremely interesting and pleasing. The houses were most of them very small, but neat, with their walls of mats, which when new always look well. One, in particular, which was of a more solid construction than the rest, and built round a little court, had a slip of garden surrounding its exterior, filled with flowering shrubs, and enclosed by a very neat bamboo railing. Others were open all round, and here two parties of the fakir musicians, whose strains I had heard, were playing, while in a house near one of them were some females, whose gaudy dress and forward manner seemed pretty clearly to mark their profession as the nâch girls of the place. After leaving the shore, I followed a very pretty glade through what was almost a jungle, or rather a woody pasture, though houses were still seen scattered at some distance. I found here, to my sur-

prise, two armed men, the one with a short rusty spear, the other with a long antique eastern-shaped gun. On asking who they were, and what they were doing, they answered that they were "burkandazes" (inferior police-officers), and had come into the wood for the sake of sporting. They were civil, and showed me a dry and pretty, though circuitous, road back to the pinnace again. This led me between some closes carefully fenced with bamboo, and planted with dwarf mulberry-trees, about as high and as thickly set as gooseberry-bushes in England, for the use of silkworms. The whole walk was extremely beautiful, and more like the view of a "fiatookah" in Tongataboo, in Cook's third voyage, than anything else by which I can illustrate it.

If thou wert by my side, my love!
How fast would evening fall
In green Bengala's palmy grove,
Listening the nightingale!

If thou, my love! wert by my side,
My babies at my knee,
How gaily would our pinnace glide
O'er Gunga's mimic sea!

I miss thee at the dawning grey,
When, on our deck reclined,
In careless ease my limbs I lay,
And woo the cooler wind.
I miss thee when by Gunga's stream
My twilight steps I guide,
But most beneath the lamp's pale beam
I miss thee from my side.

I spread my books, my pencil try,
The lingering noon to cheer,
But miss thy kind approving eye,
Thy meek attentive ear.

But when of morn and eve the star
Beholds me on my knee,
I feel, though thou art distant far,
Thy prayers ascend for me.

Then on! then on! where duty leads,
My course be onward still,
O'er broad Hindostan's sultry mead,
O'er bleak Almorah's hill.

That course, nor Delhi's kingly gates
Nor wild Malwah detain,
For sweet the bliss us both awaits
By yonder western main.

Thy towers, Bombay, gleam bright, they
say,
Across the dark blue sea,
But ne'er were hearts so light and gay
As then shall meet in thee!

Bogwangola has been several times, within these few years, removed to different situations in consequence of

the havoc made by the Ganges. It has, therefore, no ancient building, and neither pagoda nor mosque of any kind that I could discover. Indeed, it has the appearance rather of an encampment than a town, but is not on that account the less pretty.

August 3.—With little or no wind we proceeded by towing to one of the channels which lead by Sooty, from the main Ganges, into the Moorshe-dabad river. Here it was declared impossible to proceed without a breeze, the stream running like a race in a narrow channel between the mainland and some marshy islands, the other channel, which might have answered our purpose, having been blocked up by an indigo-planter, and the country being so much flooded further on as to make towing impracticable. Whilst I was at dinner, however, the wind arose, and we made sail, but certainly, not even in the Hooghly below Diamond Harbour, did I ever see such a torrent. All our sails were set, and the masts bending before the wind, the men went a-head, up to their breasts in water, to help by towing, yet all scarcely helped us on two hundred yards. This sort of work continued for nearly three hours, when the wind began to slacken, and we were forced to try another channel, and got on in the first instance without difficulty, passing between rice-fields, and close to a moderate-sized Hindoo village, where I saw some of the finest draught oxen which I have seen in this country, and by their bulk and sleekness doing honour to their proprietor's humanity and good sense, as well as showing how good and serviceable a breed may be raised in this country with a little cost and care. The farm or cottage to which they apparently belonged was a mere hut of bamboos and thatch, but very clean; and its sheds and granary, which enclosed as usual a small court, larger and cleaner externally than is usually seen near Calcutta, which neighbourhood certainly loses ground in my opinion the more I see of the rest of Bengal. After crossing this formidable current, close to the mouth of the strait which we had before

vainly endeavoured to stem, with great difficulty, we came to a miserable drowned country, without habitations, a great deal of it jungle, and the rice with which the rest was cultivated looking starved and yellow with its over supply of water. If the river rose at all higher, the crop, I was told, would be good for nothing, and that it was now almost spoiled. It was a different kind of rice from that grown near Dacca, and required to be reaped tolerably dry. The water rice is of an inferior quality. Along this wretched coast it would be almost impossible for the men to tow, and therefore, having a good breeze, I determined to run on till we should get to sound land again. By the light of a fine moon we held on our course till nearly nine o'clock, when, hearing the cigalas chirp on shore, which I knew was no bad sign, I told the serang he might "lugao." He did so with great joy, and we found fine dry fields of cotton and silk-mulberries, with a grassy bank to the river's edge, and a broad sandy path leading to a village at a little distance. "Now then, Mohammed," I said with some triumph, as I had had great difficulty in making him go on so far, "and all you dandeers, is not a night's sail better than a day's tracking?" "Yes, my Lord," was the answer of one of the men, "but toil is better than peril, and the eye of the day than the blindness of the night." It was plain that they were all afraid of getting aground, not knowing this part of the river; but in so fine a night, and with due care, I could not think the danger at all probable.

I walked to the village with Abdullah to get some milk, and to see the place. The soil was light, but apparently good, and we passed through crops of cotton, millet, and barley. We found a large herd of draught buffaloes, tethered two and two, but no milk-giving animal of any kind. The herdsman referred us to a cottage, whence came out an old woman to say that her cows were gone to another place at some distance; that the only people at all likely to supply us were the "giriftu," tacksmen, or chief te-

nants of the village, and a "buniyan," or trader, whose shop we should find a little further. We went along a lane till we came to a large and clean-looking hut, with a small shed adjoining, where, with a lamp over his head, and a small heap of cowries, some comfits, elecampane, rice, ghee, and other grocery matters before him, sat the buniyan of the place, a shrewd, sharp, angular old man in spectacles, being the first naked man I ever saw so decorated. On Abdullah's stating our wants, he laughed, and said that neither he, nor, to his knowledge, the giriftu, had either cow or goat. "The land here," he said, "is never quite overflowed; it is, therefore, too good for pasture, and we never let our cows look at it till after harvest." "But," said Abdullah, "the sahib will give a good price for it." "Whether you give or no," said the old man testily, "it does not matter, unless you choose to milk the cat!" Thus ended our search, from which I learnt two things: how to account for the large herds of cattle which we saw in the sandy and less valuable district behind us,—and that Hindoostanee here, and not Bengalee, begins to be the common speech of the peasantry, since the old woman and this man both spoke it, and conversed in it with each other.

The boats had, in the meantime, arrived, so that milk was not wanted; but the evening was so fine that I continued to walk up and down, till Abdullah besought me not to take so much exercise, saying it was that which had turned my hair so grey since my arrival in India.

AN EVENING WALK IN BENGAL.

Our task is done! on Gunga's breast
The sun is sinking down to rest;
And, moor'd beneath the tamarind bough,
Our bark has found its harbour now.
With furled sail, and painted side,
Behold the tiny frigate ride.
Upon her deck, 'mid charcoal gleams,
The Moslem's savoury supper steams,
While all apart, beneath the wood,
The Hindoo cooks his simpler food.

Come, walk with me the jungle through;
If yonder hunter told us true,
Far off, in desert dank and rude,
The tiger holds his solitude;
Nor (taught by recent harm to shun
The thunders of the English gun)

A dreadful guest, but rarely seen,
Returns to scare the village green.
Come boldly on! no venom'd snake
Can shelter in so cool a brake.
Child of the sun! he loves to lie
'Midst Nature's embers, parch'd and dry,
Where o'er some tower in ruin laid,
The peepul spreads its haunted shade;
Or round a tomb his scales to wreath,
Fit warder in the gate of death!
Come on! Yet pause! behold us now
Beneath the bamboo's arched bough,
Where, gemming oft that sacred gloom,
Glow the geranium's scarlet bloom,*
And winds our path through many a bower
Of fragrant tree and giant flower;
The ceiba's crimson pomp display'd
O'er the broad plantain's humbler shade,
And dusk anana's prickly blade;
While o'er the brake, so wild and fair,
The betel waves his crest in air.
With pendent train and rushing wings,
Aloft the gorgeous peacock springs;
And he, the bird of hundred dyes,
Whose plumes the dames of Ava prize.
So rich a shade, so green a sod,
Our English fairies never trod!
Yet who in Indian bow'rs has stood,
But thought on England's "good green wood?"
And bless'd, beneath the palmy shade,
Her hazel and her hawthorn glade,
And breath'd a prayer (how oft in vain!)
To gaze upon her oaks again?
A truce to thought: the jackall's cry
Resounds like sylvan revelry;
And through the trees yon failing ray
Will scantily serve to guide our way.
Yet mark! as fade the upper skies,
Each thicket opes ten thousand eyes.
Before, beside us, and above,
The fire-fly lights his lamp of love,
Retreating, chasing, sinking, soaring,
The darkness of the copse exploring;
While to this cooler air confest,
The broad Dhatura bares her breast
Of fragrant scent, and virgin white,
A pearl around the locks of night!
Still as we pass in soften'd hum,
Along the breezy alleys come
The village song, the horn, the drum.
Still as we pass, from bush and briar,
The shrill cigala strikes his lyre;
And, what is she whose liquid strain
Thrills through yon copse of sugar-cane?
I know that soul-entrancing swell!
It is—it must be—Philomel!
Enough, enough, the rustling trees
Announce a shower upon the breeze,—
The flashes of the summer sky
Assume a deeper, ruddier dye;
Yon lamp that trembles on the stream,
From forth our cabin sheds its beam;
And we must early sleep, to find
Betimes the morning's healthy wind.
But oh! with thankful hearts confess
Ev'n here there may be happiness;
And He, the bounteous Sire, has given
His peace on earth—his hope of heaven

* A shrub whose deep scarlet flowers very much resemble the geranium, and thence called the Indian geranium.—Ed.

I wrote this, endeavouring to fancy that I was not alone. I believe only one note is necessary. The bird of "hundred dyes" is the mucharunga, "many-coloured." I am not sure whether I mentioned the fact before, but I learned at Dacca, that while we were at peace with the Burmans, many traders used to go over all the eastern provinces of Bengal, buying up these beautiful birds for the Golden Zennah; at Ummerapoora it was said that they sometimes were worth a gold mohur each.

August 4.—We made a tolerable progress the early part of the day, and about ten arrived at the eastern or principal entrance of the Sooty, or Moorshedabad river. As we passed, a boat with four dervises, sturdy beggars enough, came after us singing. I asked why they did not work, and was told by Aodullah that it was one of the miseries of the country that they were all a caste of beggars, from father to son, trained to no labour, and, even if they desired it, not likely to be employed by anybody. I gave them, therefore, a pice a-piece, for which they were more grateful than I expected. This entrance, the Bhagirutty, is divided by marshy islands from the other, at the distance of about six miles. After we had loosed from the shore, a pretty heavy gale, with thunder and violent rain, came on. Had this occurred before we set out, nothing but a pistol at Mohammed's ear would have induced him to brave it; but as it was, it carried us at a rattling rate beyond a very rapid and difficult part of the stream. The banks are very ugly and miserable, showing nothing but reeds. I here saw, for the first time, a number of those high ant-hills, the work of the white ant, of which I had often heard. Many of them were five or six feet high, and probably seven or eight feet in circumference at the base, partially overgrown with grass and ivy, and looking at a distance like the stumps of decayed trees. I think it is Ctesias, among the Greek writers, who gives an account, alluded to by Lucian in his "Cock," of monstrous ants in India, as large as foxes. The falsehood proba-

bly originated in the stupendous fabrics which they rear here, and which certainly might be supposed to be the work of a much larger animal than their real architect. The Pyramids, when the comparative bulk of the insects which reared *them* is taken into the estimate, are as nothing to the works of the termites. The counterpart of one of these hills, which I passed to-day, would be, if a nation should set to work to build up an artificial Snowdon, and bore it full of holes and galleries. Our good breeze carried us on till about half-past four, when I saw, with a degree of pleasure which I did not anticipate, but which arose no doubt from the length of time during which I had been accustomed to a perfectly flat surface, a range of blue elevations on my right hand. At first I watched them with distrust, fearing that they were clouds. They kept their ground, however, and I ran on deck to ask about them, and was told, as I expected, that they were the Rajmahâl hills. It is, I think, Jeanie Deans who complains that, after she lost sight of Ingleborough, in her way through Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire, "the hail country seemed to be trencched and levelled." But what would she have said if she had traversed Bengal? At the place where we stopped for the night there were some fine trees, but the rest of the country, for a considerable space, was mere sand, on which the peasants were raising a few patches of cucumbers and pulse. One of these men, who was pursuing his work by moonlight, told me that there had been a very large village on this spot, with its gardens, mangoe-orchards, meadows, &c.; but that the dreadful inundation of last year swept away everything, and covered the place with sand, as we now saw it. I walked up and down this scene of desolation for some time, but found nothing to mark that any habitation had ever stood here. The sand lay smooth, yet wavy, as we see it on a coast exposed to heavy seas, and there were no marks of anything living, or having lived, except some scattered skulls and bones of animals, probably

brought from a distance by the terrible stream which had blotted out and hidden the community of this place. Abdullah, who joined me after making some inquiries about our morrow's course, said that the place was very like the deserts, not of Persia, which are stony, but of the Arabian Irak and the country near Bussorah. He observed, naturally enough, that this was a sad place to look upon, and this as naturally brought on a conversation about God's judgments, Hilleh and the Birz ul Nimrouz, or Babylon, and Nunya, or Nineveh. He had not seen the first, but had heard of its "stinking wells, which burned like pitch when set on fire," and was much interested to learn that it was the Babylon mentioned in Scripture. The second, as well as the tomb of the prophet "Yunus" in its neighbourhood, he had seen, and described, I believe accurately, as a small village near Mousul, chiefly inhabited by Christians, but with no conspicuous remains of antiquity, except what is called the tomb of Jonah. He was less fortunate, however, in his attempt to account for the inundations of Gunga, which he ascribed, so far as I could understand him at all, to the combined influence of the north and south poles on the mountain Meru! I endeavoured to explain the matter a little better, but could not convince him that the Ganges did not rise immediately under the north pole. This is orthodox Hindoo geography, and it is curious to find that the Mussulmans in India have so completely adopted it.

Being now in the great road from Calcutta northwards, the number of large vessels on the river is very much increased. The majestic stream of the Puddah offered few but fishing-boats, but here at every point of land we see a coppice of masts, waiting like us for a wind, and many minutes seldom pass without other vessels, with their masts down and all made snug, drifting past us with the stream. The night was very still and close, the first really oppressive one which I had felt since leaving Matabunga.

August 5.—We were tracked this morning along "a land which the

ivers had spoiled," and then came to a "mohanna," or channel of the Moorshedabad river, where we were detained several hours for want of wind; about ten we had a fine breeze, which carried us past this difficulty, and another of the same. The rapidity of the stream in this part is ascribed to the freshes from the hills, which as we approach them appear taller and larger. They resemble, in some degree, in outline the Peckforton hills in Cheshire, and I could almost have fancied myself at one moment on the estuary of the Dee, with my back turned towards the Welsh mountains, and looking across the plain of Chester up to Beeston and the Stannaries. The river is here again divided by a string of marshy islands. The country improved as we advanced, being prettily dotted with small woods, and cultivated chiefly with pulse, a crop which showed that we were leaving Bengal for Hindostan. It still, however, continued as flat as possible, as if all had been a bay of the sea, of which these hills which we were approaching were the termination; and this at some remote period, I conceive, must have been the case. Our advance up this part of the river craves, I find, a greater wariness in one respect than at any period of our former progress, owing to the number of clumsy and ill-managed pulwars through which we have continually to jostle our way. We have been run foul of three or four times in the course of this morning, and, though we have received no harm, have, I apprehend, done some, though not of any serious character. We passed a manufactory of small rope on the shore, carried on, as might be expected, in the simplest manner, but the fabric appeared remarkably good. Our progress during the latter part of the day was uncomfortable and tedious enough, and we were forced to stop just as we had rounded the island, and opened on a broad bay, on the other side of which was Rajmahâl. It was too wet to walk, and altogether the halt was very uncomfortable. I could not help feeling some regret that I was to pass so near the ruins of Gour without visiting

them, though by all accounts they are mere shapeless mounds, covered with jungle, and haunted, as usual, by snakes and wild beasts. Yet the great antiquity of the place, which is said to be mentioned in the oldest Hindoo poetry, its size, which seems almost to have rivalled Babylon or Nineveh, and the circumstances which led to its abandonment, are all striking.

"It was not in the battle, no tempest gave the shock ;"

the same mighty river whose active powers of destruction we witnessed yesterday, by a different process turned Gour into a wilderness. The main advantage of its situation was, that the Ganges rolled under its walls; two hundred years ago the Ganges deserted its old bed for that which it at present occupies, six or seven miles south of the former, and Gour began to decay. The governors of Bahar and Bengal deserted it for other residences, and

"Now pointed at by wisdom and by wealth,
Stands, in the wilderness of woe, Masar !"

It is impossible to pass it without recollecting that what Gour is, Calcutta may any day become, unless the river in its fresh channel should assume a more fatal direction, and sweep in its new track our churches, markets, and palaces (by the way of the Loll Diggy and the Balighât), to that salt-water lake which seems its natural estuary. The length of the ruins of Gour, as marked on Rennell's map, is eighteen miles, and their breadth six.

August 6.—After passing for some time through a channel between a newly-formed island and the south-western shore, we emerged on the broad river again, and found ourselves close upon the town of Rajmahâl, apparently not much of a place, but very prettily situated, though still on the same perfect level, the hills, to my surprise, being yet at a considerable distance. I had always understood, and the maps had confirmed the idea, that the town was at their foot; and I could now easily believe that I had underrated their size, when I saw what an interval still separated me from them, observing how indistinct the objects on them still

appeared, and knowing how much apparent distance is abridged by the brilliant sun and clear skies of India. The banks of the river are, however, here a little higher than I have seen lately, and a few boulder-stones and small masses of granite may be observed here and there, brought probably by water from the hills.

As soon as it was cool I walked to see the ruins of the ancient palace built by Sultan Sujah, brother to the Emperor Aurungzebe, in 1630. I ascended what, for Bengal, was really a steep place, passing a little brook, in which I almost fancied I saw gravel, a phenomenon which I had not seen since I left England. The path wound among cottages, toddy palms, and other fruit-trees, as well as some little ruinous mosques, and a cutcherry, which struck me as simple and elegant. It was merely a thatched shed, like an Otaheitan house, with an earthenware ornament at each end of its ridge-pole; but it was supported on a basement of stone (another novelty), with some broad, easy steps, and a small raised platform in its centre. Its situation, surrounded as it was by trees, reminded me of the Crimea, or might have been such a place as Samuel or Saul sat to do judgment in in Ramah. From hence we ascended a little further to a large court, surrounded by ruinous buildings, some of them not inelegant; but of all, the desolation was too recent—the beams and pillars of the verandahs remaining naked, but entire—to be beautiful or picturesque ruins. It looked like a great house which had been lately burned. I was a little at a loss to find my way through the ruins and young jungle, when a man came up, and in Persian, with many low bows, offered his services. He led me into a sort of second court, a little lower on the hill, where I saw two European tombs, and then to three very beautiful arches of black slate on pillars of the same, leading into a small but singularly elegant hall, opening immediately on the river, though a considerable height above it, through three similar arches to those by which we entered. The roof was vaulted

with stone, delicately carved, and the walls divided by Gothic tracery into panels, still retaining traces of gilding and Arabic inscriptions. At each end of this beautiful room was a Gothic arch, in like manner of slate, leading into two small square apartments, ornamented in the same way, and also opening on the river. The centre room might be thirty feet long, each of the others fifteen square. For their size I cannot conceive more delightful apartments. The view was very fine. The river, as if incensed at having been obliged to make a circuit round the barrier of the hills, and impeded here again by the rocks under the castle, sweeps round this corner with exceeding violence, roaring and foaming like a gigantic Dee. The range of hills run to the left hand, beautiful, blue, and woody, and I quite repented the injustice I had done them in likening them to the Peckforton hills. They do not fall short of the average of Welsh mountains. On leaving this room we turned to the right upon a short but striking terrace, carried on the same level, and terminating with a sort of bastion, which seems as if it had been the foundation of a kiosk, which by its projection affords the most favourable view of the whole building and the fine range of hills beyond it. What I was shown after this would hardly bear looking at. It consisted of a dining-room, about thirty feet by twenty, lined with white marble, with many remains of gilding and inscriptions in the Cufic character; a small, but pretty mosque, in a romantic situation, and a handsome gateway, but none of them well worth going out of one's way for. I was, however, much pleased with a ruined caravanserai to which I was next conducted, and which is a noble specimen of that style of building, with two fine Gothic gates opposite to each other, a great court, as large at least as Peckwater Quadrangle, surrounded with cloisters, and the whole in that state of *verdant* decay which is most agreeable to an artist's eye. I was here going to offer my self-appointed cicerone some trifling payment, but he stopped me by putting a petition into my hands, with

the humble request that I would give or send it when I got to Boglipoor, to Mr. Chalmers, the senior judge. I said I was not acquainted with Mr. Chalmers, and that knowing nothing of him (the petitioner), I could not recommend his case. But he said that all he wished was, that his case might meet Mr. Chalmers's eye without going through the post-office here. As I knew not what reason he might have for the request, I told him I would either give or send his paper to the judge, but could do no more.

In my return to the river I met a large party from one out of three budge-rows which arrived at the same time with my pinnace. They had been twenty-four days coming from Calcutta, had had a disastrous voyage, having seen their baggage-boat go down before their eyes, and their stock of European comforts being nearly exhausted, I was glad to be able to supply them with some trifles out of my store, as also to lend them my peon to show them the way to the ruins. We had a smart storm of wind and rain in the night, and when I looked out in the morning of August 7, I feared that Mohammed would be afraid to launch from the shore. He, however, ventured; but owing to the weight and size of the vessel, and in part to the tardiness of the *clashes* in getting up the sails, we were driven by the eddy among the rocks and the ruins which had fallen from the old palace into the river, and remained beating for five or six minutes before we were disengaged. I was disappointed to find that our approach to the hills was still to be delayed, the wind being unfavourable to advancing directly up the river. We were forced to proceed along a nullah winding through marshes. We had in fact our backs to the hills, and should not have come near them again till near their termination, had I not told the *serang* I wanted to see Sicligully, which by his own statement was just as near as the course he wished to pursue. We therefore turned short to our left hand, and came right down on Sicligully, enjoying a noble view of the hills, which in extent indeed, as in height

as well as beauty, far exceed what I had expected. They rise from the flat surface of Bengal as out of the sea. A large waterfall is seen from a very considerable distance tumbling down the mountain in several successive cascades, that nearest the plain of very considerable height.

The people of these mountains, and of all the hilly country between this place and Burdwan, are a race distinct from those of the plain in features, language, civilization, and religion. They have no castes, care nothing for the Hindoo deities, and are even said to have no idols. They are still more naked than the Hindoo peasants, and live chiefly by the chase, for which they are provided with bows and arrows, few of them having fire-arms. Their villages are very small and wretched, but they pay no taxes, and live under their own chiefs under British protection. A deadly feud existed, till within the last forty years, between them and the cultivators of the neighbouring lowlands, they being untamed thieves and murderers, continually making forays, and the Mohammedan zemindars killing them like mad dogs or tigers, whenever they got them within gun-shot. An excellent young man of the name of Cleveland, judge and magistrate of Boglipoor, undertook to remedy this state of things. He rigorously forbade, and promptly punished, all violence from the zemindars (who were often the aggressors) against the Puharrees (mountaineers); he got some of these last to enter his service, and took pains to attach them to him, and to learn their language. He made shooting-parties into the mountains, treating kindly all whom he could get to approach him, and established regular bazaars at the villages nearest to them, where he encouraged them to bring down for sale, game, millet, wax, hides, and honey, all which their hills produce in great abundance. He gave them wheat and barley for seed, and encouraged their cultivation by the assurance that they should not be taxed, and that nobody but their own chiefs should be their zemindars. And, to please them still further, and at the

same time to keep them in effectual order, and to bring them more into contact with their civilized neighbours, he raised a corps of sepoys from among them, which he stationed at Sicligully, and which enabled him not only to protect the peaceable part of them, but to quell any disturbances which might arise, with a body of troops accustomed to mountain warfare. This good and wise man died in 1784, in the twenty-ninth year of his age. A monument was raised to his memory near Boglipoor, at the joint expense of the highland chiefs and lowland zemindars, which still remains in good repair, having been endowed by them with some lands for its maintenance. A garrison of these mountaineers, which was then kept up at Sicligully, has been since discontinued, the corps being considerably reduced in numbers, and partly quartered at Boglipoor, partly during the late call for men at Berhampoor. Archdeacon Corrie's principal business at Boglipoor was to learn whether any encouragement existed for forming a mission among these people. Their being free from the yoke of caste seems to make them less unlikely to receive the Gospel than the bigoted inhabitants of the plains.

Sicligully is a little town, or rather village, of straw huts, with the ruinous bungalow and ruinous barracks of Mr. Cleveland's corps, at the base of a high rocky eminence at an angle of the Ganges, and commanding a fine view of two ranges of hills, that which we had been approaching, and another which now opened on us. The shore is rocky, and the country rises gradually in a succession of hill and dale, to the mountains distant about three or four miles. The rocky eminence which I mentioned is quite insulated, and rather higher than the Red Castle Cliff at Hawkstone, which, from the fine timber growing on and round it, it a good deal resembles. I saw some ruins on the top, and concluded a fort had been there, but on inquiry I found that they were the remains of the tomb of a Mussulman saint, one of the conquerors of Bengal, and as devout as he was valiant.

I climbed up the hill by a pretty good, though steep winding path, ending in a flight of steps, in the hope of getting a noble prospect; but I found the jungle so thick all round the edge of the rock, that I could only have here and there a view of the blue summits of the hills, and nothing of which I could make a sketch. The tomb itself, however, is well worth the trouble of climbing the hill; it stands on a platform of rock, surrounded by a battlemented wall, with a gate very prettily ornamented, and rock benches all round to sit or pray on. The "chamber of the tomb" is square, with a dome roof, very neatly built, covered with excellent chunam, which, though three hundred years old, remains entire, and having within it a carved stone mound, like the hillocks in an English churchyard, where sleeps the scourge of the idolaters. The ancient honours of the lamp kept burning, &c., have long been discontinued, but I was told that it was the general opinion, both of Mussulmans and Hindoos, that every Thursday night a tiger comes, couches close to the grave, and remains there till morning. This is a very picturesque legend, and it is one which it was not dangerous to invent, since it would be difficult to persuade either Mussulman or Hindoo to watch all night in a tomb, to verify the fact of such a visitant. Either the tiger, however, or some pious Mussulman keeps the tomb very clean, for both chamber and platform I found well swept, and free from the dung of bats or any other animal, an attention which I have not seen paid to other ruins in this country.

As I went up the hill, and while still amid the houses of the village, one of the Puharrees was pointed out to me,—a middle-sized, well-made young man, very black, but easily distinguishable from the Hindoos by his long narrow eyes, broadish face, and flat nose. His hair hung very thick, wild, and long about his ears and shoulders, but he was unarmed, and had nothing wild or fierce in his appearance. I asked him if he was a Puharree, and he readily answered in the affirmative; so that some of them at least understand Hin-

doostanee. I have a good chance of seeing many more between this place and Bogliipoor.

After this I rambled for some time on the hill at the back of the town, which is all uncultivated, except in a few patches. It is rocky, and covered with a good turf, and, I know not why, except that I had been thinking of Bodryddan all morning, put me in mind of the crag at the back of Dyserth. It is, however, not so steep nor, perhaps, so high as the last, and is much more woody, having many fine trees and a great many bushes, among which two jackalls passed us with as much fearless familiarity as dogs would have done. The walk was a very pleasant one, and I was glad to find that I can scramble here as well, and I think with as little fatigue, as in England. I had one warning, however, to walk more warily in this country than in my own, which will not be thrown away upon me. Wishing to get by a near way to the river side, I passed down through the jungle by a narrow gully, which had, I apprehend, been a water-course. I had not, however, gone far before a close and strangely noisome smell of confined air and decayed vegetables drove me up again, and almost made me sick. It did me no harm, but I shall keep away from all such dens in future.

A number of alligators were swimming all evening round my boat, lifting from time to time their long black heads and black fore feet above the water. The expanse of the Ganges is at this season truly magnificent, and being confined on one side by rocks, it seems to spread itself so much the more proudly on the low grounds on the north-east bank.

August 8.—I was disappointed to find that the wind was too weak this morning to contend with the rapids in the direct line of the river, and that we must again go away from these beautiful hills, and enter the nullah which we had traversed the evening before. Still, however, we had a fine though more distant view of the range, but I was vexed to miss the celebrated pass of Terriagully. About two o'clock we

returned across a very large jeel to the main stream of the river at Peer Pointee, but the chain of mountains was now fairly left behind us, and we were now longer in Bengal.

Peer Pointee is at the foot of a detached hill, which I should have admired in Bengal, but I had just been looking at something better. I was glad to observe, as we turned its promontory, that there were yet some eminences beyond it, and that we were not entering another so complete plain as that enormous one which we had just traversed. Peer Pointee, Father or St. Pointee, was the name of a Mussulman saint, who lies buried here. His tomb, resembling that at Sicligully, though less picturesquely situated, stands on a little cliff above the river, with some fine bamboos hanging over it. I was struck both yesterday and to-day with the beauty of the bamboos on this rocky soil, which I should not have supposed favourable to their growth; but on inquiry, I was told that though the plants in a warm dry soil never grew so tall as in a moist one, yet they are well known to be stouter, healthier, and better timber in the former than in the latter, so that the bamboo of such situations is always preferred for spears, oars, masts, &c.

We halted for the night in a very pretty and pleasant place. On the left hand was a beautiful green meadow, ascending with a gentle slope to a grove of tall trees, in front of which was a pagoda, so like an English church that I was tempted to believe it was really taken from some of the models which the Christians have given them. On one side of this, and just in front of the vessel as it lay, was a high woody promontory, jutting into the river, among the trees of which other buildings or ruins showed themselves. Beyond, and in the bed of the river, rose some high naked rocks, forming some rapids which are dangerous to pass at this season. As soon as I had assented to his stopping, Mohammed begged leave to show me a wonderful cave in the hill before us, of which nobody had ever seen the end. I am not curious in caves, unless they are

very fine and extraordinary indeed, but went, in the hope that I should at least see something interesting by the way. I scrambled up the hill, followed by about half a dozen of the boatmen, by a rugged path, such as might be expected, till pretty near the top, where they introduced me to, certainly, a larger and finer cave than I had anticipated, in a lime-stone rock, overhung with ivy and peepul-trees in a very graceful and picturesque manner. The entrance was rude but large, and it has, I suspect, been a quarry for lime-stone, or at least enlarged for that purpose, the apartments within branching off two or three ways, and bearing, so far as I could perceive by the imperfect light, marks of art. There is also a sort of shallow cistern cut in the rock, which seems very like a place for making chunam. The air had every appearance of being perfectly fresh and pleasant, and I should have liked to explore it; but we had no flambeaus; candles would soon have been extinguished by the water which dropped very fast from the roof, and I knew too much of caves to expect to find anything in this worth catching cold for. I therefore declined the offer of one of the dandees to run to the village to fetch "Mussauls" (torches), much to their regret.

I was told that there were many other very pretty religious places about the rock, to which I desired Mohammed to lead me. He took me round the base of the hill, and then showed the way up a sort of ladder, half natural, of roots of trees, and of rocks, half artificial, where the stone had been cut away into rude steps, to a small rocky platform, half way up the cliff, facing the river. There were some other small caves, evidently the works of art, with low doors, like ovens, and some rude carving over and round them. I crept into one, and found it a little hermitage, about twelve feet wide by eight, having at each end a low stone couch, and opposite the entrance a sort of bracket, either for a lamp or an idol. The boatmen, on my coming out, eagerly crowded in, but seemed disappointed to find nothing more.

They had heard, it seems, that the cavern above communicated with one of these recesses, and as we went along, kept peeping, as English school-boys or seamen might have done, into every hole and corner of the cliff, in the hopes of verifying the report.

I climbed from this place a few steps higher to another and larger platform, with a low wall round it. Here I found two little temples to Siva and to Kali, kept by an old "Gossain" (or Hindoo hermit), with two disciples, one a grown man, the other a boy. The old man had long white hair and beard, and was sitting naked, with his hands joined and his eyes half shut, amid the breezes of the river. The boy was near him, and the man, on hearing our voices, had got up in a hurry, and begun to murmur prayers, and pour water over the lingam. A small gratuity, however, brought him back to the civilities of this world, and he showed me not only Siva's symbol, but Kali, with her black face, skull chaplet, and many hands. He also showed me the remains of several other images, cut on the face of the rock, but which had been broken by the Mussulman conquerors. Under these last were two small holes like those below, which they told me were, in fact, their lodgings. I asked if they knew anything about the cave on the other side of the hill; on which the old gossain, with an air of much importance, said, that nobody had ever seen its end; that two thousand years ago a certain Raja had desired to explore it, and set out with 10,000 men, 100,000 torches, and 100,000 measures of oil, but that he could not succeed; and, if I understood him rightly, neither he nor his army ever found their way back again! These interminable caves are of frequent occurrence among the common people of every country. But the centenary and millesimal way in which the Hindoos express themselves, puts all European exaggeration to the blush. Judging from the appearance of the cave, and the size of the hill which contains it, I have no doubt that a single candle, well managed, would more than light a man to its end and back again. A

little beyond these temples, descending by a similar stair, is a small village, inhabited chiefly by religious beggars of the same description, and a very curious little hermitage or temple, built of brick, in the hollow of a huge decayed peepul-tree, in a beautifully romantic situation, where the Ganges runs roaring through the rocks with great noise and violence. Mohammed, who was greatly pleased with the interest I took in his curiosities, now told me there was nothing more to see, and I returned, extremely amused and gratified, by the light of a fine moon.

Abdullah, on my expressing a wish I had had a torch to explore the cave, said that he had never liked caves since he saw the wonderful one of Secunderie, in Persia, which he visited with Sir Gore Ouseley and Mr. Morier. He said it was a very fine and lofty cave, but after they had got down to a certain level, the poisonous air rose as high as their knees first, and afterwards their breasts, that a fowl held there died immediately, and if a man had knelt or fallen down, he must have died too. I thought of Legh and his companions. But in the sort of cave I had just left, there was, I conceive, no danger of the kind. The name of this interesting spot is "Puttur Gotta," I suppose from "Puttur," a rock or stone, evidently the same word with "petra," or "petros."

Sunday, August 9.—I had flattered myself till within these few days that I should have passed this day at Bogli-poor; and I might have done so, had it not been for the unlucky detention between Bogwangola and the Moorshe-dabad river. As it was, the poor men had not only a day of labour, but of hard labour, the wind failing us very soon after setting out.

The dry land which we passed was chiefly bare of wood, and cultivated with millet, pulse, and Indian corn. Each quillet of this last had its little stage and shed for the watchman to scare away the birds, "with sling and shout," as mentioned in "Kehama." I wondered to see so many when a quarter of the number would have been amply sufficient, and asked why they did

not take it by turns; one or two at a time, to watch the whole field? The answer was, that they could not trust each other; surely an unfavourable trait in the popular character. What wood there is, is, I think, of finer quality than that of Bengal, consisting of large round-topped trees, peepul and tamarind, with an underwood of bamboo; and though the soil seemed fertile, there were very large and numerous herds of cattle, of a better size and figure than those which I had been accustomed to see. There were an unusual number of hurgilas, and a good many vultures on the banks. Some of our dandees passing through a field of Indian corn, plucked two or three of the ears, certainly not enough to constitute a theft, or even a trespass. Two of the men, however, who were watching, ran after them, not as the Bengalees would have done, to complain to me with joined hands, but with stout bamboos, prepared to do themselves justice, "*par voye de fait*." The men escaped by swimming to the boat, but one of my servants called out to them,—"Aha! dandee folk, take care! you are now in Hindostan! the people of this country know well how to fight, and are not afraid!"

The peasants here all walk with sticks as tall as themselves, and wear black, rough-looking blankets, thrown over their heads and shoulders. They are, I think, a more manly-looking race than the Bengalees, or at least the length and thickness of their beards, and their dark Circassian mantles, give them that appearance.

There are, I think, more buffaloes in proportion seen in Bahar than Bengal; but the number of cattle of all kinds is certainly greater.

Our day's course had hitherto lain through jeels and nullahs, and we had some little difficulties and delays in getting back to the Ganges, and afterwards from the Ganges to the branch on which Boglipoor stands. We could not reach this place, but stopped short of it at a rather pretty village named Tingypoor, with some green English-looking meadows, hedges of cactus, and tall, round-topped trees.

August 10.—I arrived at Boglipoor, or Bhaugulpoor, about seven o'clock in the morning, and found, to my great joy, my friends the Corries still there, established very comfortably in the circuit-house (a bungalow provided in each of the minor stations for the district judges when on their circuit), which had been lent them by the judge and magistrate, Mr. Chalmers. I breakfasted with them, and went afterwards with Mr. Chalmers to see the objects principally worth notice—the gaol, a very neat and creditable building, with no less than six wards for the classification of the prisoners, Mr. Cleveland's house and monument, and a school established for the Puharrees by Lord Hastings. Mr. Cleveland's monument is in the form of a Hindoo mut, in a pretty situation, on a green hill. The land with which it was endowed is rented by government, and the cutcherry, magistrate's house, circuit-house, &c. are built on it, the rent being duly appropriated to the repair of the building. As being raised to the memory of a Christian, this last is called by the natives "*Grigi*" (Church), and they still meet once a year in considerable numbers, and have a handsome "*Poojah*," or religious spectacle, in honour of his memory.

The school is adjoining to the lines, and occupies a large and neat bungalow, one room in which is the lodging of the school-master, a very interesting and intelligent half-caste youth; the other, with a large verandah all round, was, when I saw it, filled with Puharree Sepoys and their sons, who are all taught to read, write, and cipher in the Kythee character, which is that used by the lower classes in this district for their common intercourse, accounts, &c., and differs from the Devanagree about as much as the written character of Western Europe does from its printed. The reason alleged for giving this character the preference is its utility in common life, but this does not seem a good reason for teaching it only, or even for beginning with it. No increase of knowledge, or enlargement of mind, beyond the power of keeping their accounts and writing a shop-bill, can be

expected from its acquirement, inasmuch as there is no book whatever printed in it, except Mr. Rowe's spelling-book, and no single Hindoo work of any value or antiquity written in it. I urged this to the school-master, who said that by and by, when they had made some progress in the Kythee, he might teach them the Nagree; but they might, I am convinced, easily learn both together, or if one at a time, then the printed character, as simpler, is to be preferred. In the Kythee I heard several, both men and boys, read fluently, and I could understand their Hindoostanee very well. They are described as quick and intelligent, fond of learning, and valuing themselves on their acquirements. This school was originally set on foot by Cleveland, but till Lord Hastings' visit had been shamefully neglected by his successors in office. It was revived by Lord Hastings, and is now very carefully and judiciously attended to by the adjutant, Captain Graham, an intelligent Scots officer, on whom the whole management of the corps has, for the last five years, devolved, the commanding officer, Captain Montgomerie, being in the last stage of a decline. The corps consisted originally of one thousand three hundred men, who for many years were armed with their country weapons—the bow and arrow. And it is an instance of Cleveland's sound judgment and discrimination, that he named for their first native commandant, in opposition to the remonstrances and intreaties of the zemindars of the place, a chief named Jowrah, who was the Rob Roy, or, perhaps, more strictly speaking, the Roderic Dhu of the Rajmahals, the most popular of all others among his own countrymen, and the most dreaded by the lowlanders. The choice was fully justified by the event, Jowrah having remained through life a bold, active, and faithful servant of the Company in different enterprises against outlaws, both in the Ramghur hills and his own mountains. After some years the men were armed with muskets instead of bows, and are now in all respects on the same footing with other native regiments, and equally available for

general service. It had become a mere rabble, addicted to all sorts of vice and disorder, till Lord Hastings placed them on their present footing. In the first instance, he proposed to arm two companies with rifles, but, the men disliked the service exceedingly, having a great objection to wear green; they now therefore are fusileers, but trained to light infantry manœuvres, in which they are said to excel. Their numbers, however, are reduced from one thousand three hundred to seven hundred, of whom two hundred are not genuine mountaineers, but Hindoos from the plain, a mixture which is not found advantageous to the former, and which must, from their superstitions, materially impede the efficiency of the unfettered and unprejudiced Puharree: these last are said to be admirably adapted for soldiers, and to be very fond of the profession. Having no caste, and eating any food indiscriminately, they would be available for foreign service at a shorter notice than any Hindoo could be; accustomed to mountains and jungles, they would be extremely valuable on the eastern and northern frontier, as well as on the Nerbuddah and in Berar, and in the possible event of any general insurrection in India, it might be of great political importance to have a force of native troops who prefer (as these do) the English to the Hindoos, and whose native country occupies a strong and central place in the British territory—a sort of little Tyrol.

At the school I met the present native commandant, one of Mr. Cleveland's surviving pupils, an old man, much revered by his countrymen, and who passes a great deal of his time there, being extremely proud of his people, and interested in their improvement. He has also the character of a smart and intelligent soldier. His influence has been very valuable in getting the school together again, much pains having been taken by a Portuguese or two in the neighbourhood to dissuade the Puharrees from attending, or sending their children. Even now, though many of the younger children of the mountain chiefs are sent, the eldest sons are kept away, owing to a notion circulated

among them by these people that they would forfeit the reversion of their pensions by receiving any benefit from the Company of another kind. This is an utter mistake, which Mr. Chalmers hopes to rectify, but it has already done some harm. Captain Graham is very popular among them, and by all which I hear most deservedly so; and when once or twice he has talked of leaving them for some other regiment, they have expressed exceeding distress and concern. Those whom I saw were middle-sized, or rather little men, but extremely well made, with remarkably broad chests, long arms, and clean legs. They are fairer, I think, than the Bengalees, have broad faces, small eyes, and flattish, or rather turned up noses; but the Chinese or Malay character of their features, from whom they are said to be descended, is lost in a great degree on close inspection. I confess they reminded me of the Welsh; the expression of their countenances is decidedly cheerful and intelligent, and I thought two or three of their women whom I saw really pretty, with a sort of sturdy smartness about them which I have not seen in their lowland neighbours. These tribes have a regular administration of justice among themselves, by the ancient Hindoo institution of a "Punchaet," or jury of five old men in every village, and, as I mentioned before, they remain free from all taxes, and are under the government of their own chiefs, but in all other respects they were great sufferers by Mr. Cleveland's death; all his plans for teaching them the simple manufactures, as well as for furnishing them with seeds and implements of husbandry, fell with him. Even the school was dropped. The pensions which had been promised to the Hill chiefs in consideration of their maintaining peace and the authority of the Company in their districts, though regularly paid by the supreme government, never reached their destination, being embezzled on various pretences; and the old encroachments of the zemindars on their frontiers were allowed to be renewed with impunity. The only man who, during this interval, appears to have done his duty towards these people

was Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) Shaw, who was appointed to the command of the rangers in 1787, and whose memory is still highly respected by them. He published an account (which I have not seen) of their customs in an early volume of the "Asiatic Researches."

Lord and Lady Hastings went on a short excursion into the hills in their return from the upper country, and were greatly interested by them and their highlands. Lord Hastings promised their chiefs to send a good stock of the most useful tools of husbandry (they have at present no implements of this kind but sharpened stakes), and a quantity of seed potatoes. He did not forget the promise, and Captain Graham heard him give orders for its performance after his return to Calcutta. But a sovereign can seldom do all the good he desires; nothing, in fact, was done, and the chiefs have since more than once complained that they were forgotten. They are, however, better off now than at any time since the death of Cleveland, for Mr. Chalmers, who is an active and honourable man, has seen justice done to them in the payment of their little stipends, which had frequently been embezzled on various pretences by the native agents; and Government are making a fresh survey of the debatable land, with a view to an equitable arrangement of the claims both of the Puharrees and the zemindars, by which it is said the former will be great gainers. Mr. Chalmers, and Captain Graham, with Colonel Francklin, well known as an excellent Oriental scholar and antiquary, who is inspecting field-officer of this district, think very favourably of the Puharrees. Notwithstanding their poverty, their living chiefly by the chase, and always going armed, the general conduct both of chiefs and people has been orderly and loyal ever since their fathers swore allegiance. They are hospitable, according to their small means, and have no sort of objection to eat with, or after, Europeans. They are a little too fond of spirits, a taste which Cleveland unfortunately encouraged, by sending

them presents of the kind, and allowing them to drink when at his house. Though accustomed to make predatory inroads on their lowland and hereditary enemies, among themselves they have always been honest, and, what is an immense distinction indeed between them and the Hindoos, they hate and despise a lie more than most nations in the world. The soldiers who have committed any fault own it readily, and either ask pardon, or submit to their punishment in silence; in the cutcherry, the evidence of a Puharree is always trusted more than that of half a dozen Hindoos; and there is hardly any instance on record of a chief violating his word. Though dirty in their persons, in comparison with the Hindoos, they are very clean in their cottages, and their villages are kept free from the vile smells which meet us in those of Bengal. The men dislike hard work, and are chiefly occupied in hunting, but the women are very industrious in cultivating the little patches of garden round their villages. They are also generally chaste, and it no doubt contributes to keep them so, that the premature and forced marriages of the Hindoos are unknown; that their unions take place at a suitable age, and that the lad has generally to wait on the lass during a pretty long courtship. They make very good and faithful household servants, but are not fond of the way of life, and do not agree well with their Hindoo fellow-domestics. Both men and women are intelligent and lively, but rather passionate; and they differ from most of the Hindoos in being fond of music, and having a good ear. Captain Graham has instructed some of their boys as sifers, and found them apt scholars. They are fond of pedigree and old stories, and their chiefs pique themselves on their families. No clanship, or feudal subjection, however, appears to exist. If a man is dissatisfied with the head of his village, there is nothing to prevent his removal to another. In short, Emily, they are *Welsh*, and one of these days I will take you into their hills, to claim kindred with them!

Mr. Corrie has obtained a little vo-

cabulary of their language, which certainly differs very remarkably from the Hindoostanee, and, I am told, from the Bengalee. The old commandant, who has been on service towards the Berar frontier, says he could converse perfectly with the Bheels and Gooand tribes, so that they are, apparently, different branches of the same great family which pervades all the mountainous centre of India, the "Gael" of the East, who have probably, at some remote period, been driven from all but these wildernesses by the tribes professing the Brahminical faith.

The following is Captain Graham's account of their religion. The Hill-people offer up frequent prayers to one Supreme Being, whom they call "Budo Gosae," which in their language means "Supreme God." Prayer to God is strictly enjoined morning and evening. They also offer up propitiatory sacrifices of buffaloes, goats, fowls, and eggs to several inferior, and some evil deities.

"Malnad" is the tutelary genius of each village; "Dewanee" the household god. "Pow" is sacrificed to before undertaking a journey. They appear to believe in a future state of rewards and punishments, chiefly carried on by means of transmigration, the souls of the good being sent back to earth in the bodies of great men, and those of the wicked in brutes, and even trees.

The great God made everything. Seven brothers were sent to possess the earth; they give themselves the credit of being descended from the eldest, and say that the sixth was the father of the Europeans. Each brother was presented, on setting out, with a portion of that particular kind of food which he and his descendants were to eat. But the eldest had a portion of every kind of food, and in a *dirty dish*. This legend they allege as their reason for observing no restriction of meats, and for eating with, or after, anybody. They say they are strictly forbidden by God to beat, abuse, or injure their neighbours, and that a lie is the greatest of all crimes. Hogs' blood appears to answer with them all the purposes

which holy water does with some other nations. If a person is killed by a tiger, it is the duty of his relations to avenge his death by killing one of those animals in return, on which occasion they resort to many strange ceremonies. They are great believers in witchcraft; every ache which the old commandant feels in his bones, and every disappointment or calamity which befalls him, or any of his friends, he imputes to this cause, and menaces or bribes some old woman or other. They have also many interpreters of dreams among them, whom they call "damauns," and believe to be possessed by a familiar spirit. When any of these die, they place his body, without burial, in the jungle. They also suppose certain diseases to be inflicted by evil spirits, to whom they expose the bodies of such as die of them; those who die of small-pox are cast out into the woods, those who die of dropsy into the water.

They have no idols or images of any kind; a black stone, found in the hills, is by some ceremonies consecrated, and used as an altar. They have several festivals, which are held in high reverence. The chitturia is the greatest, but seldom celebrated, on account of its expense. It lasts five days, during which buffaloes, hogs, fruits, fowls, grains, and spirits are offered up to the gods, and afterwards feasted on. This is the only festival in which females are permitted to join. During its continuance they salute nobody, all honour being then appropriated to the gods. Polygamy is not forbidden, but seldom practised. The bridegroom gives a feast on occasion of the marriage; the bride's father addresses a speech to him, exhorting him to use his daughter well; the bridegroom then marks her forehead with red paint, links his little finger in hers, and leads her to his house. The usual mode of making oath is to plant two arrows in the ground, the person swearing taking the blade of one and the feather of the other between his finger and thumb. On solemn occasions, however, salt is put on the blade of a sabre, and after the words of the

oath are repeated, the blade being placed on the under lip of the person sworn, the salt is washed into his mouth by him who administers it.

Thus far I have learnt from Captain Graham. Mr. Corrie tells me that further particulars of this interesting race are given in the "Calcutta Annual Register for 1821;" what follows I learnt from different persons in the course of the day.

The Hill country is very beautiful, and naturally fertile, but in many parts of it there is a great scarcity of water, a want which the people urge as an excuse for their neglect of bathing. As so much rain falls, this might, and would by a civilised people, be remedied; but the Puharrees neither make tanks, nor have any instrument proper for digging wells. The thick jungle makes the hills unwholesome to Europeans during the rains, but at other times the climate is extremely agreeable, and in winter more than agreeably cold. Mr. Chalmers one night had a jug of water completely frozen over to a considerable thickness in his tent, and close to his bed. The Puharrees are a healthy race, but the small-pox used to make dreadful ravages among them. Vaccination has now been generally introduced; they were very thankful for it, bringing their children from thirty and fifty miles off to Boglipoor to obtain it. Wild animals of all kinds are extremely abundant, from the jackall to the tiger, and from the deer to the elephant and rhinoceros. Their way of destroying the large animals is, generally, by poisoned arrows. The poison is a gum which they purchase from the Garrows, a people who inhabit the mountains to the north of Silhet, at Peer Pointee fair.

No attempt has yet been made to introduce them to the knowledge of Christianity. The school at Boglipoor has scarcely been in activity for more than eighteen months, and, being supported by Government, it cannot, in conformity with the policy which they pursue, be made a means of conversion. Mr. Corrie is strongly disposed to recommend the establishment of a mis-

sionary at Boglipoor; but I am myself inclined to prefer sending him immediately (or as soon as he may have gained some knowledge of the Puharree language) into one of the mountain villages. I also would wish to employ some person to accompany the missionary or schoolmaster, who may instruct the natives in weaving or pottery: and to choose, in either of these capacities, some one who had himself a little knowledge of gardening. Civilization and instruction will thus go hand in hand,—or rather, the one will lead the way to the other, and they will think the better of a religion whose professors are seriously active in promoting their temporal interests. The Puharrees seem to have no prejudices hostile to Christianity, any other than those which men will always have against a system of religion which requires a greater degree of holiness than they find it convenient to practise. The discreet exertions of missionaries among them will give no offence either to Hindoos or Mussulmans, and a beginning may thus be made to the introduction both of Christianity and civilization through all the kindred tribes of Gundwana and the Western Bheels, who are, at this moment, in the same habits of rapine and savage anarchy which the Puharrees were in before the time of Cleveland.

Boglipoor is in a pretty situation, and said to be one of the healthiest stations in India. It is, however, much infested by snakes, particularly the cobra de capello. It stands nearly half way between the Rajmahal and Curruckpoor hills, and commands a distant view of Mount Mandar, an insulated conical mountain, apparently about as large as the Wrekin, renowned as a place of Hindoo pilgrimage, and as having been employed by the gods to churn the ocean with, in order to procure the "amreeta," or drink of immortality. It is, Colonel Francklin assures me, remarkable as being a mass

of granite, whereas all these nearer hills are of limestone. He also told me that he had been to the end of the cave of Futtergotta, which has been used as a temple to Siva. It is pretty, and very accessible, but by no means deep. The hills to the south of Boglipoor, beyond Mandar, towards Deogur, are very wild, and now almost entirely uninhabited, but are full of vestiges, not of Brahminical, but Buddhist worship. Colonel Francklin has himself a curious collection of idols of this latter kind, dug up in this part of India, and is employed in a dissertation on the subject. I forgot to mention that all these hills are full of wild poultry, exactly in crow, figure, and plumage resembling bantams. Their flavour is superior to the domestic fowl, and resembles that of the partridge. They might, no doubt, be easily domesticated. The Rajmahal hills stand in a detached cluster, containing, perhaps, as much ground as Merionethshire and Carnarvonshire. They are bounded on all sides by a plain, or nearly plain country; after which, on the east, are the Curruckpoor hills, and on the south the very impracticable districts of Beiboom, Dranghur, &c.

August 11.—I had a drive with Mr. Corrie this morning, and got a pretty good distant view of Mandar and the Curruckpoor hills. Colonel Francklin supposes the ancient Palibothra (a celebrated city and metropolis of Gangetic India, in the time of the ancient Greeks) to have stood in this neighbourhood, and has published several learned essays to prove it, which I remember looking at many years ago, when I had little curiosity about the question. He is a very agreeable and communicative old man, and his collections curious and interesting. His opinions are opposed to the alleged antiquity of the Brahminical worship, and he coincides, in general, with the late Mr. Bentley.

CHAPTER X.

BOGLIPOOR TO MONGHYR.

Width of the Ganges—Charity of Dandeess—Seeta Coom—Monghyr—Fort—Zemindars—Pensioners—Baptist Mission—Desertion of Dandeess—Cheapness of Fire-arms.

AT noon I again set off, with Mr. Corrie's budgerow in company. This part of the Ganges has undergone great alterations since Rennell's map was made. Boglipoor is laid down by him as standing on a separate nullah; but now nothing remains of the separation except a few marshy islands, immediately opposite the town. I find that instead of exaggerating, as I feared to do, I have, in my previous descriptions, underrated the width of this noble river. Last year, at the height of the inundation, a little below Boglipoor, it was nine measured miles across; and this year, though far less ground is covered, it is supposed to be full seven; and here we are perhaps six hundred miles, reckoning the windings of the river, from the sea!

During this night I was completely wakened by the uproar which the jackalls made. On asking if any reason could be given for such an unusual concourse, I was told that there was a field of Indian corn adjoining, of which they are very fond, and that the clamour which I heard was partly from the animals themselves, partly from the watchmen, who were endeavouring to scare them away. The noise was quite equal to that of an immense pack of hounds, with half the rabble of a county at their heels, except that the cry was wilder and more dismal. If his Excellency Count Falkenstein, "the wild huntsman," still keeps up his aerial chase in Germany, it is exactly such a cry as I should expect from his hounds.

August 12.—We passed this morning another encampment of gipseys, only differing from the former in

having no boats. The name by which they go in this country is "Kunja." The men, many of them, wore large pink turbans; three of the women, and the children, followed us begging. These did not conceal their faces, and indeed had no clothes at all, except a coarse kind of veil thrown back from the shoulders, and a wretched ragged cloth wrapped round their waists like a petticoat. They are decidedly a taller, handsomer race than the Bengalee. One of the women was very pretty, and the forms of all three were such as a sculptor would have been glad to take as his model. Their arms were tattooed with many blue lines, and one of them had her forehead slightly marked in a similar manner. They had no bangles on their wrists and ankles, but the children, though perfectly naked, were not without these ornaments. As we could not stop our boat, I rolled up some pice in paper, and gave it to one of the dandeess to throw ashore. Unfortunately the paper burst, and the little treasure fell into the river, while the wind freshening at the moment, it was quite out of my power to give more. The dandeess expressed great concern; indeed they are, to their narrow means, really charitable; they club a small portion of each mess every day, to give to the beggars who come to the ghâts, and if none appear, they always throw it to some dog or bird. A more touching instance of this nature was told me by a lady, which she herself witnessed in a voyage last year. The serang of the boat, by an accident, lost his son, a fine young man. Every evening afterwards he set apart a portion, as if

the young man were yet alive, and gave it in charity, saying, "I have not given it, my son has given it!"

I forgot to mention, that just as Mr. Corrie was setting out yesterday, he received a letter in very bad English, addressed to "The Abbott" from a person signing himself "Gopee Mohun Doss, a Brahmin, and true friend of the Honourable Company." The writer requested an interview with him, that he might receive instruction in Christianity. Mr. Corrie returned for answer, that he would see the writer on his return down the river. He says this is not the only indication he has met with of persons in this neighbourhood who seem not unwilling to inquire into religious subjects. One of the Hill-people at the school has declared, of his own accord, his intention of giving up Sunday to the worship of God, and there are several Hindoos and Mussulmans, who make no objection to eat victuals prepared by Christians, saying, that "they think the Christians are as pure as themselves, and they are sure they are wiser." This letter was brought by a very well-dressed servant, who spoke of his master as a Baboo, so that there seemed no interested motive for the request which it contained.

As we advanced, we passed at Janghera two very pretty rocks projecting into the river, with a mosque on the one, and a pagoda on the other; while, in the distance, were the Curruckpoor hills, not so tall or striking as the Rajmahal, but not inferior to the Halkin mountains, and the range above Flint and Holywell. Such as they are, they are very refreshing to the eye, in these vast regions of level ground. The Ganges has here exactly the appearance of an arm of the sea, and a very noble one too.

A little to the east of Monghyr, in a pretty garden, is a celebrated hot-well, named "Seeta Coom,"—the fountain of Seeta. I wished to stop to look at it, but gave up the intention, as, should the wind fail, the passage to Monghyr would be difficult and laborious. The water has no medical properties but such as may arise from its heat and exceeding purity. When cold it is much

valued as a beverage, and some persons in Calcutta drink nothing else. Immediately after leaving it we passed a low rocky hill close to the water's edge, strewed all over with large round masses of fluor and mica. Specimens of both these Colonel Francklin had shown me from the Curruckpoor hills, as also some very fine ones of talc, or lapis specularis, which divided easily into thin but tough laminæ, as transparent as isinglass. Thirty years ago, he said, this was the only approach to glass usually seen in the windows of houses, even of Europeans, in these and the northern provinces. Some other pretty hills followed, of rather antic shapes, particularly one with a house and a high gazebo on its summit. All the hills seem to be of limestone, in a state of considerable decomposition. The north-eastern bank of the river still continues as flat as possible, very naked, and ugly.

The loss of the coco-tree does not materially injure the landscape here, since its place is still supplied by the toddy, or tara-palm, and the date-palm. The country, however, the hills excepted, is certainly more open and less verdant than Bengal, though as a land to live and take exercise in, it decidedly seems to have the advantage. This part, I find, is not reckoned either in Bengal or Bahar, having been, under the name of the Jungleterry district, always regarded, till its pacification and settlement, as a sort of border, or debatable land. Monghyr and a narrow slip between it and the hills are the first commencement of real Hindostan, though in popular language, and in the estimation of the people, the Terriagully Pass is the boundary.

Monghyr, as one approaches it, presents an imposing appearance, having one or two extremely good European houses, each perched on its own little eminence. The ghât offered a scene of bustle and vivacity which I by no means expected. There were so many budgerows and pulwars, that we had considerable difficulty to find a mooring-place for our boat; and as we approached the shore we were beset by a crowd of beggars and artisans, who

brought for sale guns, knives, and other hardware, as also many articles of upholstery and toys. They looked extremely neat, but as I meant to buy none, I would not raise expectation by examining them. There were also barbers in abundance, conspicuous by their red turbans, one of whom was soon retained by some of my dandees, who sat down, one after another, on the green bank, to have their hair clipped as close as possible, as became aquatic animals. A juggler, too, made his appearance, leading a tall brown goat, almost as high as a Welsh pony, with two little brown monkeys on its back. In short, it was the liveliest scene which I had encountered during the voyage.

I arrived early, and was, therefore, for some time, a prisoner in my boat from the heat, exposed to the teasing of various applicants for custom. As it grew cool I walked into the fort, passing by a small but neat English burial-ground, fenced in with a wall, and crammed full of those obelisk tombs which seem most distinctive of European India. The fort occupies a great deal of ground, but is now dismantled. Its gates, battlements, &c., are all of Asiatic architecture, and precisely similar to those of the Khitairgorod of Moscow. Within is an ample plain of fine turf, dotted with a few trees, and two noble tanks of water, the largest covering, I conceive, a couple of acres. Two high grassy knolls are enclosed within the rampart, occupying two opposite angles of the fort, which is an irregular square, with, I think, twelve semicircular bastions, and a very wide and deep wet moat, except on the west side, where it rises immediately from the rocky banks of the river. On one of the eminences of which I speak is a collection of prison-like buildings; on the other a very large and handsome house, built originally for the Commander-in-chief of the district, at the time that Monghyr was an important station, and the Mahrattas were in the neighbourhood; but it was sold some years since by government. The view from the rampart and the eminences is extremely fine. Monghyr stands on a rocky promontory, with the broad

river on both sides, forming two bays, beyond one of which the Rajmahâl hills are visible, and the other is bounded by the nearer range of Curruckpoor. The town is larger than I expected, and in better condition than most native towns. Though all the houses are small, there are many of them with an upper story, and the roofs, instead of the flat terrace or thatch, which are the only alterations in Bengal, are generally sloping, with red tiles, of the same shape and appearance with those which we see in Italian pictures; they have also little earthenware ornaments on their gables, such as I have not seen on the other side of Rajmahâl. The shops are numerous, and I was surprised at the neatness of the kettles, tea-trays, guns, pistols, toasting-forks, cutlery, and other things of the sort, which may be procured in this tiny Birmingham. I found afterwards that this place had been from very early antiquity celebrated for its smiths, who derived their art from the Hindoo Vulcan, who had been solemnly worshipped, and was supposed to have had a workshop here. The only thing which appears to be wanting to make their steel excellent, is a better manner of smelting, and a more liberal use of charcoal and the hammer. As it is, their guns are very apt to burst, and their knives to break, precisely the faults which, from want of capital, beset the works of inferior artists in England. The extent, however, to which these people carry on their manufactures, and the closeness with which they imitate English patterns, show plainly how popular those patterns are become among the natives.

August 13.—Mr. Templer, the judge and magistrate, breakfasted with me this morning, and gave me such an account of Monghyr and its spiritual concerns as made me decide on staying over Sunday. There are, besides his own family, five or six others here of the upper and middling classes, and above thirty old English pensioners, many of them married and with families, without any spiritual aid except what is furnished by a Baptist missionary, who is established here. Of him

Mr. Templer spoke very favourably, but said that the members of the Church of England, though in a manner compelled to attend his ministry, would value extremely an opportunity of attending divine service, and receiving the sacrament in their own way, while the number of children of different ages, whose parents might be expected to bring them for baptism, was far from inconsiderable. I, therefore, requested Mr. Templer to give publicity to my arrival, and intention of performing divine service on the Sunday. I dined with him, and he afterwards drove me through what is really one of the prettiest countries that I have seen, very populous, but cultivated in a rude and slovenly manner. The rent of the best land is about two rupees for a customary begah, nearly equal to an English acre, or to three Bengalee begahs. They get three crops in succession every year from the same lands, beginning with Indian corn, then sowing rice, between which, when it is grown to a certain height, they dibble in pulse, which rises to maturity after the rice is reaped. The district is very fertile, and most articles of production cheap. The people are quiet and industrious, and the offences which come before the magistrate both in number and character far less, and less atrocious, than is the case either in Bengal or farther on in Hindostan. Theft, forgery, and housebreaking being the besetting sins of the one, and violent affrays, murders, and highway robberies being as frequent among the other people, and all being of very rare occurrence in the Jungleterry district. The peasants are more prosperous than in either, which may of itself account for their decency of conduct. But Mr. Templer was inclined to ascribe both these advantages in a great degree to the fact, that the Zemindarries in this neighbourhood are mostly very large, and possessed by the representatives of ancient families, who, by the estimation in which they are held, have the more authority over the peasants, and as being wealthy have less temptation to oppress them, or to connive at the oppression of others. Though a Zemin-

dar of this kind has no legal control over his people, he possesses greater effective control than a great landowner in England exercises over his tenants. Most of them still hold cutcherries, where they attend almost daily to hear complaints and adjust differences, and though doubtless oppressions may sometimes occur in these proceedings, yet many quarrels are stifled there, and many mischievous persons discountenanced, who might else give much trouble to the magistrate.

In the upper parts of Bahar, and in the neighbourhood of Benares, the Zemindarries are small, and much divided between members of the same family. In consequence, the peasants are racked to the utmost, and still farther harassed by the lawsuits of their joint or rival owners, each sending their agents among them to persuade them to attorn to him, and frequently forcibly ejecting them from their farms unless they advanced money, so that they have sometimes to pay a half year's rent twice or three times over. Nor are the small freeholders, of whom there are, it appears, great numbers all over Bahar, so fortunate in their privileges as might have been expected. They are generally wretchedly poor; they are always involved in litigations of some kind or other, and there is a tribe of harpies, of a blended character between an informer and a hedge-attorney, who make it their business to find out either that there is a flaw in their original title, or that they have forfeited their tenure by some default of taxes or service. These free, or copy holders have been decidedly sufferers under Lord Cornwallis's settlement, as have also been a very useful description of people, the "Thanadars," or native agents of police, whose "Jaghires," or rent-free lands, which were their ancient and legal provision all over India, were forgotten, and therefore seized by the Zemindars, while the people themselves became dependent on the charity of the magistrate, and degraded altogether from the place which they used formerly to hold in the village society. The permanent settlement was regarded by some as a very hasty and ill-considered

business. Many undue advantages were given by it to the Zemindars, at the same time that even so far as they were concerned, it was extremely unequal, and in many instances oppressive. Like our old English land-tax, in some districts it was ridiculously low, in others, though the increase of cultivation had since brought the lands more up to the mark, it was at first ruinously high, so that, in fact, quite as many of the ancient Zemindarrie families had been ruined as had been enriched, while taking all the districts together, the Company had been losers to the amount of many millions. I should have supposed that by its permanency at least, it had been the chief cause of the prodigious extension of cultivation, which everybody allows has occurred in Bengal and Bahar since they were placed under the immediate government of the Company. But that increase, I was told, might be accounted for by other causes, such as the maintenance of public peace, the perfect exemption from invasion and the march of hostile armies, and the knowledge that a man was tolerably sure of reaping the immediate fruits of his labour, and that the acquisition of wealth did not expose him to the malignant attention of Government. In Bahar at least, the Zemindars had not, even yet, any real confidence in the permanence of the rate, and in fact there had been in so many instances revisions, re-measurements, re-examinations, and surcharges, that some degree of doubt was not unnatural. In all these cases, indeed, fraud on the part of the original contractors had been alleged by Government, but, as some of the Bahar landlords had observed, they did not hear of any abatement made by the Company in those instances where the advantage of the bargain had been notoriously on their side, while, they also observed, so long as, in the recent measure adopted by Mr. Adam, the Government possessed and exercised the power of taxing the raw produce of the soil to any amount they pleased in its way to market, it was of no great advantage to the landholder that the direct land-tax remained the same.

On the whole what I heard confirmed my previous suspicion, that the famous measure of Mr. Law was taken on an imperfect acquaintance with the interests of India, and that, in the first instance at least, a decennial valuation, executed in a liberal spirit, would have avoided many inconveniences without losing any great advantage. Mr. Templer surprised me by what he said of the size of farms in this part of India. A wealthy "Ryut," or peasant, on one of the large Zemindarries, often holds as much as two hundred English acres.

August 14.—I had this morning one christening, and Mr. Corrie had several. The child I christened was a very fine boy of two years old, the son of an invalid serjeant, who came, attended by his wife, a very pretty young half-caste, and by two of his comrades and one of their wives as sponsors. All these were very well-behaved decent old men; they stayed talking with me some time; they spoke well of India, but complained of the want of some occupation for their minds. A lending library, they said, would be a great comfort to their little society. I afterwards mentioned the subject to Mr. Templer, and, I hope, put him in the proper way to get one from Government, as well as a school for such of these poor men's children as, by any accident, were prevented from going to the Military Orphan Asylum. I understand that these old soldiers are in general men of very decent character, and though poor, brought up their families very decently. Some of them, however, are liable to sudden fits of drunkenness or infatuation, sometimes after many months of sobriety, during which nothing can keep them from brandy so long as they have either money, credit, or clothes. Monghyr is the station generally chosen by the more respectable characters, the reproaches preferring Moorshedabad. The Company give them the choice of residing either at Moorshedabad, Monghyr, Buxar, or Chunar, and they sometimes change repeatedly before they fix.

In consequence of the intention I had expressed to have service to-morrow, Mr. Templer told me that the

Baptists had given notice that their own meeting should not open, so that he said we should probably have all the Christian residents of the place and vicinity. The Baptist congregation in this neighbourhood was first collected by Mr. Chamberlain, an excellent man and most active missionary, but of very bitter sectarian principles, and entertaining an enmity to the Church of England almost beyond belief. He used to say that Martyn, Corrie, and Thomason, were greater enemies to God, and did more harm to his cause, than fifty stupid drunken "Padre" inasmuch as their virtues, and popular conduct and preaching, upheld a system which he regarded as damnable, and which else must soon fall to the ground. The present preacher, Mr. Lesley, is a very mild, modest person, of a far better spirit, and scarcely less diligent among the Heathen than Chamberlain was. He has, however, as yet, had small success, having been but a very short time in the country. Mr. J. Lushington, whom I found here, has been detained some days, owing to the dandees belonging to the horse-boat running away, a practice very common on this river, these people getting their wages in advance, and then making off with them. One of the party asked Mr. Lushington whether there had been any quarrel between the dandees and his servants, or himself; on his answering in the negative, it was observed that one fertile cause of boatmen's desertion was the ill-conduct of Europeans, who often stimulated them to do things which, in their weak and clumsy boats, were really dangerous, and, against all law or right, beat them when they refused or hesitated. A general officer was some time since heard to boast, that when his cook-boat lagged behind, he always fired at it with ball! I suppose he took care to fire high enough, but the bare fact of putting unarmed and helpless men in fear, in order to compel them to endeavour to do what was, perhaps, beyond their power, was sufficiently unfeeling and detestable. They are, I suppose, such people as these who say that it is impossible to

inspire the Hindoos with any real attachment for their employers! I am pleased with all I see of Mr. Lushington, who is gentlemanly, modest, and studious; he is going to Nusseerabad, so that it is possible we may see a good deal of each other.

August 15.—Mr. Corrie read prayers, and I preached and administered the Sacrament, in the hall of Dr. Tytler's (the garrison surgeon) house. There were, I should guess, sixty persons in the congregation, among whom were two or three natives. The Monghyr proselytes were very young persons, probably brought over by the Baptist missionaries; Mr. Lesley and the greater part of his flock attended, but did not stay the Sacrament. There were, however, between twenty and thirty communicants, all deeply impressed and attentive. In the evening I again preached to pretty nearly the same congregation. During this stay at Monghyr, I was advised by many old Indians to supply myself with spears to arm my servants with in our march. Colonel Francklin particularly told me that the precaution was both useful and necessary, and that such a show of resistance often saved lives as well as property. Monghyr, I was also told, furnished better and cheaper weapons of the kind than any I should meet with up the country: they are, indeed, cheap enough, since one of the best spears may be had complete for twenty anas. I have consequently purchased a stock, and my cabin looks like a museum of Eastern weapons, containing eight of the best sort for my own servants, and eight more for the Clashes who are to be engaged up the country. These last only cost fourteen anas each. This purchase gave me a fair opportunity of examining the fire-arms and other things which were brought for sale. My eye could certainly detect no fault in their construction, except that the wood of the stocks was slight, and the screws apparently weak and irregular. But their cheapness was extraordinary; a very pretty single-barrelled fowling-piece may be had for twenty S. rupees, and pistols for sixteen the brace.

CHAPTER XI.

MONGHYR TO BUXAR.

Cattle swimming across the River—Brahmin Labourers—Patna—Bankipoor—Granary—Hackeries—Dinapoor—Cantonment—Digah Farm—Chupra—Floating Shops—Fort—Native Christians—Schools—Curreem Musseeh—Varieties of Complexion.

AUGUST 16.—There was no wind this morning till near twelve o'clock, but we had then just enough to help us out of the eddy of Monghyr and across the river to the other side, along which our boatmen had a painful day's tracking against a fierce stream. The Curruck-poor hills on the left hand continued to offer a very beautiful succession of prospects. A chain of marshy islets seemed to extend nearly across the river towards the end of our course, by the aid of which a large herd of cattle were crossing with their keepers. The latter, I conclude, had been ferried over the principal arm, but when I saw them they were wading and swimming alternately by the side of their charge, their long grey mantles wrapped round their heads, their spear-like staves in their hands, and, with loud clamour joined to that of their boys and dogs, keeping the convey in its proper course. The scene was wild and interesting, and put me in mind of Bruce's account of the passage of the Nile by the Abyssinian army. The bank at the foot of the hills seemed fertile and populous as well as beautiful; that along which we proceeded is very wretched, swampy, without trees, and only two miserable villages. Several alligators rose as we went along, but I saw none basking on the many reedy islets and promontories, which, during the hot months, are said to be their favourite resorts. Mr. Lushington's budgerow kept up with my pin-nace extremely well, but the Corries were far behind.

We moored for the night adjoining a field of barley, the first I had seen in India; the ground was recovered, as it

seemed, from a sand-bank in the river, and full of monstrous ant-hills, looking at a little distance like large hay-cocks. The peasant had just finished threshing his barley, and was busy burying it in the dry soil. A small shed, as usual, stood to watch where the straw with the grain in it had been collected. The high ground of Peer Puhar above Monghyr was still in sight. Just before we stopped, a very large crocodile swam close to the boat, and showed himself to the best advantage. Instead of being like those we had seen before, of a black or dusky colour, he was all over stripes of yellow and brownish black like the body of a wasp, with scales very visibly marked, and a row of small tubercles or prominences along the ridge of his back and tail. He must, I should think, have been about fifteen feet long, though under the circumstances in which I saw him, it was by no means easy to judge. My cabin was extremely infested with insects this evening, particularly with a large black beetle, which was very beautiful, having a splendid mixture of jet, copper-colour, and emerald about it. I had also a pretty green lizard, which I carefully avoided injuring, knowing it to be an enemy to ants and cockroaches, both of which plagues are increasing, and unfortunately do not now seem to check each other. Yet I was a little perplexed how the "honest man should have found his way into my closet."

August 17.—We had a fine breeze part of the day, and stood over to the other bank, which we found, as I had expected, really very pretty, a country of fine natural meadows, full of cattle,

and interspersed with fields of barley, wheat, and Indian corn, and villages surrounded by noble trees, with the Curruckpoor hills forming a very interesting distance. If the palm-trees were away (but who would wish them away?), the prospect would pretty closely resemble some of the best parts of England. In the afternoon we rounded the point of the hills, and again found ourselves in a flat and uninteresting, though fruitful country. The last beautiful spot was a village under a grove of tall fruit-trees, among which were some fine walnuts: some large boats were building on the turf beneath them, and the whole scene reminded me forcibly of a similar builder's yard which I had met with at Partenak in the Crimea. Many groups of men and boys sate angling, or with spears watching an opportunity to strike the fish, giving much additional beauty and liveliness to the scene.

I have been much struck for some days by the great care with which the stock of fruit-trees in this country is kept up. I see everywhere young ones of even those kinds which are longest in coming to maturity, more particularly mangoes and the toddy or tarapalm (the last of which, I am told, must be from thirty to forty years old before it pays anything), planted and fenced in with care round most of the cottages, a circumstance which seems not only to prove the general security of property, but that the peasants have more assurance of their farms remaining in the occupation of themselves and their children than of late years has been felt in England.

The village near which we brought-to for a short time in the evening belonged to Brahmins exclusively, who were ploughing the ground near us, with their strings floating over their naked shoulders; the ground was sown with rice, barley, and vetches, the one to succeed the other. Abdullah asked them to what caste of Brahmins they belonged, and on being told they were pundits, inquired whether "a mixture of seeds was not forbidden in the Purnas?" An old man answered with a good deal of warmth, that they were poor people and could not dispute, but

he believed the doctrine to be a gloss of Buddh, striking his staff with much anger on the ground at the name of the heresiarch. The Brahmin labourers are now resting after their toil, and their groups are very picturesque. The ploughman, after unyoking his oxen, lifted up his simple plough, took out the coulter, a large knife shaped like a horn, wiped and gave it to a boy, then lifted up the beam and yoke on his own shoulders, and trudged away with it. These Brahmins, I observe, all shave their heads except a tuft in the centre, a custom which not many Hindoos, I think, besides them observe.

Having a good wind, we proceeded a little further before sunset; we passed a herd of cows swimming across a nallah about as wide as the Dee ten miles below Chester, the cowman supporting himself by the tail and hips of the strongest among them, and with a long staff guiding her in a proper direction across the stream. We soon after passed a similar convoy guided by a little boy, who, however, did not confine himself to one animal, but swam from one to another, turning them with his staff and his voice as he saw proper. So nearly aquatic are the habits of these people, from the warmth of the climate, their simple food, their nakedness, and their daily habits of religious ablution. I saw a very smartly-dressed and rather pretty young countrywoman come down to the ghât at Monghyr to wash. She went in with her mantle wrapped round her with much decency and even modesty, till the river was breast high, then ducked under water for so long a time that I began to despair of her reappearance. This was at five o'clock in the morning, and she returned again at twelve to undergo the same process, both times walking home in her wet clothes without fear of catching cold. The ancient Greeks had, I am convinced, the same custom, since otherwise the idea of wet drapery would hardly have occurred to their statuaries, or, at least, would not have been so common.

We again brought-to about seven o'clock, by a field just ploughed ready for the rising inundation; we are now

not quite half way from Monghyr to Patna. The women here are still more adorned with trinkets than those in Bengal. Besides the silver bracelets, their arms are covered with rings of a hard kind of sealing-wax which looks like coral, and another ornament either of silver or bright steel is common, in shape something like a perforated discus; it is worn above the elbow.

August 18.—This morning, after leaving the nullah, we proceeded with a fine breeze along the left-hand bank of the river, which is very fertile and populous, with a constant succession of villages, whose inhabitants were all washing themselves and getting on their best attire, it being the Hindoo festival of Junma Osmee.

The day was a very brilliant one, and, though hot, rendered supportable by the breeze, while the whole scene was lively and cheerful,—all the shops having their flags hoisted,—little streamers being spread by most of the boats which we passed, and a large banner and concourse of people being displayed at a small pagoda under the shade of some noble peepul and tamarind trees.

The river is all this time filled with boats of the most picturesque forms; the peasants on the bank have that knack of grouping themselves, the want of which I have heard complained of in the peasantry of England. Two novel circumstances were seen this morning; the one the appearance of considerable herds of swine, of a small kind resembling the Chinese breed, which were grazing near most of the villages; the other a system of planting tara-palms in the trunks of decayed peepul-trees. The first which I saw I supposed had been sown there by accident; but I soon found that the practice was frequent, and that the peepul thus treated had generally the greater part of its branches and all the top cut away, to favour the intruding plant, which stands as if it were in a rude flower-pot. The hollow part of the tree must, I suppose, be previously filled with earth. A very excellent fence is thus obtained for the young tara-plant; but I conclude that

they are not Hindoos who thus mangle and violate the sacred tree of Siva.

Towards noon the banks became again, though not rocky, high and precipitous, and full of holes for the muenas' nests. We are fortunate in having a breeze, for the towing here would be dangerous, the bank being crumbling and undermined, and the stream flowing with great rapidity. A friend of Mr. Corrie's had two dandees drowned in this place last month. I was astonished when he told me this, since it seemed almost as possible to drown an alligator as men of their habits. I was answered, however, that the poor fellows were worn out with towing, and that the current washed them under the boats, whence they had not strength to recover themselves.

Two dervises, strange antic figures, in many-coloured patched garments, with large wallets, begged of us to-day. I gave a trifle to the elder, a venerable old man, who raised his hand with much dignity and prayed for me.

At Bar, where I dined, is an old ruined house, with some little appearance of a palace, once the residence of the Jemautdar of the district, under the Mohammedan government. We brought to about half-past six near an indigo-field, which filled my cabin with bugs. The night was very hot and close.

August 19.—Another intensely hot day, but made bearable by a breeze. I found a young scorpion in my cabin this morning among my books. It seems to prove that such pests are not so common in India as is often supposed, that I have now been ten months in the country without seeing more; and that, though I have walked a good deal, and never particularly avoided places where such things are to be looked for, I have only seen one cobra de capello. I had supposed scorpions to be black, and was surprised to-day to see an animal white and almost transparent.

The pinnacle got aground in passing from the chain of nullahs and jeels which we entered yesterday, into the main river, and we were obliged to call in the assistance of some fishermen to help her off; they laboured hard for near an hour, and were grateful for a

gratuity of two pice; they were nine in number, besides a Brahmin, who came down from a village while we were just getting disengaged, and extending a basket-full of scarlet flowers, applied for a thank-offering to his god, in consideration of our escape from danger. I thought he was merely asking for alms, not quite hearing what he said, but Abdullah explained his meaning. However, he had obtained his request.

Our halting place was on a pleasant open shore, opposite to Futwa, but still short of Patna. The country round is bare of wood, but well cultivated and very populous: the land laid out in alternate patches of grass-fallows, covered with cows, buffaloes, and swine, and fields of millet and Indian corn, among which appear also some patches of the castor-oil plant, which, now that the coco-nut is no longer found, is the usual supply for their lamps.

I walked about a good deal, the evening being pleasant, and was much interested. The buffaloes were all buried in the water, scarcely showing more than their noses and horns above its surface; but as the sun went down they came out, sleek, black, and glossy; too wild and timorous to suffer an European to approach them, but showing no degree of fierceness. The pigs are small, black, and shaggy, of a very wild appearance. At the nearest village to which I walked were two or three cottages, which, though mere hovels of mud and thatch, yet from the size of their out-buildings, and the treading of many cattle all round them, I should conceive were really the residences of tolerably wealthy farmers. One of these, an old man, was threshing out a small kind of millet, by driving oxen over it round and round in a circle. They were just leaving off work as I came up, and a hind was bringing a large bundle of green Indian-corn, weeded from the thick crop, for their provender. I observed, however, that the animals, during their previous employment, were not muzzled, according to the Scriptural rule, at the same time that they were kept so constantly moving that a few mouthfuls were all that they could get. While I was ex-

amining this heap of grain, and asking the old man some questions, his cows came up for the evening, and I pleased him exceedingly, when the cowman ran forward to beat them from my path, by forbidding him to strike them. "Good! good!" he said, with an air indicative of much satisfaction, "one must not beat cows." It seems to me that the tender mercies of the Hindoos towards animals are exhausted on cows only; for oxen they have no pity,—they are treated with much severity, but I have not here seen them show such marks of cruelty as those near Calcutta. Comfortable, on the whole, as this village seemed, many of the houses must soon be rendered uninhabitable, if, as seems by no means impossible from present appearances, the river rises a single cubit higher. Their round granaries, however, are all raised considerably above the other buildings, and must, I should suppose, be tolerably safe. When I asked what was to become of the others if the river rose, the answer was, they hoped it would not rise more than a few inches higher, which would be sufficient for their fields, without starving their cattle.

Futwa, which was directly opposite to us, is a large and ancient town, on a river for which the people of the town seem to have no other name than "Futwa kee Nuddee." Futwa is famous for a very long and handsome old bridge (an object of some rarity in India), and a college of Mussulman law and divinity, the Moulavies of which are widely renowned. The night was very cool and pleasant.

August 20.—We arrived at the south-east extremity of Patna about nine o'clock; it is a very great, and from the water at some little distance, a very striking city, being full of large buildings, with remains of old walls and towers, and bastions projecting into the river, with the advantage of a high rocky shore, and considerable irregularity and elevation of the ground behind it. On a nearer approach, we find, indeed, many of the houses whose verandahs and terraces are striking objects at a distance to be ruinous; but still in this respect, and in apparent

prosperity, it as much exceeds Dacca as it falls short of it in the beauty and grandeur of its ruins. As we approached, I proposed slacking sail to give the Corries time to come up; but Mohammed said that opposite the old castle was one of the most rapid and difficult passages of the river between Hurdwar and Saugor, and that if we did not use the fine wind we now had, we might be kept for weeks. We, therefore, proceeded along this noble expanse of water, which I really think grows wider instead of narrower as we advance, and which here, between wind and stream, was raised into waves little less than those which the Mersey sometimes exhibits below Liverpool; my boat for this sort of service is really a very fine one. At the eastern extremity of Patna is a large wood of palms and fruit-trees, pointed out to me as the gardens belonging to a summer palace, built and planted by the Nawâb Jaffier Ali-Khân. They are renowned for their beauty and extent, being two or three miles in circuit. We also passed a large and dilapidated palace, which had been the residence of the late Nawâb of Patna, Abbas Kouli Khân, a splendid and popular person; he left no successor, but his nearest heirs are two very intelligent young men, who are said to hold some lucrative employment under the English Government, and to be much in its confidence. The houses of the rich natives which we passed pretty much resemble those of Calcutta. They have, however, the advantage of immediately abutting on the river; and I saw one which, beneath its Corinthian superstructure, had a range of solid buildings of the Eastern Gothic, with pointed arches and small windows, containing a suite of apartments almost on a level with the water,—uninhabitable, I should suppose, from damp during this season, but which must be coolness itself during the hot winds. The continued mass of buildings extends about four miles along the river, when it changes into scattered cottages and bungalows, interspersed with trees, till some more large and handsome buildings appear about three miles further. This is Bankipoor, where are the Com-

pany's opium warehouses, courts of justice, &c. &c., and where most of their civil servants live. I had an invitation from Sir Charles D'Oyley, and stopped my boat literally at the gate of his house, which stands very pleasantly on a high bank above the river. I met here a Franciscan friar, a remarkably handsome and intelligent-looking little man, whom I immediately and rightly guessed to be the Italian Padre, "Giulio Cesare," of whom so much mention is made in Martyn's "Life." I found great amusement and interest in looking over Sir Charles's drawing-books; he is the best gentleman-artist I ever met with. He says India is full of beautiful and picturesque country, if people would but stir a little way from the banks of the Ganges, and his own drawings and paintings certainly make good his assertion. The D'Oyleys offered me very kindly a bed-room on shore, which, as my boat was under the shelter of a high bank, I found much cooler than the cabin. Soon after I arrived I received a large packet of letters, and, thank God, a more comfortable account of those dearest to me.

The wind and the *sea*, for the river really deserves the name, continued to rise during the greater part of the day, so that the Corries, it was very plain, could not get past the rock on which the fort stands. Indeed we afterwards heard that at Dinapoor, where the stream is also usually violent, a budge-row, and even a pinnace, had been very nearly lost, and the latter actually almost filled with water, and driven ashore.

After dinner Lady D'Oyley took me round the only drive which is at this time of year practicable, being, though of a smaller extent, much such a green as the race-ground at Barrackpoor. We passed a high building, shaped something like a glass-house, with a stair winding round its outside up to the top, like the old prints of the Tower of Babel. It was built as a granary for the district, in pursuance of a plan adopted about thirty-five years ago by Government, after a great famine, as a means of keeping down the price of grain, but abandoned on a supposed

discovery of its inefficacy, since no means in their hands, nor any buildings which they could construct, without laying on fresh taxes, would have been sufficient to collect or contain more than one day's provision for the vast population of their territories. It is not only in a time of famine that in a country like India the benefit of public granaries would be felt. These would, of course, be filled by the agents of the Company in those years and those seasons when grain was cheapest, and when the cultivator was likely to be ruined by the impossibility of obtaining a remunerating price. But the presence of an additional, a steady and a wealthy customer at such times in the market, to the amount of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole produce, or even less than that, would raise the price of grain 10 or even 20 per cent., and thus operate as a steady and constant bounty on agriculture, more popular by far, and as I conceive, more efficient than any Corn Law which could be devised. It appears to me, therefore, that a system of such granaries, even on a very moderate scale throughout the provinces, would not only essentially relieve famine, if it came, but, in some degree, prevent its coming; that it would improve the situation both of Ryot and Zemindar, and make them more able to pay their dues to Government, while, as there is no necessity or advantage (but rather the contrary) that the corn thus hoarded should be given away, the expense to the Company would not be very much more than the first cost and subsequent repair of the buildings, and the wages of the needful agents and labourers. I am well aware of the usual answer, that it is better to leave these things to private competition and speculation, that much of the grain thus collected would be spoiled, and become unfit for use, &c. But the first assumes a fact which in India, I believe, is not correct, that there is either sufficient capital or enterprise to enable or induce individuals to store up corn in the manner contemplated. As for the second, it would obviously be in years of overproduction an equal benefit to the cultivator to have a part of his stock pur-

chased and withdrawn from present consumption, even though what was thus purchased were actually burnt, while, though to keep the granaries full of good grain would of course be more expensive to Government from the perishable nature of the commodity, yet it would be easy so to calculate the selling price as to cover this charge, and avoid the necessity of imposing fresh public burthens. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to believe that the measure was a wise one, and well adapted to the state of India, though it is one, undoubtedly, which could only be carried into effect in peaceable times, and when there was a considerable surplus revenue. I know my dear wife has no objection to this sort of politico-economical discussion, and therefore send it without fearing to tire her. The building which has called it forth is said to have many imperfections, which made it very unfit for its destination. The idea itself, which is to pour the corn in at the top, and take it out through a small door at the bottom, I think a good one. But it is said to be ill-built, and by far too weak to support the weight of its intended contents; while, by a refinement in absurdity, the door at the bottom is made to open inwards, and, consequently, when the granary was full, could never have been opened at all. It is now occasionally used as a powder-magazine; but is at this moment quite empty, and only visited sometimes for the sake of its echo, which is very favourable to performances on the flute or bugle. Underneath its walls I had a good deal of conversation with Padre Giulio, who speaks French, though not well, yet fluently. He is thoroughly a man of the world—smooth, insinuating, addicted to paying compliments, and, from his various accomplishments, an acceptable guest at all English houses where French or Italian are understood. He spoke with great affection of Martyn, who thought well of him, and almost hoped that he had converted him from Popery.

He was apparently pleased with the notice which I paid him, and I certainly was much amused and interested

with his conversation. I found him a great admirer of Metastasio, and of course not fond of Alfieri. He himself is, indeed, a Milanese, so that he feels for the former as for a countryman as well as a brother ecclesiastic. Their sect, he said, had had a heavy loss in India, by the recent death of the Romish Bishop of Thibet, who came out a little before my arrival, and who was also an Italian of good family, and a very elegant and accomplished scholar. He died in this neighbourhood about two months ago. I recollect Lord Amherst speaking of him; and he, on his part, Giulio said, spoke much of Lord Amherst's good nature, and good Italian.

August 21.—The Corries arrived this morning; with the Archdeacon and Mr. Northmore, who came over from Dinapoor, I had to arrange the duties of the next day. The distance, it appears, from Bankipoor to Dinapoor is full seven miles in the dry season; at present between eight and nine, and through roads often impassable for a carriage. The majority of the Europeans in the neighbourhood (now that the 44th Regiment is no longer quartered here) live in Bankipoor and Patna, so that Sir C. D'Oyley was anxious that I should preach here rather than at Dinapoor. I thought of doing both, but was dissuaded from a journey in the heat of the day; and I settled to remain here till Tuesday morning, and then go to Dinapoor to preach, and administer Confirmation. I find that the river, which offers at this moment so noble a sheet of water close to the garden-gate, is, in the dry season, two miles off, and scarcely visible, there being only some small nullahs in the intervening space, which is then cultivated with rice and oats.

August 22.—Mr. Corrie read prayers, and I preached to a congregation of, I should suppose, fifty people, all of the upper or middling ranks, of whom I think thirty stayed to receive the Sacrament. The service was performed in a large and convenient room, the court of appeal, and a handsome service of communion plate was produced, preserved from the time that the Company's

chaplain, now removed to Dinapoor, was stationed at Patna. A very earnest and general wish was expressed that Government would allow them a chaplain still. This, with the present establishment, and the great demands on it, is I fear never likely to be granted, but it would be a very great advantage and convenience to the place, and would be attended with little expense, in comparison, if an allowance were made the chaplain at Dinapoor for a lodging and palanquin hire, and he were enjoined to visit Patna once a month. Some measure of the kind, with regard to this and many other stations almost similarly situated, I hope myself to suggest to Government as soon as I am better informed in the necessary details of the plans.

Lady D'Oyley took me this evening through some of the bazaars, and a part of a long avenue of trees, extending several miles into the country. Many of them are of great size, but the whole, she said, were planted by the senior judge, Mr. Douglas, an old man who has been a resident in or near Patna for more than thirty years, during which he has only been once from it as far as Dinapoor. The houses of the natives here are almost all of mud, but their tiled roofs and verandahs give them a better aspect than the common Bengalee cottage. The hackeries are very different from those of Calcutta, being little tabernacles, like the movable military shrines represented on ancient monuments, with curtains and awnings, and drawn either by one horse or two oxen. We had a very pleasant, quiet evening, such as a Sunday evening ought to be, and concluded with family prayers. On the whole I have been greatly pleased and interested with this visit.

I observed in the course of the day a singular custom among the Europeans here; they have no regular burial-ground, but inter their deceased relatives in their gardens and pleasure-grounds. Little urns and obelisks of this kind meet the eye near most of the bungalows, and there is one of the former under a fine tamarind-tree close to Sir C. D'Oyley's windows.

August 23.—This day, like those

which had gone before it, was passed very agreeably, so much of it as I could spare from business, in the society of my new friends, but offered nothing remarkable. There was a large party to dinner, which broke up early, and I spent the rest of the evening in very agreeable conversation with the family circle.

August 24.—Sir C. D'Oyley sent me in his carriage half-way to Dinapoor, where Mr. Northmore's carriage met me. The archdeacon went in a "Tonjon," a chair with a head like a gig, carried by bearers. The whole way lies between scattered bungalows, bazaars, and other buildings, intermixed with gardens and mangoe groves; and three days without rain had made the direct road not only passable, but very reasonably good. As we approached Dinapoor, symptoms began to appear of a great English military station, and it was whimsical to see peeping out from beneath the palms and plantains large blue boards with gilt letters, "Digah Farm, Havell, Victualler," &c.; "Morris, Tailor;" "Davis, *Europe Warehouse*," &c. The cantonment itself is the largest and handsomest which I have seen, with a very fine quay, looking like a battery, to the river, and I think three extensive squares of barracks uniformly built, of one lofty ground-story well raised, stuccoed, and ornamented with arcaded windows, and pillars between each. There are also extensive, and, I understood, very handsome barracks for the native troops, which I did not see, those which I have described being for Europeans, of whom there are generally here one King's regiment, one Company's, and a numerous corps of artillery. Everything in fact is on a liberal scale, except what belongs to the church and the spiritual interests of the inhabitants and neighbourhood. The former I found merely a small and inconvenient room in the barracks, which seemed as if it had been designed for a hospital-ward; the reading-desk, surplice, books, &c. were all meaner and shabbier than are to be seen in the poorest village chapel in England or Wales; there were no pun-kahs, no wall-shades, or other means

for lighting up the church, no glass in the windows, no font, and till a paltry deal stand was brought for my use out of an adjoining warehouse, no communion-table. Bishop Middleton objected to administer confirmation in any but churches regularly built, furnished, and consecrated. But though I do not think that in India we need be so particular, I heartily wished, in the present case, to see things more as they should be, and as I had been accustomed to see them. Nor, in more essential points, was there much to console me for this neglect of external decencies. I had only fourteen candidates for Confirmation, some of them so young that I almost doubted the propriety of admitting them, and there were perhaps a dozen persons besides in the church. It is very true that the King's regiment (the 44th) was absent, but the Company's European regiment, most of them young men, might have been expected to furnish, of itself, no inconsiderable number, when the conduct of those at Dum Dum on similar occasions is recollected. There are, likewise, several indigo-planters in the neighbourhood, many of them with families, and many others who had themselves never been confirmed, to whom the chaplain of the station had long since sent notice, but who had none of them given any answer to his letters; he, indeed (whom I found extremely desirous of contributing to the improvement of the people under his care), lamented in a very natural and unaffected manner the gross neglect of Sunday, the extraordinary inattention on the part of the lower classes to all religious concerns, and the indifference hitherto shown by the Company's military officers now at Dinapoor to everything like religious improvement. While the 44th was here a very different and admirable example was set by Colonel Morrison and his officers, and the men themselves were most of them patterns of decent conduct and regular attendance in church, not only in the morning but in the evening, at which time their attendance was perfectly voluntary.

There had been a school for the European children and those recruits

who could not read, but this had fallen to decay, because nobody would subscribe, and the chaplain alone could not support it. The Government sent, six months ago, a lending library for the use of their European soldiers, and allowed eight rupees a month to the clerk for keeping it, but the brigademajor, to whom the books were consigned, had never unpacked them, alleging (of which he was not the proper judge) "that they were too few to be of any use," and "that there was no place to put them in," as if a corner of the room now used as a church would not have answered the purpose perfectly.

Of the European regiment, though it was "in orders" that the men should attend church every Sunday, very few ever came, and seldom any officer but the adjutant, and the neighbouring planters seemed utterly without religion of any kind, never applying to the clergyman, except for marriage, burial, and the baptizing of their children. Mr. Northmore, who gave me this account, complained that he was often sadly discouraged, and led to fear that some deficiency in himself was the cause of this neglect of his ministry, but that he was comforted to find his attendance both acceptable and useful to the sick men in the hospital, where, indeed, I hear his conduct is marked by very great diligence and humanity. For the lamentable state of things of which he complains, there are many reasons for which he can in nowise be accountable, and which, to prevent his being discouraged, I took care to point out to him. One of these I shall probably find but too prevalent throughout the Indian army, where the early age at which the officers leave England, the little control to which they are afterwards subjected, and the very few opportunities afforded to most of them of ever hearing a sermon, or joining in public prayer, might be expected to heathenise them even far more than we find is the case.

But at Dinapoor something may be also ascribed to the exceeding bad conduct of the late chaplain, which must have driven many from the church,

whom it would be very difficult for the most popular preacher to entice back again. And the want of a decent church is the strongest cause of all. The present room barely affords accommodation for half the soldiers who might be expected to attend, without leaving any for the officers' families, or the neighbouring planters. These, therefore, though room is generally to be had, have an excuse to offer to their consciences for not attending; and it is really true, that for women and children of the upper class to sit jostling with soldiers in a small close room, without punkahs, with a drive of perhaps three or four miles before and after service, is not a prospect which would make a man very fond of bringing his family to attend divine service. A spacious and airy church would greatly remove these difficulties. Government did, I understand, promise one some time back; but the military officers, to whom the preparation of the estimate and plan was left, took no trouble in the business. On the whole, what I saw and heard, both at and after church, made me low and sad, to which, perhaps, the heat of the day, the most oppressive I have yet felt in India, greatly contributed.

On my return to the pinnacle, which had meantime come on from Bankipoor, I found that to avoid the fury of the stream they had moored her in a narrow nullah, which constitutes the harbour of Dinapoor, and which was filled with all kinds of vessels, while one of its banks was covered with warehouses, and the other occupied by a great cattle-fair. The heat was intense, and no breath of air could visit us, whilst as evening came on we were sure of being devoured by musquitos. I soon made up my mind, and told the serang to leave the nullah and anchor in the middle of the river, when I had dressed and left the pinnacle, and to have the jolly-boat waiting for me at night, on the beach, below the battery.

In the evening Mr. Northmore called to take me a drive before dinner. We went to "Digah Farm," the place I had passed in the morning, which is extremely well worth seeing. It is a

tavern, a large ground-floored house with excellent rooms, very handsomely fitted up, surrounded with some of the most extensive ranges of cow-houses, pig-styes, places for fattening sheep and cattle, dairies, &c. that I ever saw, all kept beautifully clean, 'with a large grass court full of poultry, and in the middle a very pretty flower-garden. To the back is a large kitchen-garden, and beyond this stacks of oats and other grain, not unworthy of an English farmer. The keeper is named Havell, a very respectable man. He is the butcher, corn-dealer, brewer, wine-merchant, confectioner, and wax-chandler of all this part of India.

During the drive I endeavoured to put Mr. Northmore in the way of getting some of those aids from the military officers of the cantonment, to which, by the regulations of government, he is entitled. And afterwards, at dinner, where were present most of the officers now in garrison, I succeeded, I hope, in getting the re-establishment of the school, together with the assurance from the colonel of the European regiment, that he would urge his recruits to attend, and promote only those men to be non-commissioned officers who could read and write—a measure which would soon make reading and writing universal. The brigade-major was not present, but I said all I could to the colonel about the lending library, and a more regular attendance of the troops in church, and was glad to find what I said extremely well taken. The library I think I have secured, since everybody present seemed pleased with the idea, when the nature of its contents and the system of circulation were explained. The heat was something which a man who had not been out of Europe would scarcely conceive, and the party, out of etiquette on my account, were all in their cloth uniforms. I soon put them at their ease, however, in this particular, and I am almost inclined to hope that the white jackets, which were immediately sent for, put them in better humour both with me and my suggestions.

I was much pressed to stay over the next Sunday, or at least a few days

longer; but it is only by going to-morrow that I can hope to reach Ghazee-poor, or even Buxar, by Sunday next; and all agreed, on telling them what I had to do, that I had no time to spare in order to reach Bombay before the hot winds.

August 25.—I parted from Dinapore under a salute of artillery, and sailed along the northern bank, which, where we first approached it, presented an outline far bolder and more abrupt than most which I have seen on the Ganges, being a precipitous bank of red earth overhung with trees and shrubs, with a native house of some consequence on its summit.

About noon we arrived at Chuprah, a large town on the north bank of the river, or rather on an arm of the river divided from the main stream by some marshy islands. Chuprah was the scene of a defeat received by Mr. Law from, I believe, Sir Eyre Coote (then Capt. Coote). It is now the chief town of the district of Sarum, and the residence of the judge and collector, and contains also a good many large, handsome native houses, and one very pretty mosque, or pagoda, I know not which. Its architecture resembles the first; but there are a peepul-tree, ghât, and other things near it, which lead me to suspect the latter, and I do not think its entrance tallies with the regard shown in all mosques to the Kibla. While I was in this place, vainly waiting for the Corries, a very fine and fast-sailing budgerow arrived with Mr. and Mrs. Anson, on their way to join his regiment at Meerut, and we proceeded together.

Near our halting-place, which was a very pleasant one, was a little open shed occupied by a Hindoo ascetic, with a double quantity of dung and chalk on his face, who was singing in a plaintive monotonous tone to a little knot of peasants, who seemed to regard him with great veneration. He did not beg of us, but suspended his hymn while we passed between him and the Ganges. He had not the tiger-skin, which those whom I saw at Boglipoor appeared to take particular pleasure in displaying. A village was near, and a

fine orchard of mangoe-trees; a number of bearers passed with packages of various kinds, belonging, as they said, to a certain potentate named the "Dum-Raja," who was crossing the country to pay a visit somewhere in this neighbourhood. I was in hopes of an opportunity to see an Indian of rank on a journey, but it appeared that the great man had already passed. We overtook a number of vessels to-day, two of them of a curious and characteristic description. One was a budgerow at Chuprah, pretty deeply laden, with a large blue board on its side, like that of an academy in England, inscribed "Goods for sale on commission," being in fact strictly a floating shop, which supplied all the smaller stations with, what its owners would probably call, "*Europe* articles." The other was a more elegant vessel of the same kind, being one of the prettiest pinnaces I ever saw, with an awning spread over the quarter-deck, under which sate a lady and two gentlemen reading, and looking so comfortable, that I could have liked to join their party. I found that it was the floating shop of a wealthy tradesman at Dinapoor, who, towards the middle of the rains, always sets out in this manner with his wife, to make the tour of the upper provinces, as high as his boat can carry, ascending alternate years, or as he finds most custom, to Agra, Meerut, or Lucknow, by their respective rivers, and furnishing glass, cutlery, perfumery, &c. &c., to the mountaineers of Deyra Doon, and the Zennanahs of Runjeet Singh and Sindia. We passed in the course of this day the mouths of no less than three great rivers falling into the Ganges from different quarters, the Soane from the south and the mountains of Gundwana, the Gunduch from Nepaul, and the Dewah from, I believe, the neighbourhood of Almorah: each of the three is larger and of longer course than the Thames or Severn. What an idea does this give us of the scale on which nature works in these countries!

The heat all this day would have been intense, had not the breeze tempered it. No rain has fallen for many days.

August 26.—Our fine wind continued, which was the more fortunate, since the sun was intensely hot and bright. In our way to Buxar the sirdar came to me with hands joined, and that sort of anxious smile which signifies that its wearer is about to ask a favour. He said that his parents lived close to the place where we now were, and requested a two days' leave of absence (promising to join me on Sunday night at Ghazeepoor), and also that I would advance him a month's wages to leave with them. I could not refuse him, though he is a very valuable person on board, and mention it because it seems to show that among these poor people there is at least filial piety. The calling to see them was, indeed, natural; but the gift of the month's wages was what many valets-de-chambre in England would have thought, I fear, "quite out of character." I forgot to mention in the proper place that the sota-burdar had made a similar request at Bankipoor, where he had, he said, a wife and three children still at home, and that Abdullah, whose friends also live in Patna, had been to see them, and brought back with him divers books, clothes, and other things, which he had left behind him when he undertook that voyage to England in his return from which we met him. He, however, did not ask for any advance of money, as he said his relations were pretty well off, and more able to help him than he them. He did not seem to anticipate much kindness of reception, but returned in good spirits, and asked for another day's leave of absence.

I found Buxar (which I had expected to see a little ruinous fort, remarkable only as the scene of the battle which confirmed the British in the possession of Bengal and Bahar) a large and respectable Mussulman town, with several handsome mosques,—one of the largest and neatest bazars which I have seen, and some good-looking European bungalows. We had some difficulty, owing to a crowd of boats, in getting our little vessel moored in a nullah (or colly, as they call them here), which is the usual harbour of the place. I could

have preferred the open river, but the beach was very inconvenient, and the stream so strong that I did not like to press the point. Nor was the creek in question by any means so close and hot as that of Dinapoor. As soon as we touched ground, I sent a letter to Captain Field, the fort-adjutant, requesting him to make my arrival known to the Europeans in garrison, in order that, if there was any clerical assistance wanted, they might call on me in the forenoon of the next day. I was soon afterwards visited by Captain Field, who said he had immediately sent round the requisite notice, and apprehended that there would be some glad to avail themselves of it. He told me, to my surprise, that he had no less than one hundred and fifty Europeans in garrison, his whole force amounting to six hundred men. He also apologised for not having saluted me on my arrival, and on my telling him that I always supposed his fort was dismantled, he said that it was still so far in good order that nothing but an European force could take it, except by a very long siege. On hearing the number of Europeans, I expressed my regret that I could not, without great inconvenience, stay over Sunday; to which he replied, that he was convinced (as they had so very seldom an opportunity of attending divine service) they would thankfully assemble if I would give them prayers and a sermon at ten the next day, to which, of course, I gladly consented. A welcome shower of rain fell this evening.

August 27.—I went in the morning with Captain Field to see the fort, which is a small square, with a high rampart cased with turf, four circular bastions, a deep and wide ditch, a good glacis, and a sort of lower fort, extending to and commanding the river. The view from the ramparts is pleasing and extensive. There is one quarter which is, I think, extremely assailable, and which Major Dugald Dalgetty would unquestionably have pressed him to fortify. Still, as he truly said, it might stand a siege of some length from a native army, and its situation on the Ganges, in its nearest approach to the

Ghorkha territories, might make such a defence by no means unimportant, in the event of a rupture with those mountaineers. It is this possibility, indeed, which now constitutes the principal value of the great stations of Dinapoor and Ghazepoor.

After breakfast I went to Captain Field's house, which he had arranged, as well as it admitted of, as a church. The principal room, and the adjoining verandah, were filled with old soldiers; two little rooms on each side contained, to my surprise, a number of natives, mostly women and children, while some officers and their wives were ranged round my desk. All were very attentive, and the old soldiers more particularly (who had almost all prayer-books) joined in the responses with a regularity, an exactness, and a zeal, which much affected me, and showed how much, in their situation, they felt the blessing of an opportunity of public worship. I more than half repented of my intention to leave them before Monday. But I was aware that Ghazepoor had, at least, an equally numerous congregation, equally without a clergyman; and it occurred to me that the Archdeacon might stay here, and join me in time for the confirmation on Tuesday. This good man had never told me of the native Christians at Buxar; yet they are most of them the children of his own quiet and unwearied exertions in the cause of God. Some of them came up after church to beg for Hindoostanee Prayer-books and Gospels, a few of which I was able to supply them with.

The schoolmaster too, a Mussulman convert of the name of "Curream Musseeh" (mercy of Messiah), came up to offer the report of his scholars, and to hope I would come and see them assembled. I went in my palkee, after consigning to Captain Field some Bibles and tracts for his men, through some pretty green lanes and shady places, resembling the neighbourhood of an English village, escorted by Captain Field in his tonjon, with full pomp of orderly serjeant, spear-men, and other equipments of an up-country commandant, and followed by a mar-

vellous crowd of women and boys, whom my silver sticks attracted. Being one of the great days in the feast of Mohurrun, we found the tomb of a Mussulman saint decorated with three green banners, and other preparations for their prayers; but when we passed nobody was there, and its appearance was so like a cross in a market-town during fair-time, that it did not detract from the English appearance of the view.

We stopped at the door of a very neat native cottage, surrounded by a garden of plantains and potatoes, with flowers trained round the gate, and a high green hedge of the prickly pear. Here lived a Mrs. Simpson, a native of Agra, and one of Mr. Corrie's converts, now the widow of a serjeant in the Company's service, and getting her bread by teaching a few girls to read and work. She asked anxiously about Mr. Corrie, but there was no appearance of *cant* about her; indeed her stock of English did not seem very extensive. Here one of the English serjeants, with his wife, a very pretty native girl, baptized, as I understood, by Mr. Palmer, of Ghazeepoor, brought their son, a fine boy, of four years old, for baptism, and during the ceremony a number of females and children remained in the garden and verandah, carefully kneeling when we kneeled, and bowing at every repetition of the name of Jesus. The scene was very interesting, and the beauty of the background, the frame of the picture, and the costume of the worshippers, added to its picturesque beauty. At the close of the ceremony Curreem Musseeh went out to speak to them, and they ran off, I did not know why. Mrs. Simpson said she had a very small subscription raised by some ladies in the neighbourhood, amounting to four rupees a month, for her school, but that her neighbours sometimes helped her. She owned that she had seldom more than six or eight scholars, children of the European soldiers chiefly, to whom she taught reading and working. She asked for nothing but a prayer-book (she had a very good Hindoostanee New Testament and Pentateuch, and some spelling-books for

her school), but accepted a small donation with much thankfulness.

Curreem Musseeh's house, which we next visited, was still smaller than Mrs. Simpson's, and had not the few old pieces of European furniture which, in hers, marked her husband's nation and profession. Adjoining it was a little school-house, which we found full of women and children (about 30 or 35), on the ground, which was spread with mats, with their books in their laps. This served as their church also, where they and a few of their husbands, mostly European soldiers, who understood Hindoostanee, met three times a week in the evening for prayer. This school is supported, and Curreem Musseeh's salary paid, by the Church Missionary Society, and they have been sometimes, though very rarely, visited by a Missionary in orders. I regretted greatly that I could not address them with any effect in their own language, though I was strongly tempted to try; they, many of them indeed, knew a little English, but so little that they could not have been at all the better for anything said to them in that tongue, nor, except a few words, could they have understood the service this morning. I heard them read, however, and (by choosing such chapters of the New Testament as I was best acquainted with) was able to follow them, and to show them that I did so. They read extremely well, distinctly, slowly, and as if they understood what they read; they afterwards answered several of the questions in Watts's Catechism, and repeated the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, giving a sort of exposition of each. I was extremely pleased and surprised at all I witnessed here.

On my return to the pinnacle, I found that the Corries were not visible even from our mast-head, so that they plainly could not arrive before night, while two officers, who had just come in a budgerow from Ghazeepoor, said that if the wind failed ever so little I should not get there in one day. I therefore wrote a few lines to Mr. Corrie, explaining my plans, and advising him to

stay over Sunday at Buxar, and set off, finding as an additional reason for quitting my present situation, that the water in the river had fallen nearly a cubit in the course of the night, and that, if I remained, I might have some difficulty in getting the pinnace out of the colly. I had the usual salute from the garrison, and left Buxar after a day of great and unexpected interest.

The attendants in the school were of all ages, several young boys, some little girls, but the majority full-grown women. The boys were in the usual attire of other Indian children; the women and girls were decently wrapped up in their long shawls, barefooted, with the anklets and armlets usual with their countrywomen, but with no marks of caste on their foreheads. I heartily wished for some of the enemies of missions to see, in this small and detached instance, the good which, in a quiet and unpretending way, is really doing among these poor people. Cur-reem Musseeh was, I believe, a havildar in the Company's army, and his sword and sash were still hung up, with a not unpleasing vanity, over the desk where he now presided as catechist; he is a

very decent-looking, middle-aged man, his white cotton clothes and turban extremely clean, and his colour, like that of most of the inhabitants of these provinces, not very much darker than the natives of the south of Europe. I am indeed often surprised to observe the difference between my dandees (who are nearly the colour of a black tea-pot) and the generality of the peasants whom we meet with on the shore or in the bazars. The difference of climate will not account for this, for I have never in Bengal felt the sun more powerful than it has been within these last few days in Bahar; nor, though the people here wear rather more clothing than the lowest ranks of Bengalees, does this amount to more than a mantle over the head and shoulders, which, after all, they put on during the rain and breeze, not in the sun. I cannot help believing that as the language is different, so their race is also, and that in Bengal are some remains of an earlier, perhaps a negro stock, such as are now found in the Andaman islands, but who have been subdued by, and amalgamated with, the same northern conquerors who drove the Puharrees to their mountains.

CHAPTER XII.

BUXAR TO BENARES.

Caramnasa—Ghazeepoor—Lord Cornwallis's Monument—Palace—Salubrity—Rose-Fields—Suttees—Lepers—Dāk Journey—Seidpoor—Benares—Case of Native Christians—Confirmation—Mission Schools—Description of Benares—Native Houses—Pagodas—Vishvayesa—Observatory—Jain Temple—Vidalaya—Hindoo Astronomy—Street Preaching—Amrut Row—Visit from the Raja.

A LITTLE to the south-west of Buxar we passed a large town with some neat mosques and the remains of a fort, named Chowsar, and a little further the mouth of a considerable river, the Caramnasa, whose singular properties I have before mentioned. It is for this river, which crosses the great road from Calcutta to Benares, that the rope-bridge exhibited by Mr. Shakespear at Cossipoor was intended by the Baboo Ramchunder Narain. At this place it is the boundary between the provinces of Bahar and Allahabad, and was, till the administration of Warren Hastings, who pushed on the border to Benares, the extreme limit of the Company's territories. How vastly have they since been extended! The river is here much contracted in width, as might be expected after getting above the junction of so many great tributary streams, and the banks are generally high and abrupt. The country has but little timber in comparison with Bengal, but would not be thought deficient in this respect in most parts of Europe. The trees are round-topped, few palms being seen, and the cultivation, wheat, oats, and pulse, intermixed with grass leys covered with vast herds of cattle.

In passing along a colly, which we entered a little after we left the Caramnasa, I heard some disputing on deck, and suddenly found the boat going over to the other side of the stream. On inquiry, the venetians being closed on the side where the difficulty was, I was told that some European sergeants, with

some Company's boats under their charge, who had put up for the night on that shore, had sent a message warning us off, lest our tow-line should occasion them some little trouble. I was angry, and asked the serang why he attended to such an impertinent order, and why he obeyed it without consulting me? He answered that one side of the stream was really as good as the other, and that, as he expected soon to lugana for the night, he had no desire to be in the neighbourhood of such people. However, it is, I fear, a specimen of the way in which these gentry order about the natives, and even the European traders; not seeing any uniforms or white people in the boat, they perhaps took it for one of the floating shops which I have mentioned.

We brought to about a quarter of an hour afterwards, by a vast grass field, divided into butts by rows of the tall and beautiful cotton-grass. It is cultivated for the "choppers" (thatched roofs) of bungalows, and also for ropes, and even for a coarse but strong kind of canvas. It evidently was regarded as a valuable crop, from the exactness with which it was planted. As no cows would eat it except in extreme hunger, it is safe from their attacks, and the intervening strips of grass afford a rich and noble pasture. I never saw, I think, finer land. The banks of the river are all a light marly loam, like garden-mould, dry, sound, and friable, without any intermixture

of stones or cold clay, and with very little sand. Abdullah, who is a warm patriot, so far as his admiration of the climate, soil, and productions of Hindostan goes, and who is much pleased to observe the interest which I take in these matters, said, "Ah, my Lord, why not get leave to buy land in this good place and good climate. My Lady and children always have good health here, settle it on young lady, native of country, and call it Harriet-poor." I laughed, and told him the reasons of the law which hindered the English from buying land in India; he owned that it was a very good law to prevent the English collectors and magistrates from being tempted to extort lands, as the Mussulmans had done, from the people by false accusations, and added, that it was wonderful how the English parliament took notice of every thing and every body.

August 28.—It is quite extraordinary to see how much and how fast the waters are subsiding; surely the rains have not ceased thus early! If they have, it would augur ill for my getting to Cawnpore by water, and (what I am far more afraid of) would make the neighbourhood of Calcutta very unhealthy. I have been visited within these few days by several large wasps or hornets, of greater bulk and duller colours than those of England, but not so numerous as to be troublesome.

Ghazee-poor, where I arrived this day, is another large town or city, and from the river very striking, though, like all the Indian cities I have passed, its noblest buildings on approaching them turn out to be ruins. The river, though narrower than I have been lately accustomed to see it, is still as wide as the Hooghly at Cossipoor. At the eastern extremity of the town is a very handsome though ruined palace, built by the Nawab Cossim Ali Khan, the most airy and best contrived, so far as can be perceived from its outward appearance, of any of the eastern buildings which I have seen. Its verandahs are really magnificent, but its desolation is so recent, that it is very far from being a pleasing object on approaching near enough to perceive its decay. It

might still at no great expense be made one of the handsomest and best situated houses in India. At the other extremity of the town, and separated from it by gardens and scattered cottages, are the houses of the civil servants of the Company, mostly with ground-floors only, but large and handsome, and beyond these is the military cantonment, ugly low bungalows, with sloping roofs of red tile, but deriving some advantage from the trees with which (very different from the stately but naked barracks of Dinapore) they are surrounded and intermingled. The most conspicuous among them is the monument to Lord Cornwallis, who died here on his way up the country. It has a white dome like a pepper-pot, but when the young trees, which are growing up round it, shall have got a little higher, it will not look ill from the river.

Almost immediately as my vessel came to shore, Mr. Melville, who had seen it in its approach, came on board to say that he had given up his own house, and was staying with Mr. C. Bayley, who hoped for my company also. In their agreeable society I passed the three days which I remained at Ghazee-poor, and from them obtained so much valuable information, that I cannot help regretting I had not time, and have not memory, to put down half of it. Some difficulties were felt about a proper place for divine service next day, the place (an old riding-house) which had been used as a church before the station lost its chaplain, being in so ruinous a state that the quartermaster had reported it some time since to Government as unsafe for any persons to assemble in. A Mr. Watson, a tradesman in the place, however, offered his long room, generally used for auctions, and sometimes for assemblies, which, now that the European regiment was absent, and the probable congregation less numerous than it otherwise would have been, answered the purpose extremely well, being large, airy, and furnished both with seats and punkahs.

During our drive this evening I had a nearer view of Lord Cornwallis's monument, which certainly does not

improve on close inspection; it has been, evidently, a very costly building; its materials are excellent, being some of the finest freestone I ever saw, and it is an imitation of the celebrated Sibyl's temple, of large proportions, solid masonry, and raised above the ground on a lofty and striking basement. But its pillars, instead of beautiful Corinthian well fluted, are of the meanest Doric. They are quite too slender for their height, and for the heavy entablature and cornice which rest on them. The dome, instead of springing from nearly the same level with the roof of the surrounding portico, is raised ten feet higher on a most ugly and unmeaning attic story, and the windows (which are quite useless) are the most extraordinary embrasures (for they resemble nothing else) that ever I saw out of a fortress. Above all, the building is utterly unmeaning; it is neither a temple nor a tomb, neither has altar, statue, or inscription. It is, in fact, a "folly" of the same sort, but far more ambitious and costly, than that which is built at Barrackpoor, and it is vexatious to think that a very handsome church might have been built, and a handsome marble monument to Lord Cornwallis placed in its interior, for a little more money than has been employed on a thing, which, if any foreigner saw it (an event luckily not very probable), would afford subject for mockery to all who read his travels, at the expense of Anglo-Indian ideas of architecture. Ugly as it is, however, by itself, it may yet be made a good use of, by making it serve the purpose of a detached "torre campanile" to the new church which is required for the station; to this last it would save the necessity of a steeple or cupola, and would much lessen the expense of the building; but the times are, I fear, unpropitious for any grants of this nature from the Indian Government. Yet the wants of this station are so urgent, for when they have European soldiers here again, they will have no building of any kind to receive them for worship, and the representation which the principal civil and military servants have made to me is so strong, that it is ab-

solutely my duty to urge the case, and I will certainly do so.

Sunday, August 29.—Mr. Corrie (who from illness had been unable to undertake the whole duty at Buxar, and had arrived here yesterday) read prayers, and I preached, and administered the sacrament this morning to a small but very attentive congregation, almost exclusively of the higher class. Afterwards I examined some children from the regimental school, which seems well managed. Though the fathers are absent, the wives and children of the 38th regiment remain here, and Government is also forming a considerable force of sepoy.

August 30.—In the evening I drove with Captain Carter, the quarter-master, to fix on the best spot for a church, and found none so good as that which I have already mentioned. The present, or rather the late church, is a very large building, thatched like a barn, with a wide span, which has forced the side-walls out of the perpendicular; indeed, the whole is in a very forlorn condition, and I am surprised it has stood through these rains.

August 31.—This morning early Mr. Melville took me to see the prison, which, like all the Company's gaols which I have seen, is very clean, airy, and apparently well managed,—and the old palace, now used as a custom-house, which I had so much admired coming up the river. The town, through which we passed, has no large houses except one, the property of a wealthy Mussulman, which is extremely like some of the old houses in Scotland, as represented in prints, and described by the author of "Waverley." Like all other native buildings it looks dingy and neglected, but appears in good substantial repair, and is a striking object, more so, perhaps, than most of the Corinthian verandahs of Calcutta. The bazars, through which we drove, are neat; and one of the streets so wide that one might have supposed oneself in an English country town. There are the remains of an old castle here, now reduced to little more than a high green mound, scattered with ruins, and overhung with some fine trees. But the

palace is, indeed, a very handsome building. It is approached from the land through a fine gateway, which, though differing in a few particulars from the English Gothic, certainly belongs to the same style of architecture, and excels the corresponding structures of Dacca, in being, instead of brick, of excellent stone. It is in good repair, and has still its massive teak folding-doors, clenched with iron studs, and with the low-browed wicket in the middle, like an English castle or college.

The most striking differences between the English and Asiatic Gothic, lie in the broad projecting stone cornices which adorn the latter, and to which I recollect no counterpart in Europe, though something approaching to them may be found in the heavy, but picturesque eaves of the Florentine palaces, and though they are pretty closely imitated in wood in some of our old English black-and-white houses. In their gateways, likewise, and most other of their buildings, they avoid all those flanking projections, round, or octagonal turrets and stair-cases, which our ancient English architects were so fond of; and, instead of these, cut off the corners of their buildings into an octagonal form. There is good sense in both these variations. In a climate where every breeze is precious, those projections, which are useful shelters in England, would be only nuisances; and the depth of shadow and architectural effect of which they thus deprive themselves, is supplied in a great degree by the projection of their kiosks and cornices, which are, at the same time, extremely convenient in a country so hot, and at certain seasons so rainy. There are two or three courts within the palace, surrounded by ruinous buildings, with an appearance, at first sight, of meanness, but offering, in detail, many beautiful specimens of architecture. The arches here, however, are few of them Gothic, being mostly of that kind which is generally called Moorish, specimens of which may be seen, if I recollect right, in Murphy's prints of the Alhambra. The columns are slender and octagonal,

the arches semi-circular, but indented, and the bases of the columns are ornamented with flowers and leaves, which seem interposed between them and their plinths. The tops of the windows are like those of the arcades, but generally enclosed in a square tablet, like what we see in Tudor-Gothic; the doors the same. The banqueting-house is a very striking and beautiful building in the form of a cross, open every way, and supported by a multitude of pillars and arches, erected on an under-story of an octagonal form. Its south-east side abuts immediately on a terrace rising from the river; the four projections of the cross seem calculated to answer the double purpose of shading the octagonal centre, and giving room for the attendants, music, &c.; and the double line round the centre is a deep trench, which used to be filled, we are told, with rose-water when the nawâb and his friends were feasting in the middle, which still shows the remains of a beautiful blue, red, and white mosaic pavement. It is now used as a warehouse to the custom-house, and the men with swords and shields, who yet mount guard there, are police peons. The building, however, is in a rapid state of decay, though it still might be restored, and, as a curious and beautiful object, is really worth restoring.

I set off for Benares after breakfast, but made little progress, both the stream and, by an unfortunate chance, the wind being unfavourable. Ghazeepoor is celebrated throughout India for the wholesomeness of its air, and the beauty and extent of its rose-gardens. Perhaps these in a good degree arise from the same cause,—the elevated level on which it stands, and the dryness of its soil, which never retains the moisture, and after the heaviest showers is, in a very few hours, fit to walk on with comfort. That this must contribute to health is evident; and I suppose, from all which I have observed, that it must be favourable to the growth of flowers. It is also another auspicious circumstance in the situation of the city and cantonment, that it has a noble reach of the river to the south-west, from which quarter the hot winds generally

blow. Be this as it may, the English regiments removed hither from the other stations, have always found their number of deaths diminish from the Indian to the European ratio; and the apparent health of the inhabitants, both English and natives, really struck me as doing justice to the favourable reports of the air. The country round is as flat as India generally is, and the roses were not in bloom. There was, however, a very brilliant display of flowers and flowering shrubs of other kinds in the different lanes and hedges, as well as in the pleasure-grounds of the European residents.

The rose-fields, which occupy many hundred acres in the neighbourhood, are described as, at the proper season, extremely beautiful. They are cultivated for distillation, and for making "attar." Rose-water is both good and cheap here; the price of a seer, or weight of two pounds (a large quart) of the best being eight anas, or a shilling. The attar is obtained after the rose-water is made, by setting it out during the night and till sun-rise in the morning in large open vessels exposed to the air, and then skimming off the essential oil which floats at the top. The rose-water which is thus skimmed bears a lower price than that which is warranted with its cream entire; but Mr. Bayley said there is very little perceptible difference. To produce one rupee's weight of attar, two hundred thousand well-grown roses are required. The price, even on the spot, is extravagant, a rupee's weight being sold in the bazar (where it is often adulterated with sandal-wood) for 80 s. r., and at the English warehouse, where it is warranted genuine, at 100 s. r., or 10*l.* Mr. Melville, who made some for himself one year, said he calculated that the rent of the land, and price of utensils, really cost him at the rate of 5*l.* for the above trifling quantity, without reckoning risk, labour of servants, &c.

The whole district of Ghazeepoor is fertile in corn, pasture, and fruit-trees. The population is great, and the mosques and Mussulmans in the shops and streets are so numerous, and there are so few pagodas of any importance visible, that

I thought I had bidden adieu for the present to the followers of Brahma. Mr. Melville, however, assured me, to my surprise, that it was in the large towns only that the Mussulmans were numerous, and that, taking the whole province together, they were barely an eleventh part of the population, among the remainder of whom Hindooism existed in all its strength and bigotry. Suttees are more abundant here than even in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, but chiefly confined to the lower ranks. The last yearly return amounted to above forty, and there were several of which no account was given to the magistrate. It has been, indeed, a singular omission on the part of Government that, though an ordinance has been passed, commanding all persons celebrating a suttee to send in notice of their intention to the nearest police-officer, no punishment has been prescribed for neglect of this order, nor has it ever been embodied in the standing regulations, so as to make it law, or authorise a magistrate to commit to prison for contempt of it. If Government mean their orders respecting the publicity of suttees to be obeyed, they must give it the proper efficacy; while, if suttees are not under the inspection of the police, the most horrible murders may be committed under their name. This struck me very forcibly, from two facts which were incidentally told me. It is not necessary, it seems, for the widow who offers herself, to burn actually with the body of her husband. His garments, his slippers, his walking-staff—anything which has, at any time, been in his possession, will do as well. Brahmin widows, indeed, are, by the Shaster, not allowed this privilege, but must burn with the body, or not at all. This, however, is unknown or disregarded in the district of Ghazeepoor, and most other regions of India. But the person of whom I was told was no Brahmin; he was a labourer, who had left his family in a time of scarcity, and gone to live (as was believed) in the neighbourhood of Moorshedabad, whence he had once, in the course of several years, sent his wife a small sum of money from his

savings, by a friend who was going up the country. Such remittances, to the honour of the labouring class in India, are usual, and, equally to their honour, when intrusted to any one to convey, are very seldom embezzled. Some years after, however, when the son of the absentee was grown up, he returned one day from a fair at a little distance, saying he had heard bad news, and that a *man unknown* had told him his father was dead. On this authority the widow determined to burn herself, and it was judged sufficient that an old garment of the supposed dead man should be burned with her. Now, it is very plain how easily, if the son wanted to get rid of his mother, he might have brought home such a story to induce her to burn, and it is also very plain that, whether she was willing or no, he might carry her to the stake, and (if the police are to take no cognizance of the matter) might burn her under pretence of a suttee. How little the interference of neighbours is to be apprehended in such cases, and how little a female death is cared for, may appear by another circumstance, which occurred a short time ago at a small distance from the city of Gha-zeepoor, when, in consequence of a dispute which had taken place between two small freeholders about some land, one of the contending parties, an old man of seventy and upwards, brought his wife, of the same age, to the field in question, forced her, with the assistance of their children and relations, into a little straw hut built for the purpose, and burned her and the hut together, in order that her death might bring a curse on the soil, and her spirit haunt it after death, so that his successful antagonist should never derive any advantage from it. On some horror and surprise being expressed by the gentleman who told me this case, one of the officers of his court, the same indeed who had reported it to him, not as a horrible occurrence, but as a proof how spiteful the parties had been against each other, said, very coolly, "Why not?—she was a very old woman,—what use was she?" The old murderer was in prison, but my

friend said he had no doubt that his interference in such a case, *between man and wife*, was regarded as singularly vexatious and oppressive; and he added, "The truth is, so very little value do these people set on their own lives, that we cannot wonder at their caring little for the life of another. The cases of suicide which come before me double those of suttees; men, and still more women, throw themselves down wells, or drink poison, for apparently the slightest reasons, generally out of some quarrel, and in order that their blood may lie at their enemy's door, and unless the criminal in question had had an old woman at hand, and in his power, he was likely enough to have burned himself." Human sacrifices, as of children, are never heard of now in these provinces, but it still sometimes happens that a leper is burnt or buried alive; and, as these murders are somewhat blended also with religious feeling, a leper being supposed to be accused of the gods, the Sudder Dewannee, acting on the same principle, discourages, as I am told, all interference with the practice. The best way, indeed, to abolish it would be to establish lazaret-houses, where these poor wretches should be maintained, and, if possible, cured, or at all events kept separate from the rest of the people, a policy by which, more than anything else, this hideous disease has been extirpated in Europe.

All these stories have made a very painful impression on me. If I live to return to Calcutta it is possible that, by conversation with such of my friends as have influence, and by the help of what additional knowledge I may have acquired during this tour, I may obtain a remedy for some of them. And it is in order that this anxiety may not pass away, but that I may really do some little for the people among whom my lot is thrown, that I have put down more fully the facts which have come to my knowledge. I have on a former occasion noticed the opinions of most public men in India on the important question of putting down suttees by authority. Whether this is attempted or not, it seems at least highly necessary

that the regulations should be enforced which the Indian Government itself had declared desirable, and that those instances which are really murder, on Hindoo as well as Christian principles, should not escape unpunished. Of the natural disposition of the Hindoo, I still see abundant reason to think highly, and Mr. Bayley and Mr. Melville both agreed with me that they are constitutionally kind-hearted, industrious, sober, and peaceable, at the same time that they show themselves, on proper occasions, a manly and courageous people. All that is bad about them appears to arise either from the defective motives which their religion supplies, or the wicked actions which it records of their gods, or encourages in their own practice. Yet it is strange to see, though this is pretty generally allowed, how slow men are to admit the advantage or necessity of propagating Christianity among them. Crimes unconnected with religion are not common in Ghazee-poor. There are affrays, but such as arise out of disputes between Mohammedan and Hindoo processions at the time of the Mohurrun, in which blood is sometimes drawn. The police is numerous and effective, and the thanadars, &c., though they had been here also, in the first instance, forgotten in the perpetual settlement, have been better provided for since than those of Bahar; but the tenants on the small and divided estates in these provinces are worse off than those on the larger properties in Bahar. Estates here are seldom large, and the holdings very minute.

The language spoken by the common people is Hindoostanee, of a very corrupt kind. The good "Oordoo" is chiefly confined to the army and courts of justice. When a person under examination once answered in it with unusual fluency and propriety, Mr. Melville's native chief officer said, with a sagacious nod, "That fellow talks good Oordoo! He has been in prison before to-day!" All legal writings, records, &c., are in Persian, a rule which Mr. Melville thinks good. Persian holding in India the place of Latin in Europe, in consequence of this regulation,

all the higher officers of the court are educated persons. Persian is, as a language, so much superior in clearness and brevity to Hindoostanee, that business is greatly facilitated by employing it, and since even Oordoo itself is unintelligible to a great part of the Hindoos, there is no particular reason for preferring it to the more polished language. The honesty of the Hindoo law-officers is spoken very ill of; they seem to become worse the nearer they approach the seat of justice. The reason perhaps is not hard to discover; they are in situations where they may do a great deal of mischief; their regular salaries are wretchedly small, a part even of these arise from fees often oppressive and difficult to obtain, and they are so much exposed to getting a bad name even while they exact merely what is their due, that they become careless of reputation, and anxious by all underhand means to swell their profits. Much evil arises in India from the insufficient manner in which the subaltern native servants of Government are paid. In the case of the town duties, a toll-keeper, through whose hands the dues of half a district pass, receives as his own share three rupees a month! For this he has to keep a regular account, to stop every boat or hackery, to search them in order to prevent smuggling, and to bear the abuse and curses of all his neighbours. What better could be expected from such a man, but that he should cheat both sides, withholding from his employers a large portion of the sums which he receives, and extracting from the poor country people, in the shape of presents, surcharges, expedition and connivance-money, a far greater sum than he is legally entitled to demand?

September 1.—We advanced this day across the river by the aid of a favourable wind, which just lasted long enough to induce me to decline a very kind invitation sent by Mr. Bayley and Mr. Melville to return to them (being still within sight of Ghazee-poor) and proceed by Dak on Friday afternoon. The wind, however, was of considerable service, since the place where we now were, Zermineeh, is famous for

the time which boats are often detained there. After crossing the river, we proceeded a very little against the stream.

September 2.—In addition to the stream, we had now the wind against us, but notwithstanding were dragged on with much difficulty six or eight miles, as far as a village named Chuckkeepoor, where further progress, without great additional help, became impossible, the banks being high, steep, and crumbling, and the river perilously rapid. There were, at least, twenty vessels of different sizes already set fast and moored, a little a-head of us, waiting for a westerly wind. I therefore sent to the Jemautdar of Chuckkeepoor to desire him to hire fifty men for the next day, to pull the boats past the difficulty, and, since Mohammed confessed that he now saw no chance of the pinnace reaching Benares before Sunday evening, to hire bearers also to carry me to Seidpoor, on the regular Dāk road, where I felt convinced that my Ghazeeipoor friends, knowing how the wind was, would have relays stationed for me. The Corries arrived at the same point a little before me, as in tracking, a budgerow, even of the heaviest kind, has an advantage over a vessel with sails and rigging.

September 3.—Forty-five men attended this morning, of whom some were dispersed among the other boats, but with the addition of her crew, the Cora had forty men at the drag-line; of these we had two, lest one should break, both new and strong ones. This was a necessary precaution, because if the tow-line breaks, the boat is in considerable danger. The country people said that they had seen a budgerow literally dashed to pieces the year before in the very place where we were lying. The people were saved with great difficulty, but everything on board was lost, and hardly two planks of the boat remained together. The stream is indeed like that of a cataract, and the bank so high and crumbling, that the trackers work at a great disadvantage, as they dare not come close to the edge, and have to wind their way through trees and brushwood, and

among the pillars of an old pagoda. At length having occupied four hours in advancing nine miles, the current becoming slacker, the boatmen said they could get on without further help. I therefore dismissed my labourers, well satisfied with a present of four rupees to be divided among them, and set out on my first Dāk journey. I had twelve bearers, the road between this place and Seidpoor lying through fields and broken country, a double number being, as I was assured, necessary, particularly as it was not certain that I should find a relief on this side Benares, a distance of twenty-four English miles. I had my clothes and writing-desk in two petarrahs (a sort of wicker box), which one man carried slung on a bamboo across his shoulders, my mate-bearer to run with me, and besides light refreshments, I was told to take my pistols. Such is the usual style in which Dāk journeys are made in India; and it may serve as an additional proof of the redundant population and cheapness of labour, that this number of bearers are obtained for such severe and unpleasant work, at about twelve shillings for the stage, varying from six to ten miles. The men set out across the meadows at a good round trot of about four miles an hour, grunting like paviours in England, a custom which, like paviours, they imagine eases them under their burthen. The road, however, soon became too uneven for a rapid progress, and we were above three hours in reaching Seidpoor, a distance of eight miles. There were indeed some difficult fords by the way, owing to the late rain, and no better road than the paths leading from one village to another. The Ganges was in sight almost all the time, though our course lay a little inland. The country is fertile and populous, with a good deal of fine timber, but very few palms; the cultivation chiefly of millet, pulse, and Indian corn. In coming to any deep nullah, or steep bank, the bearers displayed considerable adroitness in supporting their burthen. Only four can usually put their shoulders to a palanquin at the same time. But those

who were not under the poles thrust stout bamboos under the bottom of the palanquin, and took hold of the ends on each side, so that the strength of six men more was, for the time, brought into action. They required indeed such aid, since the road was certainly far from good, while the bearers were not a very stout set, and probably were agricultural labourers, not in the habit of Dāk travelling. The motion is neither violent nor unpleasant. It is incessant, however, and renders it impossible to draw, and not very convenient to read, except a large print.

Seidpoor I found a little country town, with very narrow streets, having verandahed ranges of shops on each side; the houses generally one story above the ground, built of clay, with red tile roofs, and extremely projecting eaves. There were a little old mosque, and a pagoda, both of stone. The latter, like most in this neighbourhood, was surmounted by a sort of pyramidal spire, which, seen amidst the tall peepul-trees, by which it was surrounded and overtopped, gave the place some little air of an English village. I made the men set me down under the shade of the peepul-trees, and sent my bearer to the Dāk-master of the place. A very good-looking young man soon made his appearance, with pretty much the air of a smart young farmer, who had a commission in a volunteer corps. His dress was the common shirt and cummerbund, but his turban was very neat; he had embroidered shoes, his sword, the mark of his office, was tied with a military belt round his waist, and had a silver hilt and red scabbard, and his beard was trimmed very sprucely, à la militaire. He was followed by two police burkandazes with their usual equipment of sword and shield, and a number of bearers, whom, he said, the Dāk-wala, being obliged to go from home, had left ready for me, by his orders, in consequence of a letter he had received from Mr. Melville. He was, he added with a low bow, the jemautdar at my service, and asked if I wished either himself or his men to guard me. I thanked him, but said this was quite unnecessary; but he

replied he would, however, see me through the town, and, in fact, was of considerable use in clearing the way through the baskets, bags, and hackeries, of a small but crowded market-place. He had brought eight bearers, besides two more with a sort of flambeaux, wrapped up in coarse canvas painted red and white, useless enough in the middle of the day, but who always accompany Dāk travellers.

We set off at the same round trot as before, but along a much better road, being smooth, wide, and straight, through corn-fields and meadows, with an evident, though abortive attempt, to rear a row of young trees on each side. The English magistrates of India are fond, and with reason, of such avenues, and many have been planted of late years; the young trees are each of them surrounded with low mud banks by way of fence, but the precaution appears very often insufficient to save them from the cows, and, still more, the goats of the common people. After proceeding about four miles, we came to the ferry of the Goomty, which is, at this time of the year, a considerable river. I expected to be delayed here, but nothing of the kind occurred. The boat, a broad and substantial one, had a platform of wood covered with clay across its middle. The palanquin, with me in it, was placed on this with its length athwart the vessel, the mangle steered, and some of the Dāk-bearers took up oars, so that we were across in a very short time. Two men mounted on camels were at the same time endeavouring to ford the stream. I saw them making a long circuit among some marshy islands, but did not witness their ulterior progress. They crossed, however, for they overtook me at the next village.

About three o'clock we came to a pleasant village, with a good bazar and some fine bamboos, where I determined to wait for my baggage, which had fallen behind. I sat accordingly in the shade, amused by the usual little sights and occurrences of a village, and only differing in the costume and complexion of the people from what one

might have seen in England. Several country lasses passed with their kedge-ree pots of water on their heads, their arms loaded with alternate rings of silver and red lac, and their bare ankles also in silver shackles, their foreheads dyed red, and their noses and ears disfigured by monstrous rings of the same metal. A set of little naked boys suspended their play at a sort of prison-bars, and came near to look at me; the two camels which I had passed came slowly up the street, and a little boy smartly dressed, and mounted on a very pretty pony, I suppose the son of the zemindar, came out to take his evening ride, conducted by an old rustic-looking saees, with a leading rein. At length a young man in a sort of Cossack military dress, and with a sabre by his side, ran out in a great hurry from a little shop, and with an air and manner which well became one who had been passing some time in an ale-house, asked me if I knew anything of the "Lord Padre Sahib." On telling him I was the person, he checked "his faltering voice and visage incomposed," joined his hands, and gave me the "buhoot salam" of Mr. Brooke, that he had charged him to go and meet me, to let me know that dinner was at four o'clock, to ask whether he could be of any use to me, and if not, to bring back word how soon I might be expected, and if there were any gentlemen with me. I told him I was waiting for my baggage and servant, on which he ran off as if he were "demented," and pulling out a trooper's horse from under a shed, scampered away towards the Goomty, with a zeal which made my bearers burst into a laugh. He returned, however, almost immediately, having met some farmers, who, seated on their little ponies, with their coarse cotton mantles over one shoulder, and their long naked legs and broad feet thrust into short rope stirrups, were returning, I believe, from Seidpoor market, and who, as well as the camel riders, who now came up, assured me that no petarrahs or servant had yet crossed the ferry. The horseman now begged his dismissal, that he might carry the news of my approach to Mr. Brooke, and

asked again whether I should be there to dinner? At this question, which, considering what he had said before, was absurd enough, the bearers again laughed, and I begged him to tell Mr. Brooke, with my salam, that I hoped to be at his house before night, on which he set off along the Benares road at full gallop.

I was a good deal annoyed at the non-appearance of my luggage, till one of the camel-men told me that it was quite safe, for he had seen it before he left Seidpoor, under the care of the jemautdar, who had been unable to get bearers for it. I therefore again set out, and was soon after greeted by a second trooper, an elderly man, with a long beard dyed a carrot red, which made a whimsical contrast with his dusky skin, but which, as I afterwards learned, is no unfrequent piece of foppery in Asia with those who do not think the "hoary head a crown of glory." For his services I found I was indebted to the kindness of Mr. Macleod, the magistrate of Benares, and either naturally or accidentally, I found him a much clearer-headed fellow than the other. He offered to go on to Seidpoor to inquire about my baggage, till I told him it had been left in the care of the jemautdar. "Good, he is a good man," said he; "but as night is coming on I will tell the burkandaz of this village to go to meet it at the Goomty, and bring it safe on to the next Dâk-house, where we can give further orders, and I will soon overtake your honour." These mounted gens d'armes are the usual attendants of magistrates of the higher rank in all the upper provinces, who have also an apparatus of spears in their train, more imposing, in my eyes, than all the silver-sticks of Calcutta.

At the Dâk-house, where I arrived about dusk, Mr. Macleod's kindness had stationed bearers, and massaulchies, whose lights were now really useful. Mr. Brooke, too, had stationed four burkandazes, with swords and shields, to see me safe and show me the way, so that my last stage, which lay chiefly through a wide avenue of tall trees, was very picturesque, from the various

tints and groupes seen by the light of the flambeaux, the sabres, the whiskers, turbans, and naked limbs of my bearers, guards, and conductors. We left Benares considerably to the left, in order to reach Mr. Brooke's house at Seerole. Mr. Brooke has been fifty-six years in India, being the oldest of the Company's resident servants. He is a very fine healthy old man, his manners singularly courteous and benevolent; and his tone, in speaking Hindoostanee and Persian, such as marks a man who has been in the habit of conversing much with natives of high rank. Though I was his guest, I was not in his house, but in one he had borrowed from Dr. Yeld, the surgeon of the station, a very good house, and extremely well qualified either for lodging guests or giving entertainments.

At dinner to-day were, besides Dr. Yeld, only Mr. Frazer and Mr. Macleod, whose care of me on the road I mentioned, and whom I had met at Ghazeepeer. I remember to have known him by sight in Oxford, as rather my junior, and a great friend of Wilson, since well known as author of the "City of the Plague." I now find him a very agreeable and well-informed man, less altered, I think, in exterior, than most of my college contemporaries. On the whole, the day was a very interesting one; and the details of my little journey, though unmarked by any important event, had introduced me to scenes and situations which were new to me, and which I have not been sorry to write down while the effect of the first impression remains unaltered by repetition. Mr. Frazer is chaplain of this station, and I am told, extremely popular and exemplary.

September 4.—This morning was chiefly passed in arranging with Mr. Frazer, Mr. Morris the church missionary, and other gentlemen, the ceremonies of the following day. In order to give the persons confirmed an early opportunity of receiving the communion, it was desirable that the confirmation should, as at Dacca, precede the consecration of the church. This evening was the time first fixed on by me

for the former, but it was found that the Mohammedan fast of the Mohurrum, now just terminating, which always concludes with processions, firing of guns, beating of drums, and other music, would make it impossible for any body to hear what was said, inasmuch as the principal processions pass, usually, close to the church-yard. It was therefore at length determined, as the only arrangement suited to the circumstances of the time and climate, that the morning prayer and confirmation service, without the communion, should be read at seven o'clock on Sunday morning, and that the church should be consecrated, and the communion administered, at seven o'clock the same evening.

September 5.—At six this morning I attended the Hindoostanee place of worship, a small but neat chapel, built by a subscription raised when Mr. Corrie was here, and under his auspices. The congregation consisted of about thirty grown persons, and twelve or fourteen children. Mr. Morris, the church missionary, read the Morning Service, Litany, and Commandments, from the Hindoostanee compendium of our Liturgy, which unfortunately is as yet without the Psalms. I gave the Benediction for the first time in Hindoostanee, and then hastened to the church, which I found a small but very neat building. The candidates for confirmation were thirty, of whom four were young artillery-men, and fourteen native Christians. To the latter I repeated the question, and pronounced the Benediction in Hindoostanee. The case of one of these men had occasioned me some perplexity the day before, when Mr. Morris stated it to me; but I had now made up my mind. He was a convert of Mr. Corrie's, and six years ago married a woman who then professed herself a Christian, but soon afterwards ran away from him and turned Mussulman, in which profession she was now living with another man. The husband had applied to the magistrate to recover her, but, on the woman declaring that she was no Christian, and did not choose to be the wife of one, he said he could not com-

pel her. The husband, in consequence, about two years ago, applied to Mr. Frazer to marry him to another woman. Mr. Frazer declined doing so, as no divorce had taken place; on which he took the woman without marriage, and had now two children by her. For this he had been repelled from the communion by Mr. Morris, but still continued to frequent the church, and was now very anxious for confirmation. After some thought, I came to the conclusion that the man should be reproved for the precipitancy with which he had formed his first connexion, and the scandal which he had since occasioned; but that he might be admitted both to confirmation and the communion, and might be married to the woman who now held the place of a wife to him. It seemed a case to which St. Paul's rule applied, that if an unbelieving husband or wife chose to depart, on religious grounds, from their believing partner, this latter was, in consequence, free. At all events, as the runaway woman was, if a wife, living in open adultery, it was plain that he had a right to "put her away." Though the laws of the country provided him no remedy, yet, as a matter of conscience, this right might be fitly determined on by his religious guides; and I conceived myself warranted to declare him divorced and at liberty to marry again. My determination, I found, gave great satisfaction to Mr. Frazer and Mr. Morris, both of whom said, that without some such permission the state of new converts would be often very hard, and that the usual remedies supplied by the canon law would be, to men in such circumstances, utterly unattainable. I had some conversation with the man, who spoke a little English, and saw no reason to repent my decision, since I found him tolerably well informed in the principles of Christianity, and, to all appearance, earnest in its profession.

We dined between services. In the evening the church was extremely full, and there were, I think, fifty communicants, almost all who had been confirmed attending. To the natives I

gave the communion, with the accompanying words, in their own language.

September 6.—I went this morning with Mr. Frazer to the Mission School in the city, which is kept in a large house well adapted for the purpose, and made over to the Church Missionary Society, together with other tenements adjoining, by a rich Bengalee, baboo, not long since dead in Benares, whom Mr. Corrie had almost persuaded to become a Christian, but who at length appears to have settled in a sort of general admiration of the beauty of the Gospel, and a wish to improve the state of knowledge and morality among his countrymen. In these opinions he seems to have been followed by his son, Calisunker Gossant, now living, and also a liberal benefactor to this and other establishments for national education in India. The house is a native dwelling, containing on the ground-floor several small low rooms, in which are the junior classes, and, above, one large and lofty hall supported by pillars, where the Persian and English classes meet, besides a small room for a library. The boys on the establishment are about one hundred and forty in number, under the care of an English schoolmaster, assisted by a Persian moonshee, and two Hindoostanee writing-masters, the whole under the inspection of a catechist, Mr. Adlington, a clever young man, and a candidate for orders. The boys read Oordoo, Persian, and English before me extremely well, and answered questions both in English and Hindoostanee with great readiness. The English books they read were the New Testament and a compendium of English history. They also displayed great proficiency in writing (Nagree, Persian, and English), arithmetic, in which their multiplication table extended to 100×100 , geography, and the use of the globes. To judge from their dress, they were mostly belonging to the middling class of life. Many, I think the majority, had the Brahminical string. I asked the catechist and schoolmaster if any of these boys or their parents objected to their reading the New Testament. They answered that they had never heard any objection made, nor had the least reason

to believe that any was felt. The boys, they said, were very fond of the New Testament, and I can answer for their understanding it. I wish a majority of English school-boys might appear equally well-informed. The scene was a very interesting one; there were present the patron of the school, Calisunker Gossant, a shrewd and rather ostentatious, but a well-mannered baboo, his second son, a fine and well-educated young man, Mr. Macleod and Mr. Prinsep, the magistrates of the place, both very acute critics in Hindoostanee and Persian, some ladies, and a crowd of swords, spears, and silver-sticks on the stair-case (whose bearers, by the way, seemed to take as much interest as any of us in what was going on). One, however, of the most pleasing sights of all, was the calm but intense pleasure visible on Archdeacon Corrie's face, whose efforts and influence had first brought this establishment into activity, and who now, after an interval of several years, was witnessing its usefulness and prosperity.

In our way to and from the school I had an opportunity of seeing something of Benares, which is a very remarkable city, more entirely and characteristically Eastern than any which I have yet seen, and at the same time altogether different from anything in Bengal. No Europeans live in the town, nor are the streets wide enough for a wheel-carriage. Mr. Frazer's gig was stopped short almost in its entrance, and the rest of the way was passed in tonjons, through alleys so crowded, so narrow, and so winding, that even a tonjon sometimes passed with difficulty. The houses are mostly lofty, none, I think, less than two stories, most of three, and several of five or six, a sight which I now for the first time saw in India. The streets, like those of Chester, are considerably lower than the ground-floors of the houses, which have mostly arched rows in front, with little shops behind them. Above these the houses are richly embellished with verandahs, galleries, projecting oriel windows, and very broad and overhanging eaves, supported by carved brackets. The number of temples is very great, mostly small, and stuck like

shrines in the angles of the streets and under the shadow of the lofty houses. Their forms, however, are not ungraceful, and they are many of them entirely covered over with beautiful and elaborate carvings of flowers, animals, and palm-branches, equalling in minuteness and richness the best specimens that I have seen of Gothic or Grecian architecture. The material of the buildings is a very good stone from Chunar, but the Hindoos here seem fond of painting them a deep red colour, and, indeed, of covering the more conspicuous parts of their houses with paintings in gaudy colours of flower-pots, men, women, bulls, elephants, gods, and goddesses, in all their many-formed, many-headed, many-handed, and many-weaponed varieties. The sacred bulls devoted to Siva, of every age, tame and familiar as mastiffs, walk lazily up and down these narrow streets, or are seen lying across them, and hardly to be kicked up (any blows, indeed, given them must be of the gentlest kind, or woe be to the profane wretch who braves the prejudices of this fanatic population) in order to make way for the tonjon. Monkeys sacred to Hunimaun, the divine ape who conquered Ceylon for Rama, are in some parts of the town equally numerous, clinging to all the roofs and little projections of the temples, putting their impertinent heads and hands into every fruiterer's or confectioner's shop, and snatching the food from the children at their meals. Fakirs' houses, as they are called, occur at every turn, adorned with idols, and sending out an unceasing tinkling and strumming of vinas, biyals, and other discordant instruments, while religious mendicants of every Hindoo sect, offering every conceivable deformity which chalk, cowdung, disease, matted locks, distorted limbs, and disgusting and hideous attitudes of penance can show, literally line the principal streets on both sides. The number of blind persons is very great (I was going to say of lepers also, but I am not sure whether the appearance on the skin may not have been filth and chalk), and here I saw repeated instances of that penance of which I had heard much in Europe, of men with

their legs or arms voluntarily distorted by keeping them in one position, and their hands clenched till the nails grew out at the backs. Their pitiful exclamations as we passed, "Agha Sahib," "Topee Sahib" (the usual names in Hindostan for an European), "khana ke waste kooch cheez do," "give me something to eat," soon drew from me what few pice I had, but it was a drop of water in the ocean, and the importunities of the rest, as we advanced into the city, were almost drowned in the hubbub which surrounded us. Such are the sights and sounds which greet a stranger on entering this "the most holy city" of Hindostan, "the Lotus of the world, not founded on common earth, but on the point of Siva's trident," a place so blessed that whoever dies here, of whatever sect, even though he should be an eater of beef, *so he will but be charitable to the poor Brahmins*, is sure of salvation. It is, in fact, this very holiness which makes it the common resort of beggars, since, besides the number of pilgrims, which is enormous from every part of India, as well as from Thibet and the Birman empire, a great multitude of rich individuals in the decline of life, and almost all the great men who are from time to time disgraced or banished from home by the revolutions which are continually occurring in the Hindoo states, come hither to wash away their sins, or to fill up their vacant hours with the gaudy ceremonies of their religion, and really give away great sums in profuse and indiscriminate charity. Amrut Row, for a short period of his life Peishwa of the Maharattas, and since enjoying a large pension from our Government, in addition to a vast private fortune, was one of the chief of these almsgivers. On his name-day, that is, in Hindostan, the day on which his patron god is worshipped, he annually gave a seer of rice and a rupee to every Brahmin and every blind or lame person who applied between sunrise and sunset. He had a large garden a short distance from the city, with four gates, three of which were set open for the reception of the three different classes of applicants, and the fourth for the Peishwa and his ser-

vants to go backwards and forwards. On each person receiving his dole he was shown into the garden, where he was compelled to stay during the day, lest he should apply twice, but he had shade, water, company, and idols enough to make a Hindoo, who seldom eats till sunset, pass his time very pleasantly. The sums distributed on these occasions are said to have, in some instances amounted to above fifty thousand rupees. His annual charities altogether averaged, I was informed, probably three times that amount. He died the second night of my residence at Secrole. Mr. Brooke said he was really a good and kind man, religious, to the best of his knowledge, and munificent, not from ostentation but principle. There are yet, I understand, some living instances of splendid bounty among the Hindoos of Benares—indeed Calisunker is no bad specimen, and on the whole my opinion of the people improves, though it was never so unfavourable as that of many good men in Calcutta. "God," I yet hope and believe, in the midst of the awful and besotted darkness which surrounds me, and of which, as well as its miserable consequences, I am now more sensible than ever, "God may have much people in this city!"

By the time the examination at the school was over the sun was too high to admit of our penetrating further into these crowded streets. Close to the school, however, was a fine house belonging to two minors, the sons of a celebrated baboo, who had made a vast fortune as dewan to some Europeans high in office, as well as to some natives of rank resident in and near Benares, which we had time to see. It was a striking building, and had the advantage, very unusual in Benares, of having a vacant area of some size before the door, which gave us an opportunity of seeing its architecture. It is very irregular, built round a small court, two sides of which are taken up by the dwelling-house, the others by offices. The house is four lofty stories high, with a tower over the gate of one story more. The front has small windows of various forms, some of them projecting on brackets and beautifully carved,

and a great part of the wall itself is covered with a carved pattern of sprigs, leaves, and flowers, like an old-fashioned paper. The whole is of stone, but painted a deep red. The general effect is by no means unlike some of the palaces at Venice, as represented in Canaletti's views. We entered a gateway similar to that of a college, with a groined arch of beautifully rich carving, like that on the roof of Christ Church gateway, though much smaller. On each side is a deep richly-carved recess, like a shrine, in which are idols with lamps before them, the household gods of the family. The court is covered with plantains and rose-trees, with a raised and ornamented well in its centre; on the left hand a narrow and steep flight of stone steps, the meanest part of the fabric, without balustrades, and looking like the approach to an English granary, led to the first story. At their foot we were received by the two young heirs, stout little fellows of thirteen and twelve, escorted by their uncle, an immensely fat Brahmin pundit, who is the spiritual director of the family, and a little shrewd-looking, smooth-spoken, but vulgar and impudent man, who called himself their moonshee. They led us up to the show-rooms, which are neither large nor numerous; they are, however, very beautifully carved, and the principal of them, which occupies the first floor of the gateway, and is a square with a Gothic arcade round it, struck me as exceedingly comfortable. The centre, about fifteen feet square, is raised and covered with a carpet, serving as a divan. The arcade round is flagged with a good deal of carving and ornament, and is so contrived that on a very short notice four streams of water, one in the centre of each side, descend from the roof like a permanent shower-bath, and fall into stone basins sunk beneath the floor, and covered with a sort of open fret-work, also of stone. These rooms were hung with a good many English prints of the common paltry description which was fashionable twenty years ago, of Sterne and poor Maria (the boys supposed this to be a doctor feeling a lady's pulse), the Sorrows of

Werter, &c., together with a daub of the present Emperor of Delhi, and several portraits in oil of a much better kind, of the father of these boys, some of his powerful native friends and employers, and of a very beautiful woman of European complexion, but in an Eastern dress, of whom the boys knew nothing, or would say nothing more than that the picture was painted for their father by Lall-jee of Patna. I did not, indeed, repeat the question, because I knew the reluctance with which all Eastern nations speak of their women, but it certainly had the appearance of a portrait, and, as well as the old baboo's picture, would have been called a creditable painting in most gentlemen's houses in England.

I have, indeed, during the journey, been surprised at the progress which painting appears to have made of late years in India. I was prepared to expect glowing colours, without drawing, perspective, or even shadow, resembling the illuminations in old monkish chronicles and in the Oriental MSS. which are sometimes brought to England. But at Sir C. D'Oyley's I saw several miniatures by this same Lall-jee, dead some years since, and by his son now alive, but of less renowned talent, which would have done credit to any European artist, being distinguished by great truth of colouring, as well as softness and delicacy. The portraits which I now saw were certainly not so good, but they were evidently the works of a man well acquainted with the principles of his art, and very extraordinary productions, considering that Lall-jee had probably no opportunity of so much as seeing one Italian picture.

Our little friends were very civil, and pressed us to stay for breakfast, but it was already late. We looked, however, before we went, at the family pagoda, which stood close to the house, and was, though small, as rich as carving, painting, and gilding could make it. The principal shrine was that of Siva, whose emblem rose just seen amid the darkness of the inner sanctuary, crowned with scarlet flowers, with lamps burning before it. In front, and under the centre cupola, was the sacred

bull, richly painted and gilt, in an attitude of adoration, and crowned likewise with scarlet flowers, and over all hung a large silver bell, suspended from the roof like a chandelier. I thought of the Glendoveer and Mount Calasay, but in the raree-show before me there was nothing sublime or impressive. One of the boys in the mission-school, whose quickness had attracted my notice, and who appeared so well pleased with my praise that I found him still sticking close to me, now came forward, showed his Brahminical string, and volunteered as cicerone, telling us in tolerable English the history of the gods and goddesses on the walls. The fat pundit seemed pleased with his zeal, but it was well perhaps for the little urchin that the corpulent padre did not understand the language in which some of the remarks were made. They opened my eyes more fully to a danger which had before struck me as possible, that some of the boys brought up in our schools might grow up accomplished hypocrites, playing the part of Christians with us, and with their own people of zealous followers of Brahma, or else that they would settle down into a sort of compromise between the two creeds, allowing that Christianity was the best for us, but that idolatry was necessary and commendable in persons of their own nation. I talked with Mr. Frazer and Mr. Morris on this subject in the course of the morning; they answered that the same danger had been foreseen by Mr. Macleod, and that, in consequence of his representations, they had left off teaching the boys the Creed and the Ten Commandments, as not desiring to expose them too early to a conflict with themselves, their parents, and neighbours, but choosing rather that the light should break on them by degrees, and when they were better able to bear it. They said, however, that they had every reason to think that all the bigger boys, and many of the lesser ones, brought up at these schools, learned to despise idolatry and the Hindoo faith less by any direct precept (for their teachers never name the subject to them, and in the Gospels,

which are the only strictly religious books read, there are few if any allusions to it) than from the disputations of the Mussulman and Hindoo boys among themselves, from the comparison which they soon learn to make between the system of worship which they themselves follow and ours, and above all, from the enlargement of mind which general knowledge and the pure morality of the Gospel have a tendency to produce. Many, both boys and girls, have asked for baptism, but it has been always thought right to advise them to wait till they had their parents' leave, or were old enough to judge for themselves; and many have, of their own accord, begun daily to use the Lord's Prayer, and to desist from showing any honour to the image. Their parents seem extremely indifferent to their conduct in this respect. Prayer, or outward adoration, is not essential to caste. A man may believe what he pleases, nay, I understand, he may almost say what he pleases, without the danger of losing it; and so long as they are not baptized, neither eat or drink in company with Christians or Pariahs, all is well in the opinion of the great majority, even in Benares. The Mussulmans are more jealous, but few of their children come to our schools, and with these there are so many points of union that nothing taught there is at all calculated to offend them.

September 7.—This morning, accompanied by Mr. Macleod, Mr. Prinsep, and Mr. Frazer, I again went into the city, which I found peopled, as before, with bulls and beggars; but what surprised me still more than yesterday, as I penetrated further into it, were the large, lofty, and handsome dwelling-houses, the beauty and apparent richness of the goods exposed in the bazars, and the evident hum of business which was going on in the midst of all this wretchedness and fanaticism. Benares is, in fact, a very industrious and wealthy as well as a very holy city. It is the great mart where the shawls of the north, the diamonds of the south, and the muslins of Dacca and the eastern provinces centre; and it has very considerable silk, cotton, and fine wool-

len manufactories of its own; while English hardware, swords, shields, and spears from Lucknow and Monghyr, and those European luxuries and elegancies which are daily becoming more popular in India, circulate from hence through Bundelcund, Gorruckpoor, Nepal, and other tracts which are removed from the main artery of the Ganges. The population, according to a census made in 1803, amounted to above 582,000—an enormous amount, and which one should think must have been exaggerated; but it is the nearest means we have of judging, and it certainly becomes less improbable from the real great size of the town, and the excessively crowded manner in which it is built. It is well drained, and stands dry on a high rocky bank sloping to the river, to which circumstance, as well as to the frequent ablutions and great temperance of the people, must be ascribed its freedom from infectious diseases. Accordingly, notwithstanding its crowded population, it is not an unhealthy city; yet the only square, or open part in it, is the new market-place, constructed by the present Government, and about as large as the Peckwater Quadrangle in Oxford.

Our first visit was to a celebrated temple, named the Vishvayesa, consisting of a very small but beautiful specimen of carved stone-work, and the place is one of the most holy in Hindostan, though it only approximates to a yet more sacred spot adjoining, which Aulum Gheer defiled, and built a mosque upon, so as to render it inaccessible to the worshippers of Brahma. The temple court, small as it is, is crowded, like a farm-yard, with very fat and very tame bulls, which thrust their noses into everybody's hand and pocket for gram and sweetmeats, which their fellow-votaries give them in great quantities. The cloisters are no less full of naked devotees, as hideous as chalk and dung can make them, and the continued hum of "Ram! Ram! Ram! Ram!" is enough to make a stranger giddy. The place is kept very clean, however—indeed the priests seem to do little else than pour water over the images and the pavement, and I found them

not merely willing, but anxious, to show me everything—frequently repeating that they were padres also, though it is true that they used this circumstance as an argument for my giving them a present. Near this temple is a well, with a small tower over it, and a steep flight of steps for descending to the water, which is brought by a subterraneous channel from the Ganges, and, for some reason or other, is accounted more holy than even the Ganges itself. All pilgrims to Benares are enjoined to drink and wash here; but a few years ago, a quarrel having occurred between the Hindoo and Mussulman population of the town, arising from the two religious processions of the Mohurrun and Junma Osmee encountering each other, the Moslem mob killed a cow on this spot, and poured her blood into the sacred water. The Hindoos retaliated by throwing rashers of bacon into the windows of as many mosques as they could reach; but the matter did not end so: both parties took to arms, several lives were lost, and Benares was in a state of uproar for many hours, till the British Government came in with its authority, and quelled the disturbance.

In another temple near those of which I have been speaking, and which is dedicated to "Unna Purna," supposed to be the "Anna Perenna" of the Romans, a Brahmin was pointed out to me, who passes his whole day seated on a little pulpit about as high and large as a dressing-table, only leaving it for his necessary ablutions, and at night, though then he sleeps on the pavement beside it. His constant occupation is reading or lecturing on the Vedas. The latter he does, to as many as will hear him, from eight in the morning till four in the evening. He asks for nothing, but a small copper basin stands by his pulpit, into which any who feel disposed may drop the alms on which only he subsists. He is a little pale man, of an interesting countenance, which he does not disfigure by such ostentatious marks of piety as are usual here, and is said to be eloquent, as well as extremely learned in the Sanscrit.

One of the most interesting and sin-

gular objects in Benares is the ancient observatory, founded before the Mussulman conquest, and still very entire, though no longer made any use of. It is a stone building, containing some small courts, cloistered round for the accommodation of the astronomers and their students, and a large square tower, on which are seen a huge gnomon, perhaps twenty feet high, with the arc of a dial in proportion, a circle fifteen feet in diameter, and a meridional line, all in stone. These are very far from being exact, but are interesting proofs of the zeal with which science had at one time been followed in these countries. There is a similar observatory at Delhi.

From the observatory we descended by a long flight of steps to the water's edge, where a boat was waiting for us. I had thus an opportunity of seeing the whole city on its most favourable side. It is really a very large place, and rises from the river in an amphitheatrical form, thickly studded with domes and minarets, with many very fine ghâts descending to the water's edge, all crowded with bathers and worshippers. Shrines and temples of various sizes, even within the usual limits of the river's rise, almost line its banks. Some of these are very beautiful, though all are small, and I was particularly struck with one very elegant little structure, which was founded, as well as the ghât on which it stands, by the virtuous Ali Bhæe. On rowing past this, Mr. Prinsep said that he had, as a special favour, obtained permission for me to see a Jain Temple. These **Jains** are a body of sectaries held in detestation by the Hindoos, but who agree with them in their adoration of the Ganges, and in their esteem for Benares. They are not very numerous, and are themselves divided into two sects, who hold each other in great abhorrence, and were recently in arms in the streets of Benares, and were only parted by the same strenuous peace-makers who interfered in the war of the cows and swine. Those who reside here are chiefly from Bundelcund, and many of them very rich merchants, who are exceedingly jealous of their religious mysteries, and had never

been known to admit strangers into the penetralia of their temple. Mr. Prinsep had, however, called most good-naturedly on the high-priest, and on one of the leading members of the congregation, the day before, and had said so much about me, both personally and officially, that they offered to admit me, at first alone, and at length relaxed so far as to receive him and Mr. Macleod as interpreters. Mr. Frazer was not specially included, but Mr. Prinsep did not doubt he might go too. The high-priest is himself regarded as an incarnation of the deity.

After climbing a steep flight of steps, and threading a succession of the narrowest alleys I ever saw, we arrived at the door of a large and lofty, but dingy house, at the top of which peeped out a little gilt cupola. Here we climbed another steep stair-case, and were received in a small but neat vestibule, without furniture, except three or four chairs, and with a beautiful oriel window looking on the river, by the priest, a tall large man, with a very shrewd and intelligent countenance. He begged us to be seated, and observed he was sorry he could not converse with me in any language which I was sufficiently acquainted with, to make me understand all I should see. Two or three others, Jain merchants, now entered, and the priest led us into a succession of six small rooms, with an altar at the end of each, not unlike those in Roman Catholic chapels, with a little niche on one side resembling what in such churches they call the "Piscina." In the centre of each room was a large tray with rice and ghee strongly perfumed, apparently as an offering, and in two or three of them were men seated on their heels on the floor, with their hands folded as in prayer or religious contemplation. Over each of the altars was an altarpiece, a large bas-relief in marble, containing the first, five, the last in succession, twenty-five figures, all of men sitting cross-legged, one considerably larger than the rest, and represented as a negro. He, the priest said, was their god, the rest were the different bodies which he had assumed at different epochs, when he had become incarnate

to instruct mankind. The doctrines which he had delivered on these occasions make up their theology, and the progress which any man has made in these mysteries entitles him to worship in one or more of the successive apartments which were shown us.

They call their god, I think, *Purnavesa*, but he is evidently the same person as Buddha, being identified by his negro features and curled hair, and by the fact which the priest mentioned, that he had many worshippers in Pegu and Thibet. Yet when I asked if he was the same with Buddha, he did not expressly allow it, merely answering that his proper name was Purnavesa. Mr. Prinsep asked one of the merchants, what was the difference between their religion and that of some other persons whom he named, and who are their religious opponents. The man coloured up to the eyes, and said with bitterness, "As much as between the Hindoo and the Christian, as much as between the Christian and the Mussulman." "We worship the same God," the priest said more calmly, "but they are ignorant how to worship him." Mr. Prinsep afterwards told me that the merchant to whom he spoke had been one of the most active in the recent disturbance, and had been "in trouble" on that account. On our return to the vestibule, where we first entered, the priest expressed his satisfaction at the interest which I had taken in their temple, and the hope of his congregation and himself that I would accept a trifling present from them. One of the laymen at this raised a cloth, and displayed two large trays, one full of sweetmeats, fruit, sugar, &c., the other of very handsome shawls. The latter were far too valuable for me to accept with propriety, and I told them that the first would be quite sufficient, and that it did not become a priest to be greedy of costly apparel. I then picked out some of the raisins, and begged them to send the fruit to Mr. Brooke's, but to excuse my taking the shawls. The merchants looked heartily glad, I thought, that they were let off so easily, and accompanied me down stairs with many compliments

and offers of service in any way that I would command them. With the priest I had a very friendly parting at the stair head.

There yet remained to be visited the mosque of Aurungzebe, and the Vidyalaya or Hindoo College, which fortunately both lay pretty nearly in our direct way home. The former is a handsome building in a very advantageous situation, but chiefly remarkable for the view from its minarets, which are very lofty, and derive still greater elevation from the hill on which they stand. The day was not favourable, but we still saw a great distance. The Himalaya range may, as I was told, be sometimes seen, but nothing of the sort was now visible, nor any mountains at all in a horizon of great extent. The ground, however, of this part of Hindostan is not without inequalities, and though it is certainly one immense plain, it is such a plain as one sees in miniature in England or on the continent of Europe, not such a mere dead level as Bengal. The bank on which Benares itself stands is of some height, and there were several ridges of hills, as at Chunar and other places within sight, which would fully rank on a level with Hawkstone.

The whole country seems in cultivation, but less with rice than wheat. The villages are numerous and large, but the scattered dwellings few, and there is but little wood. Fuel is, consequently, extremely dear, and to this circumstance is imputed the number of bodies thrown into the river without burning. Suttees are less numerous in Benares than many parts of India, but self-immolation by drowning is very common. Many scores, every year, of pilgrims from all parts of India, come hither expressly to end their days and secure their salvation. They purchase two large Kedgeree pots between which they tie themselves, and when empty these support their weight in the water. Thus equipped, they paddle into the stream, then fill the pots with the water which surrounds them, and thus sink into eternity. Government have sometimes attempted to prevent this practice, but with no other effect

than driving the voluntary victims a little further down the river; nor indeed, when a man has come several hundred miles to die, is it likely that a police-officer can prevent him. Instruction seems the only way in which these poor people can be improved, and that, I trust, they will by degrees obtain from us.

The Vidalaya is a large building divided into two courts, galleried above and below, and full of teachers and scholars, divided into a number of classes, who learn reading, writing, arithmetic (in the Hindoo manner), Persian, Hindoo law, and sacred literature, Sanscrit, astronomy according to the Ptolemaic system, and astrology! There are two hundred scholars, some of whom of all sorts came to say their lessons to me, though, unhappily, I was myself able to profit by none, except the astronomy and a little of the Persian. The astronomical lecturer produced a terrestrial globe, divided according to their system, and elevated to the meridian of Benares. Mount Meru he identified with the north pole, and under the southern pole he supposes the tortoise "chukwa" to stand, on which the earth rests. The southern hemisphere he apprehended to be uninhabitable, but on its concave surface, in the interior of the globe, he placed Padalon. He then showed me how the sun went round the earth once in every day, and how, by a different but equally continuous motion, he also visited the signs of the zodiac. The whole system is precisely that of Ptolemy, and the contrast was very striking between the rubbish which these young men were learning in a government establishment, and the rudiments of real knowledge which those whom I had visited the day before had acquired, in the very same city, and under circumstances far less favourable. I was informed, that it had been frequently proposed to introduce an English and mathematical class, and to teach the Newtonian and Copernican system of astronomy; but that the late superintendent of the establishment was strongly opposed to any innovation, partly on the plea that it would draw the boys off from their

Sanscrit studies, and partly lest it should interfere with the religious prejudices of the professors. The first of these arguments is pretty much like what was urged at Oxford (substituting Greek for Sanscrit) against the new examinations, by which, however, Greek has lost nothing. The second is plainly absurd, since the Ptolemaic system, which is now taught, is itself an innovation, and an improvement on the old faith of eight worlds and seven oceans, arranged like a nest of boxes.

The truth is, that even the pundit who read me this lecture, smiled once or twice very sily, and said "*Our people are taught so and so,*" as if he himself knew better. And Mr. Prinsep afterwards told me that learned Brahmins had sometimes said to him that our system was the most rational, but that the other answered all their purposes. They could construct almanacs, and calculate eclipses tolerably by the one, as well as the other, and the old one was quite good enough, in all conscience, to cast nativities with. Nor can we wonder at their adherence to old usage in these respects, when we consider that to change their system would give them some personal trouble, and when we recollect that the church of Rome has not even yet withdrawn the anathema which she levelled at the heresy that the earth turned round, as taught by Copernicus and Galileo. There are in this college about two hundred pupils, and ten professors, all paid and maintained by Government.

During my progress through the holy places I had received garlands of flowers in considerable numbers, which I was told it was uncivil to throw away, particularly those which were hung round my neck. I now, in consequence, looked more like a *sacrifice* than a priest, and on getting again into the gig was glad to rid myself of my ornaments. On talking with Mr. Macleod on the civility and apparent cordiality with which I had been received by these heathen priests, he said that my coming had excited considerable curiosity, from the idea that I was the patriarch of Constantinople! He had heard this from a learned Mussulman

Moulavie, Abdul-Khadur, who spoke of it as the current news that such a person was to arrive, and asked when he might be expected. The origin of the idea, when explained, was not an unnatural one. Of the bishop of Calcutta, *eo nomine*, I had previously reason to believe nothing had been heard or known in Hindostan, or anywhere out of the immediate neighbourhood of the Presidency; but the news now was that the "Sirdar Padre," or "Mufti," of all the "Sabib log" was coming to visit the different churches. The only two persons they had heard of answering to this character were the pope and the patriarch. They were not ignorant of the religious difference between the English and the Roman Catholics, so that they could not suppose me to be the former. But they are not equally well informed as to our discrepancy from the second; and many of them believe, that though we abhor images, we still pay some reverence to pictures. The Moulavie himself thus explained his meaning, saying, (in consequence of Mr. Macleod's expressing his surprise at his first question, "whether the Papi Roum were not coming?") that he did not mean old but new Rome, or Islam-bol, and that he meant the head of those Christians, who, like his honour, abhorred images, but not pictures. I know not whether he quite believed Mr. Macleod's disclaimer of such worship, but he professed himself ignorant till that moment of the existence of a third sect among the Nazareni, and glad to find that the sahibs differed even less than he had supposed from the true believers. None of the gentlemen most conversant with the natives apprehended that my arrival had created any suspicious or jealous feeling, or that my avowed errand (to see that the inferior padres did their duty) was thought other than natural and commendable. It is, however, thought that the natives do not really like us, and that if a fair opportunity offered the Mussulmans more particularly would gladly avail themselves of it to rise against us. But this is from political, not religious feeling; and it has been increased of late years by the conduct of Lord Hastings to the

old Emperor of Delhi, a conduct which has been pursued by succeeding administrations, but which entirely differed from the outward respect and allegiance which the Company's officers had professed to pay him, from Lord Clive downwards. The elevation of the Nawâb of Oude to the kingly title, and Lord Hastings's refusal to pay him the same homage which *all* his predecessors had courted every opportunity of doing, and which even the Maharattas did not neglect when the late Shah Aullum was their prisoner, have awakened questions and scruples among the fierce Mohammedans about obeying an unbelieving nation, which were quite forgotten while the English company acted as the servant and "dewan" of the house of Timur. The behaviour of Lord Hastings was very disadvantageously contrasted in Benares with that of Warren Hastings, who, in the height of his power and conquests, gained infinite popularity by riding publicly through the city, as usual with the high functionaries of the court of Delhi, behind the howdah of the hereditary prince, with a fan of peacock's feathers in his hand. This, however, is a digression. I am satisfied, from all I hear, that the natives of this neighbourhood have at present no idea that any interference with their religion is intended on the part of Government; that if any thing, they rather esteem us the more for showing some signs of not being without a religion, and that any fancies of a different tendency which have arisen on this subject, in Bengal or other parts of India, have been uniformly put into their heads by ill-designing persons among the Portuguese, half-caste, or European residents. Nevertheless, all my informants here, as well as in most other places where I have heard the question discussed, are of opinion that a direct interference on the part of Government with any of the religious customs of the country (the suttees for example) would be eagerly laid hold of and urged as the first step in a new system, by all who wish us ill, and that though it would probably not of itself occasion a rebellion, it would give additional popularity, and

a more plausible pretext, to the first rebellion which such disaffected persons might find opportunity for attempting. Meanwhile I cannot learn that the missionaries, and schools which they establish, have excited much attention, or of an unfavourable nature. Their labours, after all, have been chiefly confined to the wives of the British soldiers, who had already lost caste by their marriage, or to such Mussulmans or Hindoos as of their own accord, and prompted by curiosity, or a better motive, have come to their schools or churches, or invited them to their houses. The number of these inquirers after truth is, I understand, even now not inconsiderable, and increasing daily. But I must say, that of actual converts, except soldiers' wives, I have met with very few, and these have been all, I think, made by the archdeacon.

The custom of street-preaching, of which the Baptist and other dissenting missionaries in Bengal are very fond, has never been resorted to by those employed by the Church Missionary Society, and never shall be as long as I have any influence or authority over them. I plainly see it is not necessary: and I see no less plainly that though it may be safe among the timid Bengalees, it would be very likely to produce mischief here. All which the missionaries do is to teach schools, to read prayers, and preach in their churches, and to visit the houses of such persons as wish for information on religious subjects. Poor Amrut Row, the charitable expeshwa (whose ashes I saw yet smoking on Ali Bhaee's Ghât as I passed it), was, I find, one of these inquirers. Mr. Morris, the missionary, had received a message with his highness's compliments, desiring him to call on him in the middle of the week, as he was "anxious to obtain a further knowledge of Christianity!" It is distressing to think that this message was deferred so long, and that, short as the interval which he had calculated on was, his own time was shorter still. Yet surely one may hope for such a man that his knowledge and faith may have been greater than the world sup-

posed; and that, at all events, the feelings which made him, thus late in life, desirous to hear the truth, would not be lost on Him whose grace may be supposed to have first prompted it.

I received a visit from the Raja of Benares, a middle-aged man, very corpulent, with more approach to colour in his cheeks than is usually seen in Asiatics, and a countenance and appearance not unlike an English farmer. My few complimentary phrases in Persian being soon at an end, Mr. Brooke interpreted for me, and I found my visitor very ready to converse about the antiquities of his city, the origin of its name, which he said had anciently been Baranas, from two rivers, Bara and Nasa, which here fall into the Ganges (I suppose under ground, for no such are set down on the map), and other similar topics. I regretted to learn, after he was gone, that he resided at some distance from the city on the other side of the river, and where I had no chance of returning his call; but I was told that he expected no such compliment, though he would be pleased to learn that I had wished to pay it him. The maharaja's equipage was not by any means a splendid one; he had silver sticks, however, behind his carriage, and the usual show of spears preceding it, but no troopers that I saw. He is rich, notwithstanding: and the circumstances of his family have materially improved since the conquest of Benares by the English from the Mussulmans.

September 8.—I this morning went to some of the points in the city which I was most anxious to fix in my memory, which had, indeed, been a little confused by the multitude of objects which I saw yesterday. I rode a very pretty, but hot and obstinate Java pony. These ponies bear a high price in India, and deserve it, as, though little creatures, they are beautiful, lively, and very strong and hardy. I am told I was wrong in not bringing up my Arab, since I shall find a good horse absolutely necessary for my journey overland, and really good ones are very dear and difficult to procure. A Turkoman horse, if I can obtain one

is said to be the best for my purpose ; since, though not very fleet nor handsome, they are strong, sure-footed, good-tempered, and, when not too much hurried, never tire. The horses of the Doab and Rajpootana have been lately a good deal improved by an intermixture of English blood, and are generally tall and handsome, but are dear, and often very vicious, and, on the whole, better adapted for a hunt or a battle than the patient and continued exertions of a long march.

Nothing remarkable occurred during my ride in Benares this morning, except the conduct of a little boy, a student in the Vidalaya, who ran after me in the street, and, with hands joined, said that I "had not heard him his lesson yesterday, but he could say it very well to-day if I would let him." I accordingly stopped my horse, and sate with great patience while he chanted a long stave of Sanscrit. I repeated at proper pauses, "good, good," which satisfied him so much that when he had finished, he called out "again," and was beginning a second stave, when I dismissed him with a present, on which he fumbled in his mantle for some red flowers, which he gave me, and ran by my side, still talking on till the crowd separated us. While he was speaking or singing, for I hardly know which to call it, the people round applauded him very much, and from the way in which they seemed to apply the verses to me, I suspect that it was a complimentary address which he had been instructed to deliver the day before, but had missed his opportunity. If so, I am glad he did not lose his labour ; but the few words which, from their occurrence in Hindoostanee, I understood, did not at all help me to his meaning.

This evening I dined with Mr. Sands, one of the circuit judges, at whose house

I had the pleasure to find Mr. Melville, who had just arrived from Ghazeepoor. He and Mr. Macleod offered again to take me to Benares, which, as they said, I had only half seen. I was, however, thoroughly tired with the days of bustle I had gone through. On Sunday I had three services, on Monday one, the consecration of the burial-ground, besides the school-examination. On Tuesday I had been sight-seeing from five till nearly ten o'clock ; to-day I was out an almost equal time, similarly employed, besides a regular evening drive, and receiving and paying visits, while all the intervals between these engagements were occupied with reading and answering a large mass of papers from Bishop's College, Madras, and Calcutta. I therefore begged leave to postpone my further researches till my next visit. To see it as it deserves, indeed, Benares would require a fortnight.

My boats arrived this morning off the mouth of the small river which leads to Secrole ; but as the state of the weather was such as to make it probable it would soon be almost dry, they were sent on to Rajaghât, and thence proceeded directly to Chunar, whither I was advised to go myself by land. The weather has, indeed, been such as is very seldom experienced at this time of year, and such as threatens to be very unfortunate, not only for my voyage, but for the country. No rain has fallen for many days ; the wind has blown steadily and very hot from the west, and everything foretells a speedy termination of the "bursat," or rainy season. In consequence I shall have a very laborious and slow tracking on the river ; and, what is much worse, the tanks are barely half full, the country but imperfectly irrigated, and famine, murrain, and all their attendant horrors, may be looked for. God avert such calamities from this poor country !

CHAPTER XIII.

BENARES TO ALLAHABAD.

Chunar—Intense Heat—Trimbukjee—Hindoo Temple—Confirmation—Invalids—Departure from Chunar—Large Fish—Retrospect of Benares—Quarrel between Hindoos and Mussulmans—Sitting Dhūrna—Natives' Opinions of English Governors—Allahabad—Fort—Jumna Musjeed—Confirmation—Preparations for marching—Festival of Rama and Seeta.

SEPTEMBER 10.—The events of yesterday are not worth recording. Mr. Macleod had promised to drive me in his gig half way to Sultanpoor, and at five o'clock this morning he was at my door. My palanquin had been sent on before, so that I had the advantage of making a quicker progress, as well as of enjoying his interesting conversation for about seven miles, when the carriage-road ended in a little nullah, where we found the palanquin waiting for me, in which I proceeded to Sultanpoor, where I found a boat in readiness to convey me to Chunar, at which place I was to be Colonel Alexander's guest.

The view of Chunar is, from the river, very striking. Its fortress, which is of great extent, formerly of first-rate importance, and still in good repair, covers the crest and sides of a large and high rock, with several successive enclosures of walls and towers, the lowest of which have their base washed by the Ganges. On the right, as we approached it, is seen a range of rocky and uneven hills, on the left a large Indian town, intermingled with fine round-headed trees, with some very good European habitations, and a tall Gothic tower like that of a parish church in England, which belongs in fact to the Mission Church, and is an imitation of that in Mr. Corrie's native village. The whole scene is entirely English; the mosques and muts are none of them visible in this quarter; the native houses, with their white walls and red tiled roofs, look exactly

like those of a small English country town; the castle, with its Union flag, is such as would be greatly admired, but not at all out of place, in any ancient English seaport; and much as I admire palm-trees, I felt glad that they were not very common in this neighbourhood, and that there were, in point of fact, none visible, to spoil the home character of the prospect. But such a sun, thank heaven! never glared on England as this day rained its lightnings on Chunar. I thought myself fortunate in getting housed by ten o'clock, and before the worst came on, but it was still enough to sicken one. There was little wind, and what there was was hot; and the reflection and glare of the light grey rock, the light grey castle, the light grey sand, the white houses, and the hot bright river were about as much as I could endure. Yet, I trust, it is not a little that overpowers me. Breakfast, however, at Colonel Alexander's, and a good draught of cold water, set me quite up again, and I was occupied the rest of the morning in obtaining details of the school and mission from Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Bowley. We dined with Colonel Robertson, the commandant of the fortress and station, and met a very large party, including, among others, Sir G. Martindell, the general in command at Cawnpore; he is a fine, mild, unaffected old officer, with an experience of India, and particularly the upper provinces, scarcely shorter than Mr. Brooke's, and perhaps more various and extensive.

In the evening Colonel Alexander drove me in a gig a little way into the country, which is really pretty. The European dwellings are all on the side of a steep slope, covered with wood and gardens, with their drawing-room verandahs opening for the most part on a raised terrace. Behind, and rising still higher up the slope, is the native town, the houses all of stone and mostly of two stories, generally with verandahs in front let out into shops, the whole not unlike a Welsh market-town, but much larger, and probably containing fifteen thousand people. Beyond is an open country, intersected by a broad nullah, with a handsome Gothic bridge, and beyond this an open extent of rocky and woody country, which is a good deal infested by wolves and bears, but seldom visited by a tiger. The bears rarely do any harm unless they are first attacked. The wolves are, apparently, more daring and impudent than in Russia; they are said frequently to come to the houses and sheepfolds, and sometimes even attack and carry off children. The inhabitants of Chunar will not admit that it deserves the character which it usually bears, of excessive heat; but if this day and night were a fair specimen, I have certainly felt nothing to equal it. It happily grew cooler towards morning, and I got a few hours' good sleep, which I much needed.

September 11.—This morning Colonel Robertson called to take me to the fort, which well repays the labour, though this is not trifling. The site and outline are very noble; the rock on which it stands is perfectly insulated, and, either naturally or by art, bordered on every side by a very awful precipice, flanked, wherever it has been possible to obtain a salient angle, with towers, bartizans, and bastions of various forms and sizes. There are a good many cannon mounted, and a noble bomb-proof magazine for powder, which has been lately in a great measure stripped for the supply of the Birman war. Colonel Robertson, however, told me that the ammunition on which he should most depend for the defence of Chunar are stone cylinders,

rudely made, and pretty much like garden-rollers, which are piled up in great numbers throughout the interior of the fort, and for which the rock on which the fort stands affords an inexhaustible quarry. These, which are called "mutwalas" (drunkards) from their staggering motion, are rolled over the parapet down the steep face of the hill, to impede the advances and overwhelm the ranks of an assaulting army; and when a place has not been regularly breached, or where, as at Chunar, the scarped and sloping rock itself serves as a rampart, few troops will so much as face them. Against a native army, Colonel Robertson said, Chunar, if resolutely defended, would, he thought, be impregnable; and, except in one quarter, it would stand no contemptible siege against an European force. Even there the rock which commands it might easily be so much lowered as to prevent any danger; and the stone of which it consists is so valuable, that the neighbouring Zemindars had offered to cart it away at their own expense, provided Government would give up the duty now laid on Chunar-stone when transported to different parts of India; but the offer was declined.

On the top of the rock of Chunar, and within the rampart, is a considerable space, covered with remarkably fine English hay-grass, now nearly ripe for cutting, several noble spreading trees, and some excellent houses for the officers, few of whom, however, when not on duty, remain here, the reflection of the sun from the rock being very powerful, and the expense of bringing water for the tatties great. Within this principal circle, and on a still higher point, are two inner fortifications, one containing the Governor's house, the hospital, and the state-prison, now inhabited by the celebrated Maharatta chieftain Trimbuk-jee, long the inveterate enemy of the British power, and the fomentor of all the troubles in Berar, Malwah, and the Deckan. He is confined with great strictness, having an European as well as a Sepoy guard, and never being trusted out of the sight of the sentries. Even his bedchamber

has three grated windows open into the verandah which serves as guard-room. In other respects he is well treated, has two large and very airy apartments, a small building fitted up as a pagoda, and a little garden shaded with a peepul-tree, which he has planted very prettily with balsams and other flowers. Four of his own servants are allowed to attend him, but they are always searched before they quit or return to the fort, and must be always there at night. He is a little, lively, irritable-looking man, dressed, when I saw him, in a dirty cotton mantle, with a broad red border, thrown carelessly over his head and shoulders. I was introduced to him by Colonel Alexander, and he received me courteously, observing that he himself was a Brahmin, and in token of his brotherly regard, plucking some of his prettiest flowers for me. He then showed me his garden and pagoda, and after a few common-place expressions of the pleasure I felt in seeing so celebrated a warrior, which he answered by saying with a laugh, he should have been glad to make my acquaintance *elsewhere*, I made my bow and took leave. He has been now, I believe, five years in prison, and seems likely to remain there during life, or till the death of his patron and tool, Bajee Row, may lessen his power of doing mischief. He has often offered to give security to any amount for his good behaviour, and to become a warmer friend to the Company than he has ever been their enemy, but his applications have been vain. He attributes, I understand, their failure to Mr. Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, who is, he says, "his best friend, and his worst enemy," the faithful trustee of his estate, treating his children with parental kindness, and interesting himself, in the first instance, to save his life, but resolutely fixed on keeping him in prison, and urging the Supreme Court to distrust all his protestations. His life must now be dismally monotonous and wearisome. Though a Brahmin of high caste, and so long a minister of state and the commander of armies, he can neither write nor read, and his whole amusement consists in

the ceremonies of his idolatry, his garden, and the gossip which his servants pick up for him in the town of Chunar. Avarice seems at present his ruling passion. He is a very severe inspector of his weekly accounts, and one day set the whole garrison in an uproar about some ghee which he accused his *khānsaman* of embezzling; in short, he seems less interested with the favourable reports which he from time to time receives of his family, than with the banking accounts by which they are accompanied. Much as he is said to deserve his fate, as a murderer, an extortioner, and a grossly perjured man, I hope I may be allowed to pity him.

In the last inclosure of the fortress, on the very summit of the mountain, and calculated to make a defence even after all the lower works had fallen, are several very interesting buildings. One of them is the old Hindoo palace, a central dome surrounded by several vaulted apartments, with many remains of painting and carving, but dark, low, and impervious to heat; on one side of this is a loftier and more airy building, now used as an armoury, but formerly the residence of the Mussulman governor, with handsome rooms and beautifully carved oriel windows, such as one reads of in Mrs. Radcliffe's castles. A little further on in the bastion is an extraordinary well or reservoir, about fifteen feet in diameter, and cut to a great depth in the solid rock, but the water of which is not sufficiently good to be used, except in case of necessity. In front of the Hindoo palace, in the pavement of the court, are seen four small round holes, just large enough for a man to pass through, below which is the state prison of ancient times. Well is it for Trimbuk-jee that his lot is thrown in better days! This is a horrible dungeon indeed, with neither light, air, nor access, except what these apertures supply to a space of forty feet square. It is now used as a cellar. But the greatest curiosity of all remains to be described. Colonel Robertson called for a key, and unlocking a rusty iron-door in a very rugged and ancient wall, said he would show me the most holy place in all India. Taking off his

hat, he led the way into a small square court, overshadowed by a very old peepul-tree, which grew from the rock on one side, and from one of the branches of which hung a small silver bell. Under it was a large slab of black marble, and opposite on the walls, a rudely carved rose enclosed in a triangle. No image was visible, but some Sepoys who followed us in, fell on their knees, kissed the dust in the neighbourhood of the stone, and rubbed their foreheads with it. On this stone, Colonel Alexander said, the Hindoos all believe that the Almighty is seated, personally, though invisibly, for nine hours every day, removing during the other three hours to Benares. On this account the sepoys apprehend that Chunar can never be taken by an enemy, except between the hours of six and nine in the morning, and for the same reason, and in order by this sacred neighbourhood to be out of all danger of witchcraft, the kings of Benares, before the Mussulman conquest, had all the marriages of their family celebrated in the adjoining palace. I own I felt some little emotion in standing on this mimic "mount Calasay." I was struck with the absence of idols, and with the feeling of propriety which made even a Hindoo reject external symbols in the supposed actual presence of the Deity, and I prayed inwardly that God would always preserve in my mind, and in his own good time instruct these poor people, in what manner, and how truly he is indeed present both here and everywhere.

We now went back to Colonel Alexander's, and thence to church, where I had the satisfaction of confirming nearly one hundred persons, fifty-seven of whom were natives, chiefly, as at Benares, soldiers' wives and widows, but all unacquainted with the English language, and perfectly Oriental in their dress and habits. They were most deeply impressed with the ceremony, bowing down to the very pavement when I laid my hand on their heads, and making the responses in a deep solemn tone of emotion which was extremely touching. The elder women, and all the few men who offered them-

selves, had been Mr. Corrie's converts during his residence here; the younger females had been added to the Church, either from Hindooism, Mohammedanism, or Popery, by Mr. Bowley. Of the last there were not many, but strange to tell, they were, he said, as ignorant in the first instance of the commonest truths of Christianity as the Hindoos. After dinner to-day, Colonel Alexander drove me to a beautiful place about three miles from Chunar, a garden of palm and other fruit-trees, containing a mosque and a very large and beautiful tomb of a certain Shekh Kâseem Solimân and his son. Of their history I could learn nothing further than that they were very holy men, who died here when on a pilgrimage, and that their tombs, and the accompanying mosque, were built and endowed by one of the Emperors of Delhi. The buildings and the grove in which they stand are very solemn and striking, and the carving of the principal gateway, and of the stone lattice with which the garden is enclosed, is more like embroidery than the work of the chisel. A party of Mussulmans were at their evening prayers on one of the stone terraces, all as usual, decent, devout, and earnest. Colonel Alexander expressed a regret that Christians fell short of them in these particulars. I answered at the moment, that perhaps in proportion to the spirituality of our religion, we were too apt to neglect its outward forms. But on consideration, I am not sure that the imputation, which I have heard before, is just, or that Mussulmans, when in the act of prayer, are really more externally decorous than the majority of Christians. We are all much impressed with religious ceremonies to which we are not accustomed, and while as passing and casual spectators of a worship carried on by persons in scene and dress, words and posture, all different from our own, but all picturesque and striking, we may easily overlook those less conspicuous instances of listlessness or inattention, which would not fail to attract our notice, where the matter and manner were both familiar. I am sure that the Heathens and Mussulmans, and there

were many of them, who looked in on our congregation this morning, had no fault to find with the decency and external abstraction either of the native or European worshippers. The night was intensely hot, but I, and, by my advice, Colonel Alexander, passed it in very tolerable comfort, by sleeping on a couch in an open verandah.

September 12.—This morning I had the agreeable surprise to find that Messrs. Macleod and Frazer had come over from Benares during the night. We went to church together, where I also found Mr. Morris. I had consequently four clergymen with me, besides the catechists Bowley and Adlington,—a more numerous body than could, thirty years ago, have been mustered in the whole Presidency of Fort William. The congregation, too, was more numerous than I have seen out of Calcutta. The invalids of the garrison who attended amounted to above two hundred Europeans, besides the officers and civil servants and their families, and I should think a hundred natives. About one hundred and thirty staid the Sacrament, of which the natives amounted to nearly seventy, and I was led to observe that the women of their number who had been Mussulmans pertinaciously kept their veils down, and even received the bread on a corner of the muslin, rather than expose the bare hand. One of the others, a very young woman who had been confirmed the day before, instead of extending the hand, threw back her veil, and opened her mouth, by which I guessed she had been brought up a Roman Catholic. All were very devout and attentive,—some shed tears, and the manner in which they pronounced “Ameen” was very solemn and touching. The Hindoostanee prayers read extremely well, but they are so full of Arabic and Persian words, that those converts who have not been Mussulmans must, I fear, find some difficulty in understanding them.

After dinner we again attended Church, first for Hindoostanee prayer, afterwards for the usual English service. The former was attended by I should suppose two hundred persons,

many of whom, however, were Heathens and Mussulmans, who distinguished themselves by keeping their turbans on. Mr. Morris read the prayers, omitting the Psalms and the First Lesson, neither of which, unfortunately, are as yet translated into Hindoostanee, though the latter is in progress, and Mr. Bowley preached a very useful and sensible sermon. He speaks Hindoostanee with the fluency of a native, and I was pleased to find that I could follow the argument of his sermon with far more ease than I expected.

Chunar, or “Chunar-Gurh,” that is, Chunar Castle, used to be of great importance as a military post before the vast extension of the British frontier westward. It is one of the principal stations for such invalids as are still equal to garrison duty; and on them at the present moment, owing to the low state of the Company’s army, and the demand for men in the east, all the duty of Chunar depends, which, from their health, they are barely equal to, though they are, Europeans and Sepoys together, a thousand men. The Sepoy invalids have mostly grown old in the service, and are weather-beaten fellows, with no other injury than what time has inflicted. Some of the Europeans are very old likewise; there is one who fought with Clive, and has still no infirmity but deafness and dim sight. The majority, however, are men still hardly advanced beyond youth, early victims of a devouring climate, assisted, perhaps, by carelessness and intemperance; and it was a pitiable spectacle to see the white emaciated hands thrust out under a soldier’s sleeve to receive the Sacrament, and the pale cheeks, and tall languid figures of men, who, if they had remained in Europe, would have been still overflowing with youthful vigour and vivacity, the best ploughmen, the strongest wrestlers, and the merriest dancers of the village. The invalids of Chunar have borne a very bad character for their profligacy and want of discipline; but Colonel Alexander says that he never commanded men who, on the whole, gave him less trouble, and a favourable character

is given of many by the Missionary, Mr. Greenwood. I should judge well of them from their attendance in Church, and the remarkable seriousness of their deportment while there.*

September 13.—This morning I went again with Colonel Alexander and my two friends from Benares to see the

* During the Bishop's stay at Chunar a memorial was addressed to him through Colonel Robertson, commandant of the garrison, by the gentlemen who compose the committee for the care of the church and the mission premises, expressing a hope that Government would allow a small monthly sum to assist in preserving a building which had been erected, and hitherto maintained, without any assistance from Government. To this memorial the Bishop returned the following answer from Allahabad, to Colonel Robertson:—

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your obliging letter, as well as the very interesting and important memorial contained in it. In answer to both I beg leave to say, that among the many circumstances which rendered my visit to Chunar an agreeable one, a principal was the pleasure which I derived from witnessing the dimensions, the solidity, and good taste of the church, as well as the highly creditable manner in which divine service was performed, and the numerous, orderly, and devout attendance of the Europeans of your garrison, as well as their native wives and widows. I feel, therefore, no less forcibly than the gentlemen of the church committee themselves, an anxiety that so striking a proof of the piety and liberality of individuals at the station should not be suffered to fall to decay through a want of the fostering hand of Government; and that the gallant men who have spent their health and strength in their country's cause should not be deprived, in their age and infirmities, of the comforts which the ordinances of religion are only able to supply. I beg you, therefore, to believe that the objects of your application, so far as I apprehend them to be compatible with some general measures to the same good end, which I have reason to anticipate from the care of Government, shall not want my best recommendation, or my earnest wishes for their success with a Government which, I willingly bear them witness, to the extent of the means entrusted to them, have always shown themselves anxious for the encouragement and support of such feelings and such conduct as I witnessed in the veterans of Chunar.

"May I request you to convey to the gentlemen of the church committee my thanks in the name of the Church of England and religion in general, for the liberality which they have shown and the judgment with which that liberal expenditure has been conducted; and to accept at the same time my best thanks for all the kindness with which you have personally favoured me.

"(Signed) REGINALD CALCUTTA."—ED.

tomb of Shekh Solimân,* and after breakfast I went on board, taking leave of my friends with a more earnest wish to meet again than travellers can often hope to feel. Nothing occurred this day or the next much worth recording. We made a very slow progress with the tow-line, under a burning sun, and without wind. The country is pretty, but the river falling very low, with great bare banks of brown earth visible on each side. The boatmen all cry out that there will be a famine in these provinces, though in Bengal, where rice is the staple crop, the harvest will probably be a very fine one, the danger there being of too much, rather than too little water. This heat brings all odious insects out of their lurking-places; I found in my cabin a large scorpion, not like that which I had seen before, but black and hairy, and two more were found by my servants. Near Seidpoor the Corries' boats were attacked by a swarm of large wasps, which stung every person on board; it is a celebrated place for sugar, which indeed seems cultivated to a great and increasing extent in all this part of the country. At most of the ghâts leading to the villages, I see large rollers of Chunar stone, apparently just landed from boats, and intended to crush the sugar-canes. The demand must be great to elicit such a supply.

September 15.—We passed Mirzapoor, the size and apparent opulence of which surprised me, as it is a place of no ancient importance or renown, has grown up completely since the English

* The following is an extract of a letter from Colonel Alexander to the editor, dated London, 13th July, 1827:—

"It may, at a time when everything relating to the memory of such a man is precious, be interesting to you to hear, that during the few days the revered Bishop honoured me with his company at Chunar, in our early drive one morning in my gig, I pointed out to him a large stone idol, of curious manufacture, which had just been sculptured, and was nearly ready for transmission to Benares, to be set up in one of the temples. His lordship descended from the gig, and surveyed it with deep attention, but said little. Those, however, who knew him may easily imagine what were the workings of his mind at the sight of such an object, not many months before hewn from the neighbouring quarry."—ED.

power has been established here, and under our Government is only an inferior civil station, with a few native troops. It is, however, a very great town, as large, I should think, as Patna, with many handsome native houses, and a vast number of mosques and temples, numerous and elegant bungalows in its outskirts and on the opposite side of the river,—a great number of boats of all kinds moored under its ghâts, and is computed to contain between two and three hundred thousand people.

This is, indeed, a most rich and striking land. Here, in the space of little more than two hundred miles, along the same river, I have passed six towns, none of them less populous than Chester,—two (Patna and Mirzapoor) more so than Birmingham; and one, Benares, more peopled than any city in Europe, except London and Paris! And this besides villages innumerable. I observed to Mr. Corrie that I had expected to find agriculture in Hindostan in a flourishing state, but the great cities ruined, in consequence of the ruin of the Mussulman nobles. He answered, that certainly very many ancient families had gone to decay, but he did not think the gap had been ever perceptible in his time, in this part of India, since it had been more than filled up by a new order rising from the middling classes, whose wealth had, during his recollection, increased very greatly. Far, indeed, from those cities which we had already passed, decaying, most of them had much increased in the number of their houses, and in what is a sure sign of wealth in India, the number and neatness of their ghâts and temples, since he was last here. Nothing, he said, was plainer to him, from the multitude of little improvements of this kind, of small temples and bungalows, partly in the European style, but obviously inhabited by natives, that wealth was becoming more abundant among the middling ranks, and that such of them as are rich are not afraid of appearing so. The great cities in the Dooab, he said, were indeed scenes of desolation. The whole country round Delhi and Agra, when he first saw it, was filled with marble ruins of

villas, mosques, and palaces, with the fragments of tanks and canals, and the vestiges of inclosures. But this ruin had occurred before the British arms had extended thus far, and while the country was under the tyranny and never-ending invasions of the Persians, Affghans, and Maharattas. Even here a great improvement had taken place before he left Agra, and he hoped to find a much greater on his return. He apprehended that, on the whole, all India had gained under British rule, except, perhaps, Dacca and its neighbourhood, where the manufactures had been nearly ruined.

We slept this night off a village called Janghuirabad, in a pretty situation, with a grove of fine round-topped trees, under which a large pulwar was building. Several sugar-mill rollers were on the beach, the bank was very high, and much of it having been recently deserted by the water, the smell was very unpleasant. I have great reason to be thankful that under this tremendous sun, my spirits and appetite remain as good as usual.

September 16.—We passed an old Gossain, who said his age was one hundred and four, and that he had no complaint but dimness of sight. He told me that the last ten years had been remarkable for an interruption, and frequently an entire cessation of the rains in September, which he never remembered before. He thought it would continue two years longer, “for,” says he, “everything changes once in twelve years for good or bad; the bad is nearly gone now—the good will come, only be patient.”

We moored at night near a sand-bank in the middle of the river, in company with several other vessels, among others the fleet of General Martindell, but, from the nature of our quarters, with little facility of communication. The heat had continued intense all day, but about midnight the wind changed to the east, and was refreshing and even cold.

September 17.—After another day's sailing we moored under a high precipitous bank, which, like all those we now see, was worn into a regular suc-

cession of steps, following all the wavy lines of its face, and marking the gradual, though in this year most rapid subsiding of the water. The uppermost of these was at least thirty feet above the present level of the river, and higher still the usual bank or sand-hill arose about twenty feet more. I climbed with some trouble to the top of this for my twilight walk, taking Abdullah with me. After passing the usual margin of high jungle-grass, with its beautiful silky tufts, hanging over our heads, we got into a field of Indian corn, with a pretty good path through it, but no appearance of a village, and the country, so far as the imperfect light allowed me to discover, more wild and jungly than any which I had passed since Sicily. A brilliant light, however, beamed up among the trees at some distance, and I walked towards it in the idea that it was a cowman's cottage, and that I might get some milk, the goats I had on board being dry. On approaching it, however, and when we got within about one hundred yards, it suddenly disappeared, and we found neither path nor village. Abdullah observed, that these people could have been about no good, that it was "very like a jugglery fire, and we had better turn back again." I answered, that I thought they were more like thieves than jugglers, to which he replied it might be so, for a slip of country near us either now was, or had been very lately, under the Nawâb of Oude, and was a mere nest of thieves. "Well," said I, "if they are thieves, it will not be desirable to have them so near our boats to-night, and we will at least go up to the place where the fire has been. As for jugglery you know we are Christians, and the devil cannot hurt us." I had not, indeed, the smallest idea that there was risk, inasmuch as we were two of us, and my boat within hail. I felt also sure that a village was not far off, or at least a cowshed, from a shepherd's pipe which I had heard in that direction just before we landed. I still wondered we saw nothing, till I came close upon a little shed of straw, out of which a man thrust his head, and in answer to my

question of "Who's there?" answered "A watch." Abdullah asked him why he had put out his light; he said that he was watching his cucumbers, that he had lighted a fire to keep off wild beasts, but on hearing our voices had covered it up with turf, lest its light should attract more company than he desired to his garden. The village, he said, was still at some distance, and with the little light which remained we should not easily find it. In fact it was so dark by the time we returned to the bank, that I was obliged to call for a lantern to find my way down again. I asked what beasts the man had to apprehend, and he answered wild hogs and wolves; the former would certainly be likely to visit his cucumbers, and a fire might keep them at a distance, but the latter must be much more audacious in this country than in Europe, if they would come near a living and waking man. It is probable, however, that the imperfect means of defence possessed by these poor people, together with their fatalist principles and consequent neglect of precautions, may give mischievous animals a greater confidence than they are likely to possess in the neighbourhood of the strong, hardy, and intelligent peasants of Russia or Sweden.

The district of which Abdullah spoke as subject to the Nawâb of Oude is about four miles a-head of our present station, and is called Lucha-geery. It was a part of the jointure of Saadut Ali Khân's mother, who refused to alienate it when Allahabad and the neighbouring provinces were ceded to the Company. Since her death it has been exchanged for a large tract of our conquests in Nepal. While subject to the Begum and the Nawâb, it was indeed a nest of thieves, but is now under the same police with the rest of the Company's territories.

The day had been as hot as its predecessor, but towards sunset a light pleasant air sprung from the east, in which quarter also I saw a collection of clouds with some lightning, and other indications of rain, if not immediately, yet, it might be hoped, in a day or two.

September 18.—This morning, as I

was at breakfast, the alarm was given of a great snake in the after-cabin, which had found its way into a basket containing two caps, presents for my wife and myself from Meer Ushruff Ali of Dacca. It was immediately, and without examination, pronounced to be a large "Chichta," cobra de capello, and caused great alarm amongst my servants; however, on dislodging it from its retreat, it merely proved to be a water snake. It appeared to have been coiled up very neatly round the fur of the cap, and though its bite would not have been venomous, would certainly have inflicted a severe wound on any body who had incautiously opened the basket. I had once or twice since leaving Chunar fancied I heard a gentle hissing, but the idea of a snake in the boat seemed so improbable, that I attributed it to different causes, or to fancy. Much wonder was expressed at finding it in such a place, but as I have seen one of the same kind climb a tree, it is probable that it had ascended one of the ropes by which the boat is moored at night. I had heard at Patna of a lady who once lay a whole night with a cobra de capello under her pillow; she repeatedly thought during the night that something moved, and in the morning when she snatched her pillow away, she found the thick black throat, the square head, and green diamond-like eye, advanced within two inches of her neck. The snake was without malice, his hood was uninflated, and he was merely enjoying the warmth of his nest; but, alas! for her, if she had during the night pressed him a little too roughly!

The banks under Lucha-geery are more than usually picturesque, being very lofty and steep, covered down to high-water mark with beautiful pendent creepers, and backed by a considerable jungle. The stream was so rapid that we were obliged to cross to the other side, and fortunately had a light easterly breeze again to assist us. The sun, however, was, I think, hotter than ever. I was amused to find that these boatmen have the same fancy with our English sailors about whistling for a wind.

Within these few days all the vermin part of Noah's household seem to have taken a fancy to my little ark. To the scorpions, the cockroaches, the ants, and the snake, were added this morning two of the largest spiders I ever saw, and such as I regretted afterwards I did not preserve in spirits. In a bottle they would have made monsters fit for the shelf of any conjurer in Christendom. About three o'clock, as we were doubling a sand-bank, some fishermen came on board with a large fish, which they called "rooh," something like a carp, and weighing, I should guess, twenty pounds, for which they only asked six anas, and I bought it for my servants. I asked if they had any more, on which they produced two others, between them a fair load for an ass, and of a kind which I never saw before. They were ugly fish, with heads a little like toads, a smooth skin without scales, of a pale olive colour, one high dusky-coloured upright fin on the back, and another on each side, with a forked tail; their name "baghee." Abdullah said they were eatable and wholesome, so I bought them also, as a feast for the dandeers. The Mussulmans, however, objected to them on the Mosaic ground of having no scales, so that they fell to the share exclusively of the Hindoos, who form the crews of the baggage and cook boats, and they were beyond measure delighted and grateful. Two alligators showed themselves to-day, but at some distance; they are evidently shy, but fish seem extremely abundant in this part of the river. While I was writing the above, another very fine rooh was brought on board, the fishermen swimming with it from the land; and being content to dispose of it for four anas. I bought this too for the Mussulman dandeers, so that every person on board had fish to-day, and the cost did not exceed half-a-crown, no great sum to make forty people happy for the afternoon!

The east wind blew pleasantly all the afternoon, bringing up a good many clouds, but no actual rain. It helped us across some very bad passes of the stream, where without its aid we might have been detained many hours, or

even days. A little after five o'clock we arrived at a village called Diha, where there is a large nullah, which, when navigable, affords the easiest and most direct passage to Allahabad. At present the water was too shallow, and we went by the main stream. Mohammed wanted to stop here, but, as we had wind and daylight still, I urged him to proceed a little further, and to moor on the eastern bank, along which I apprehended the great Dâk-road to run, and designed to push on in my palanquin to Allahabad that night. Unfortunately the wind soon grew fainter, and, the stream being very strong, it was quite dark before we reached the eastern shore. I determined on going myself to ascertain if there was a village near, both as liking to explore, and under the idea that, by seeing the Thannadar, could any such be found, I should judge better for myself as to the possibility or expediency of engaging bearers, either immediately or for the next morning. I accordingly set out, having a dandee with a lantern, Abdullah and one of the Tindals, with each a spear, a defence which the former assured me might not be superfluous, and would at all events *make me respected*. I had only my great stick as usual, but this is a tolerably large one, and, well used, would in this country be no inconsiderable weapon. I had another fruitless ramble through very high corn, some of it literally above my head, and over a broad extent of fallow and pasture, but found no village. Some lights were visible, but they were extinguished as my party drew near, and it was not easy to discover whence they proceeded. I had the caution to mark the position of the stars before I set out, or we should have had much trouble to find our way back again. At length we stumbled on a herdsman's shed, where we found two men, whom the sight of our spears put, not without some cause, in great alarm, and from whom we could get little for some time but protestations that they were very poor, and entreaties not to hurt them. They had put out their fire, they said, because it was a lonely place, and seeing our light, and

hearing our voices, they were afraid; they spoke of the nearest village as a coss and a half distant, and displayed great reluctance to undertake to guide us there. There was no Thanna, they said, nearer than two coss. They spoke not Oordoo, but what Abdullah said was the true Hindoo. Milk they called not "doodh," but "gaorus," "*cow-dew*," from "russ," "*ros*." Rain they called "*russ*" simply. They told us of a good path through the Indian corn to the river, in following which we came to another shed of the same sort, where a man with his wife and children were cooking their supper. The man called to us for heaven's sake not to come near him, for he was a Brahmin, and our approach would oblige him to fling away his mess. In answer to my desire that he would sell some milk, he said he could sell us none, but if I chose to take a small jug which stood on one side, I might. "Nay," said I, "I take nothing without paying." "I am a Brahmin," he replied, "and dare not sell milk, but I give it to you voluntarily." "Well, Brahmin," I answered, "take up the jug and bring it to the boat, and I will give you a present, not for the milk, but voluntarily, and because you are a good fellow." He immediately started up with exceeding good-will, and went with us, talking all the way, but in a dialect which I comprehended but little. I only understood that he boasted of his own courage in not being afraid of us when we came up; most people would have been so, he said, but he had a brother who was a Sepoy, and he had been to see him with his regiment at Sultanpore, and therefore he was not afraid when he saw a Sahib at the head of the party. He said he was one of the village watchmen, and that it was less degrading for a Brahmin to be thus employed than as a cultivator, which seems to be by no means an usual occupation for them in this part of India, though it is often seen in other districts. I returned by a circuitous but level path along the beach, which was sand, and so precisely as if the tide had just left it, I could have fancied myself in one of my evening walks by the sea-

side in England, had not the dark naked limbs, and the weapons of my companions, reminded me that I was in a far distant land. I was a good deal disappointed at the result of this expedition, since I had been anxious to reach Allahabad in time to have service on the following day (Sunday). That, however, was now apparently impossible, and I was obliged to be content with my walk, and with the good appetite which it procured me.

The clouds had been gradually rising from the eastward all day, but no rain fell where I was, though some seemed to fall in the neighbourhood. The night was cool and pleasant. I find all the people here, particularly the Mussulmans, pronounce Allahabad, "Illahabaz." Allah is certainly very often pronounced Ullah or Illah, but why "Abad," the Persian word for abode, should be altered, I do not know.

September 19.—This morning we were gratified by a light sprinkling of rain, I trust the forerunner of more. The fine easterly wind, however, failed, and the poor men had a hard, though not a long day's tow to Allahabad, where I arrived about two in the afternoon. As it is here that my journey by water terminates, I shall set down some information concerning Benares, which I have learned since my leaving it.

The city of Benares is certainly the richest, as well as, probably, the most populous in India; it is also the best governed in respect to its police, which is carried on by a sort of national guard, the chuprassies, of whom I have made frequent mention, chosen by the inhabitants themselves, and merely approved of by the magistrates. There are about five hundred of these in the city, which is divided into sixty wards, with a gate to each which is shut at night, and guarded by one of these people. In consequence, notwithstanding the vast population, the crowds of beggars and pilgrims of all countries (of Maharatta pilgrims alone there are generally some twenty thousand in the place, many of them armed, and of warlike and predatory habits), robberies

and murders are very rare, while the guards being elected and paid by the respectable householders, have an interest in being civil, well-behaved, and attentive.

The army at Secrole is never called in except in cases of extremity, according to an excellent rule laid down and strictly observed by the government of Bengal, never to employ the military force except in affairs of real war, or where an active and numerous police is visibly incompetent to provide for the public safety. Only one instance of the military being called in has occurred at Benares during the last twenty-five years, which was on occasion of the quarrel I have already noticed between the Mussulmans and Hindoos. At that time Mr. Bird was magistrate, and he gave me a far more formidable idea of the tumult than I had previously formed. One-half of the population was literally armed against the other, and the fury which actuated both was more like that of demoniacs than rational enemies. It began by the Mussulmans breaking down a famous pillar, named Siva's walking-staff, held in high veneration by the Hindoos. These last in revenge burnt and broke down a mosque, and the retort of the first aggressors was to kill a cow, and pour her blood into the sacred well. In consequence every Hindoo able to bear arms, and many who had no other fitness for the employment than rage supplied, procured weapons, and attacked their enemies with frantic fury wherever they met them. Being the most numerous party, they put the Mussulmans in danger of actual extermination, and would certainly have, at least, burned every mosque in the place before twenty-four hours were over, if the Sepoys had not been called in. Of these last the temper was extremely doubtful. By far the greater number of them were Hindoos, and perhaps one-half Brahmins; any one of them, if he had been his own master, would have rejoiced in an opportunity of shedding his life's blood in a quarrel with the Mussulmans; and of the mob who attacked them, the Brahmins, yoguees, gossains, and other religious mendicants formed the front

rank, their bodies and faces covered with chalk and ashes, their long hair untied as devoted to death, showing their strings, and yelling out to them all the bitterest curses of their religion, if they persisted in urging an unnatural war against their brethren and their gods. The Sepoys, however, were immovable. Regarding their military oath as the most sacred of all obligations, they fired at a Brahmin as readily as at any one else, and kept guard at the gate of a mosque as faithfully and fearlessly as if it had been the gate of one of their own temples. Their courage and steadiness preserved Benares from ruin.

One observation of some of the Hindoo Sepoys was remarkable. The pillar, the destruction of which led to all the tumult, had originally stood in one of the Hindoo temples which were destroyed by Aurungzebe, and mosques built over them. In the mosque, however, it still was suffered to exist, and pilgrimages were made to it by the Hindoos through the connivance of the Mussulmans, in consequence of their being allowed to receive half of all the offerings made there. It was a very beautiful shaft of one stone, forty feet high, and covered with exquisite carving. This carving gave offence to several zealous Mohammedans, but the quarrel which hastened its destruction arose, as I have stated, from the unfortunate rencontre of the rival processions. Respecting the pillar a tradition had long prevailed among the Hindoos, that it was gradually sinking in the ground, that it had been twice the visible height it then showed, and that when its summit was level with the earth, all nations were to be of one caste, and the religion of Brahma to have an end. Two Brahmin Sepoys were keeping guard in the mosque where the defaced and prostrate pillar lay. "Ah," said one of them, "we have seen that which *we* never thought to see, Siva's shaft has its head even with the ground; we shall all be of one caste shortly, what will be our religion then?" "I suppose the Christian," answered the other. "I suppose so too," rejoined the first, "for after all

that has passed, I am sure we shall never turn Mussulmans."

After the tumult was quelled, a very curious and impressive scene succeeded; the holy city had been profaned; the blood of a cow had been mixed with the purest water of Gunga, and salvation was to be obtained at Benares no longer. All the Brahmins in the city, amounting to many thousands, went down in melancholy procession, with ashes on their heads, naked, and fasting, to the principal ghâts leading to the river, and sat there with their hands folded, their heads hanging down, to all appearance inconsolable, and refusing to enter a house, or to taste food. Two or three days of this abstinence, however, began to tire them, and a hint was given to the magistrates and other public men, that a visit of condolence and an expression of sympathy with these holy mourners would sufficiently comfort them, and give them an ostensible reason for returning to their usual employment. Accordingly all the British functionaries went to the principal ghât, expressed their sorrow for the distress in which they saw them, but reasoned with them on the absurdity of punishing themselves for an act in which they had no share, and which they had done their utmost to prevent or avenge. This prevailed, and after much bitter weeping, it was resolved that Ganges was Ganges still, that a succession of costly offerings from the laity of Benares might wipe out the stain which their religion had received, and that the advice of the judges was the best and most reasonable. Mr. Bird, who was one of the ambassadors on this occasion, told me that the scene was very impressive and even awful. The gaunt squalid figures of the devotees, their visible and, apparently, unaffected anguish and dismay, the screams and outcries of the women who surrounded them, and the great numbers thus assembled, altogether constituted a spectacle of woe such as few cities but Benares could supply.

Yet even this was exceeded by a spectacle of a kind almost similar, which Benares offered on another occasion. Government had then, unad-

visedly, imposed a house-tax of a very unpopular character, both from its amount and its novelty. To this the natives objected, that they recognised in their British rulers the same rights which had been exercised by the Moguls,—that the land-tax was theirs, and that they could impose duties on commodities going to market, or for exportation: but that their houses were their own,—that they had never been intermeddled with in any but their landed property, and commodities used in traffic,—and that the same power which now imposed a heavy and unheard-of tax on their dwellings, might do the same next year on their children and themselves. These considerations, though backed by strong representations from the magistrates, produced no effect in Calcutta; on which the whole population of Benares and its neighbourhood determined to sit “dhurna” till their grievances were redressed. To sit “dhurna,” or mourning, is to remain motionless in that posture, without food, and exposed to the weather, till the person against whom it is employed consents to the request offered: and the Hindoos believe, that whoever dies under such a process becomes a tormenting spirit to haunt and afflict his inflexible antagonist. This is a practice not unfrequent in the intercourse of individuals, to enforce payment of a debt, or forgiveness of one. And among Hindoos it is very prevailing, not only from the apprehended dreadful consequences of the death of the petitioner, but because many are of opinion, that while a person sits dhurna at their door, they must not themselves presume to eat, or undertake any secular business. It is even said that some persons hire Brahmins to sit dhurna for them, the thing being to be done by proxy, and the dhurna of a Brahmin being naturally more awful in its effects than that of a Soodra could be. I do not know whether there is any example under their ancient princes of a considerable portion of the people taking this strange method of remonstrance against oppression, but in this case it was done with great resolution, and surprising concert and unanimity.

Some of the leading Brahmins sent written hand-bills to the wards in Benares nearest the college, and to some of the adjoining villages, declaring very shortly the causes and necessity of the measures which they were about to adopt, calling on all lovers of their country and national creed to join in it, and commanding, under many bitter curses, every person who received it to forward it to his next neighbour. Accordingly it flew over the country like the fiery cross in the “Lady of the Lake,” and three days after it was issued, and before Government were in the least apprised of the plan, above three hundred thousand persons, as it is said, deserted their houses, shut up their shops, suspended the labour of their farms, forbore to light fires, dress victuals, many of them even to eat, and sate down with folded arms and drooping heads, like so many sheep, on the plain which surrounds Benares.

The local Government were exceedingly perplexed. There was the chance that very many of these strange beings would really perish, either from their obstinacy, or the diseases which they would contract in their present situation. There was a probability that famine would ensue from the interruption of agricultural labours at the most critical time of the year. There was a certainty that the revenue would suffer very materially from the total cessation of all traffic. And it might even be apprehended that their despair, and the excitement occasioned by such a display of physical force, would lead them to far stronger demonstrations of discontent than that of sitting dhurna. On the other hand, the authorities of Benares neither were permitted, nor would it have been expedient, to yield to such a demand, so urged. They conducted themselves with great prudence and good temper. Many of the natives appeared to expect, and the Brahmins perhaps hoped, that they would still further outrage the feelings of the people, by violently suppressing their assemblage. They did no such thing, but coolly reasoned with some of the ringleaders on the impossibility that Government should yield to remon-

stances so enforced. They, however, told them expressly, in answer to their inquiries, that if they chose to sit dhurna it was their own affair; and that so long as they only injured themselves, and were peaceable in their behaviour to others, Government would not meddle with them. They did not omit, however, to bring a strong body of Europeans from Dinapoor and Ghazepoor, to the neighbouring cantonment, without appearing to watch the conduct of the natives, or putting it into their heads that they suspected them of violent intentions. At last the multitude began to grow very hungry, and a thunder-shower which fell made them wet, cold, and uncomfortable. Some of the party proposed a change of operations, and that a deputation of ten thousand should be sent to address the Governor-General personally. This was eagerly carried by a majority, heartily tired of their situation, and the next question was, how these men should be maintained during their journey? when one leading Brahmin proposed a tax on houses. A string was here struck which made the whole instrument jar. "A tax on houses! if we are to pay a tax on houses after all, we might as well have remained on good terms with our Government, sitting under our vines and fig-trees, and neither hungry nor rheumatic." A great number caught at the excuse for a rupture, and rose to go home, but the remainder determined that all should go to the Governor, every man at his own charge. The seeds of disunion were already sown, and the majority absented themselves from the muster which was held three days after. From ten to twenty thousand, however, really assembled with such provisions as they could collect, and began their march, still unmolested by the magistrates, whose whole conduct was wise and merciful; they well calculated that provisions would soon fall short, and travelling become wearisome, and merely watched their motions at some distance with a corps of cavalry. They knew that hunger would make them plunder, and that the hilly and jungly road from Benares to the neighbour-

hood of Burdwan afforded few facilities for the subsistence of so great a multitude. Accordingly, in a few days, they melted away to so small a number, that the remainder were ashamed to proceed. The supreme Government followed up their success most wisely by a repeal of the obnoxious tax, and thus ended a disturbance which, if it had been harshly or improperly managed, might have put all India in a flame.

Benares being in many respects the commercial, and in all, the ecclesiastical metropolis of India, I was not surprised to find persons from all parts of the Peninsula residing there. But I was astonished to hear of the number of Persians, Turks, Tartars, and even Europeans, who are to be met with. Among them is a Greek, a well-informed and well-mannered man, who has fixed himself here for many years, living on his means, whatever they are, and professing to study the Sanscrit. I heard a good deal of him afterwards in Allahabad, and was much struck by the singularity and mystery of his character and situation. He is a very good scholar in the ancient language of his country, and speaks good English, French, and Italian. His manners are those of a gentleman, and he lives like a person at his ease. He has little intercourse with the English, but is on very friendly terms with the principal Hindoo families. He was once an object of suspicion to Government, but after watching him for a long time they saw nothing in his conduct to confirm their suspicions, and during Lord Hastings's first Pindarree war, he voluntarily gave, on different occasions, information of much importance. So few Europeans, however, who can help it, reside in India, that it seems strange that any man should prefer it as a residence, without some stronger motive than a fondness for Sanscrit literature, more particularly since he does not appear to me to dilate any work on the subject. He was a partner in a Greek house in Calcutt, but is now said to have retired from business. There is also a Russian here, who, by a natural affinity, lives much with the Greek. He is, however, a

trader, and has apparently moved in a much humbler rank of society than his friend.

Though Benares is the holy place of India, the Brahmins there are less intolerant and prejudiced than in most other places. The eternal round of idle ceremonies in which they pass their time is said to have produced in many of them a degree of weariness of their own system, and a disposition to inquire after others, which does not exist in Calcutta. I was told that the Archdeacon, when here, was an object of great interest and respect with them, and had he resided longer it is probable that he would have had more converts than at Agra. It is also, generally speaking, loyal, and well-affected to the Company's Government, though its inhabitants being in fact superior in rank, wealth, and education, to those of the average of Indian towns, talk more of public men and public matters.

I was curious to know what Governors of India had stood highest in their good opinion, and found that they usually spoke of Warren Hastings and Lord Wellesley as the two greatest men who had ever ruled this part of the world, but that they spoke with most affection of Mr. Jonathan Duncan. "Duncan sahib ka chota bhaee," "Mr. Duncan's younger brother," is still the usual term of praise applied to any public man who appears to be actuated by an unusual spirit of kindness and liberality towards their nation. Of the sultan-like and splendid character of Warren Hastings, many traits are preserved, and a nursery rhyme, which is often sung to children, seems to show how much they were pleased with the Oriental (not European) pomp which he knew how to employ on occasion.

"Har'hee pur howdah, ghore pur jeen,
Juldee bah'r jata Sahib Warren Husteem !"

Of Lord Hastings I have not found that they have retained any very favourable impression. Yet the extent of his conquests, and his pleasing manners during his short visit, must, I should think, have struck them.

Allahabad stands in, perhaps, the most favourable situation which India affords for a great city, in a dry and

healthy soil, on a triangle, at the junction of the two mighty streams, Gunga and Jumna, with an easy communication with Bombay and Madras, and capable of being fortified so as to become almost impregnable. But though occasionally the residence of royalty, though generally inhabited by one of the Shahzadehs, and still containing two or three fine ruins, it never appears to have been a great or magnificent city, and is now even more desolate and ruinous than Dacca, having obtained, among the natives, the name of "Fakeerabad," "beggar-abode." It may, however, revive to some greater prosperity, from the increase of the civil establishment attached to it. It is now the permanent station (the *castrum hybernium*) of the Sudder Mofussil commission, a body of judges whose office is the same with regard to these provinces as that of the Sudder Dewanee Udawlut for the eastern parts of the empire. The necessity for such a special court had become very great. The remoteness of the Sudder Dewanee had made appeals to it almost impossible, and very great extortion and oppression had been committed by the native agents of the inferior and local courts, sometimes with the connivance, but more often through the ignorance and inexperience, of the junior magistrates and judges. They, when these provinces were placed under British governors, having been previously employed in Bengal and Bahar, naturally took their Bengalee followers with them—a race regarded by the Hindostanees as no less foreigners than the English, and even more odious than Franks, from ancient prejudice, and from their national reputation of craft, covetousness, and cowardice. In fact, by one means or other, these Bengalees almost all acquired considerable landed property in a short time among them, and it has been the main business of the Sudder Mofussil Udawlut to review the titles to all property acquired since the English Government entered the Dooab. In many instances they have succeeded in recovering all or part of extensive possessions to their rightful heirs, and the degree of confidence in the justice of their rulers with which they have

inspired the natives is said to be very great. They make circuits during all the travelling months of the year, generally pitching their tents near towns, and holding their courts under trees: an arrangement so agreeable to Indian prejudices, that one of these judges said it was, in his opinion, one main source of their usefulness, inasmuch as an Indian of the humbler class is really always under constraint and fear in a house, particularly if furnished in the European manner, and can neither attend to what is told him nor tell his own story so well as in the open air, and amidst those objects from which all his enjoyments are drawn. At Allahabad, however, where their permanent abodes are, these judges have a court-house, though a very humble one, thatched and inconvenient.

The only considerable buildings or ruins in Allahabad are the fort, the Jumna Musjeed, and the serai and garden of Sultan Khosroo. The first stands on the point of the triangle formed by the two rivers, and is strong both naturally and artificially. It has been a very noble castle, but has suffered in its external appearance as much as it has, probably, gained in strength by the modernization which it has undergone from its present masters, its lofty towers being pruned down into bastions and cavaliers, and its high stone rampart topped with turf parapets, and obscured by a green sloping glacis. It is still, however, a striking place; and its principal gate, surmounted by a dome, with a wide hall beneath surrounded by arcades and galleries, and ornamented with rude but glowing paintings, is the noblest entrance I ever saw to a place of arms. This has been, I think, injudiciously modernized without, after the Grecian or Italian style; but within, the high Gothic arches and Saracenic paintings remain. The barracks are very handsome and neat, something like those of Fort William, which the interior disposition of the fort a good deal resembles. On one side, however, is a large range of buildings, still in the Oriental style, and containing some noble vaulted rooms, chiefly occupied as officers' quar-

ters, and looking down from a considerable height on the rapid stream and craggy banks of the Jumna. The Jumna and Ganges are here pretty nearly of equal width; the former is the more rapid of the two, and its navigation more dangerous, from the rocky character of its bed, and its want of depth in the dry season. At present both streams were equally turbid; but in another month, I am told, we should have found the water of the Jumna clear as crystal, and strangely contrasted with the turbid yellow wave of the more sacred stream, which is, however, when allowed some little time to clear itself, by far the most palatable of the two, and preferred by all the city, both native and European.

The Jumna Musjeed, or principal mosque, is still in good repair, but very little frequented. It stands in an advantageous situation on the banks of the Jumna, adjoining the city on one side, and on the other an esplanade before the fort glacis, planted with trees like that of Calcutta. It is a solid and stately building, but without much ornament. It had been, since the English conquest, fitted up first as a residence for the general of the station, then used as an assembly room, till Mr. Courtney Smith, apprehending this to be an insult to the religious feelings of the Mussulmans, persuaded the Government to restore it to its sacred character, and to repair its damages. The Mussulmans, however, are neither numerous nor zealous in Allahabad, and seemed to care little about the matter. Nevertheless, the original desecration was undoubtedly offensive and unjust, and the restitution a proper and popular measure.

The finest things in Allahabad, however, are Sultan Khosroo's serai and garden; the former is a noble quadrangle, with four fine Gothic gateways surrounded within an embattled wall by a range of cloisters for the accommodation of travellers. The whole is now much dilapidated; but was about to be repaired from the town duties, when unhappily the Burmese war arrested this excellent appropriation of an unpopular tax. Adjoining the serai is a neglected garden, planted with fine

old mangoe-trees, in which are three beautiful tombs raised over two princes and a princess of the imperial family. Each consists of a large terrace, with vaulted apartments beneath it, in the central one of which is a tomb like a stone coffin, richly carved. Above is a very lofty circular apartment, covered by a dome richly painted within, and without carved yet more beautifully. All these are very solemn and striking, rich, but not florid or gaudy, and completely giving the lie to the notion common in England, which regards all eastern architecture as in bad taste and "barbarous."

The houses of the civil servants of the Company are at some distance, both from the fort and the town, extending along a small rising ground, in a line from the Ganges to the Jumna. They are mere bungalows, and less both in size and ornament than at any station I have yet seen in these provinces. The situation is, however, pleasant and healthy. The city of Allahabad is small, with very poor houses, and narrow irregular streets, and confined to the banks of the Jumna.

I remained ten days at Allahabad, waiting the arrival of tents from Cawnpoor. During this time I had the pleasure of confirming twenty persons, two of them natives, and of preaching and administering the Sacrament to seventy or eighty, of whom some were also natives, or at least in the native dress. The residents here are exceedingly anxious for a chaplain; but that one should be appointed at this time I entertain but few hopes, though it is very sad that such a congregation should want one. For the present I hope to procure them one of the Church missionaries.

Amid the other necessary preparations for my land journey, more numerous by far, and more various, than I had anticipated, I had to purchase a horse for my own riding, no elephant being either to be begged, bought, or borrowed in Allahabad, and no reasonable hope being held out of my procuring one in Cawnpoor. Indeed, most people tell me that a horse, during the greater part of the journey which I

have before me, will be a far preferable conveyance. To procure a tolerable one was not, however, an easy matter. Arabs are excessively scarce and dear, and one which was sent for me to look at, at a price of eight hundred rupees, was a skittish, cat-legged thing, not worth half the money. I went with Mr. Bird, whose kindness and hospitality were unremitting during my whole stay, to look at a drove of up-country horses, just arrived from Lahore and Turkistan, and was exceedingly amused and interested by the picturesque groups of men and animals which met the eye in a crowded serai about nightfall, as well as with the fine forms of some of the colts offered for sale, and the singular appearance and manner of the grazier who owned the "cofilah," or caravan, and his attendant saeeses. The former was an elderly man, six feet high, and more than proportionally corpulent, with a long, curling, black beard, spreading over his white peyrahoom. The latter were also large-limbed, tall men, with long hair in black strong ringlets hanging down their backs and over their ears, their little turbans set knowingly on one side, and neither they nor their master much darker than Europeans. Indeed, they exceedingly resembled some of the portraits of Italians by Titian; they rode well, and showed great strength: but what most amused me was the remarkable resemblance between horse-dealers all over the world, in turns of expression, in tricks of trade, nay, even in tone of voice and cast of countenance. I had fortunately an excellent judge in Mr. Bird, but even he was perplexed for some time how to advise me. At length I fixed on a very handsome colt; too young, certainly, but strong, and very good-tempered, for which I gave four hundred and sixty rupees. The old man went and came over and over again, before he would take the price, but I was pertinacious; and at last, on Abdullah's suggesting that an additional present of something besides money would please him better, I gave him a piece of Dacca muslin, sufficient for a turban, and worth about eight sicca rupees, as well as a small

phial of laudanum and brandy for an ear-ache, of which he bitterly complained. This satisfied him; and we parted very good friends, Mr. Bird being of opinion that the price was really a fair one, and the horse extremely promising. It was also necessary to buy five tattoos for my servants to ride in turns, as there were no baggage-elephants to mount them on. This, however, was easily accomplished; and the animals, saddles, bridles, and all, were obtained, though very good ones of their kind, for sixteen rupees each. A long string of other necessities followed; and I had the mortification to find that few of the things I had brought with me from Calcutta could be put on the backs of camels. It was with the greatest difficulty that a carpenter could be found in the whole city to drive a nail, or a blacksmith to make a horseshoe; it being the festival of Rama and Seeta, all the world was employed in seeing the hero with his army of monkeys attack the giant Ravana. Many other hindrances and disappointments occurred; but the delay they occasioned gave me an opportunity of seeing something of the Ramayana festival, which consists in a sort of dramatic representation, during many successive days, of Rama's history and adventures. The first evening I went with Mr. Bird to the *show*, for such it is now considered, and so entirely divested of every religious character as to be attended even by Mussulmans without scruple. I found Rama, his brother Luchmun, and his betrothed wife Seeta, represented by three children of about twelve years old, seated in Durbar, under an awning in the principal street of the Sepoy lines, with a great crowd round them, some fanning them, of which, poor things, they had great need, some blowing horns and beating gongs and drums, and the rest shouting till the air rang again. The two heroes were very fine boys, and acted their parts admirably. Each had a gilt bow in his left hand, and a sabre in his right, their naked bodies were almost covered with gilt ornaments and tinsel, they had high tinsel crowns on their heads, their foreheads and bodies

spotted with charcoal, chalk, and vermilion, and altogether perfectly resembled the statues of Hindoo deities,

"Except that of their eyes alone

The twinkle show'd they were not stone."

Poor little Seeta, wrapt up in a gorgeous veil of flimsy finery, and tired to death, had dropped her head on her breast and seemed happily insensible to all which was going on. The Brahmin Sepoys, who bore the principal part in the play, made room, with great solicitude, for us to see. I asked a good many questions, and obtained very ready answers in much the same way and with no more appearance of reverence and devotion than one should receive from an English mob at a puppet-show. "I see Rama, Seeta, Luchmun, but where is Hunimân?" (the famous monkey general). "Hunimân," was the answer, "is not yet come; but that man," pointing to a great stout soldier of singularly formidable exterior, "is Hunimân, and he will soon arrive." The man began laughing as if half ashamed of his destination, but now took up the conversation, telling me that "next day was to be a far prettier play than I now saw, for Seeta was to be stolen away by Ravana and his attendant evil spirits, Rama and Luchmun were to go to the jungle in great sorrow to seek for her,"

("Rama, your Rama! to greenwood must hie!")

That "then (laughing again) I and my army shall come, and we shall fight bravely, bravely." The evening following I was engaged, but the next day I repeated my visit; I was then too late for the best part of the show, which had consisted of a first and unsuccessful attack by Rama and his army on the fortress of the gigantic ravisher. That fortress, however, I saw,—an enclosure of bamboos covered with paper and painted with doors and windows, within which was a frightful paper giant, fifteen feet high, with ten or twelve arms, each grasping either a sword, an arrow, a bow, a battle-axe, or a spear. At his feet sat poor little Seeta as motionless as before, guarded by two figures to represent demons. The brothers, in a splendid palkee, were conducting the

retreat of their army; the divine Hunimân, as naked and almost as hairy as the animal whom he represented, was gamboling before them, with a long tail tied round his waist, a mask to represent the head of a baboon, and two great painted clubs in his hands. His army followed: a number of men with similar tails and masks, their bodies dyed with indigo, and also armed with clubs. I was never so forcibly struck with the identity of Rama and Bacchus. Here were before me Bacchus, his brother Ampelus, the Satyrs (smeared with wine lees), and the great Pan commanding them. The fable, however, can hardly have originated in India, and probably has been imported both by the Greeks and Brahmins from Cashmere, or some other central country where the grape grows, unless we suppose that the grape has been merely an accidental appendage to Bacchus's character, arising from the fact that the festival occurs during the vintage. There yet remained two or three days of pageant, before Seeta's release, purification, and remarriage to her hero lover, but for this conclusion I did not remain in Allahabad. At Benares, I am told, the show is on such occasions

really splendid. The Raja attends in state with all the principal inhabitants of the place; he lends his finest elephants and jewels to the performers, who are children of the most eminent families, and trained up by long previous education. I saw enough, however, at Allahabad to satisfy my curiosity. The show is now a very innocent one; but there was a hideous and accursed practice in "*the good old times*," before the British police was established, at least if all which the Mussulmans and English say is to be believed, which shows the Hindoo superstition in all its horrors. The poor children who had been thus feasted, honoured, and made to contribute to the popular amusement, were, it is asserted, always poisoned in the sweetmeats given them the last day of the show, that it might be said their spirits were absorbed into the deities whom they had represented! Nothing of the sort can now be done. The children, instead of being brought for the purpose from a distance by the priests, are the children of neighbours, whose prior and subsequent history is known, and Rama and Seeta now grow old like other boys and girls.

CHAPTER XIV.

ALLAHABAD TO CAWNPOOR.

Description of Caravan—Armed Peasantry—Camaulpoor—Fyzee Musseeb—Visits from Zemin-dar and Imam—Mussulman Soldier turned Saint—Ryuts oppressed by Soldiery—Futtehpoor—Serai—Beggars living in Tombs—Stormy March to Kuleánpoor—Dák Journey to Cawnpoor—Hospital and School—Description of Town and Climate.

At length, on Thursday morning, the 30th of September, we began our journey, having sent off some hours before our motley train, consisting of twenty-four camels, eight carts drawn by bullocks, twenty-four horse-servants, including those of the Archdeacon and Mr. Lushington, ten ponies, forty bearers and coolies of different descriptions, twelve tent-pitchers, and a guard of twenty sepoys, under a native officer. The whimsical caravan filed off in state before me; my servants, all armed with spears, to which many of them had added, at their own cost, sabres of the longest growth, looked, on their little ponies, like something between cossacks and sheriff's javelin-men; my new Turkoman horse, still in the costume of his country, with his long, squirrel-like tail painted red, and his mane plaited in love-knots, looked as if he were going to eat fire, or perform some other part in a melodrama; while Mr. Lushington's horses, two very pretty Arabs, with their tails docked, and their saddles English ("Ungrigi") fashion, might have attracted notice in Hyde-park; the Archdeacon's buggy and horse had every appearance of issuing from the back gate of a college in Cambridge on a Sunday morning; and lastly came some mounted gend'armes, and a sword and buckler-man on foot, looking exactly like the advanced guard of a Tartar army. Rain, however, long prayed for, but which was now an inconvenience to us, prevented our starting altogether, and it was late in the evening before we ar-

rived at Cooseah, sixteen miles from Allahabad, where we found two excellent tents, of three apartments each, pitched for our reception, and the tea-kettle boiling under the shade of some stately trees in a wild country of ruins and jungle, now gemmed and glowing with the scattered fires of our cofilah.

This was the first night I ever passed under canvas, and, independent of its novelty, I found the comforts of my dwelling greatly exceed my expectation. The breeze blew in very fresh and pleasantly through the tent door, the ground, covered with short withered grass, was perfectly dry, though rain had so lately fallen, and my bed and mosquito-curtains were arranged with as much comfort as in Calcutta. The only circumstance which struck me as likely to be annoying, even to a lady, was the publicity of the situation,—her bed within a few inches of an open door, a body of men-servants and soldiers sleeping all round that door, and a sentry pacing backwards and forwards before it. After all, however, this publicity is more apparent than real. The check of the tent prevents effectually any person from seeing what passes within who does not come purposely up to peep, and this the sentry would not allow.

At five o'clock on the morning of October 1st, we again began our march, and proceeded about twelve miles, to the second customary station, called Cussiah, a grove of neem-trees, more extensive than that which we had left, and at a small distance from a large

but ruinous village. We passed through a country much wilder, worse cultivated, and worse peopled than any which I had seen in India. What cultivation there was consisted of maize, growing very tall, but sadly burnt by the continued drought. This, however, was only in patches, and the greater part of the prospect consisted of small woods, scattered in a very picturesque manner over a champaign country, with few signs of habitations, and those most of them in ruins. I was strongly reminded of the country of the Tchemoi-morski Cossacks, to which the groupes of people in dresses nearly similar, and all armed, who passed us on the road, undoubtedly in a great measure contributed. I had been disposed to wonder at Colonel Francklin's counsel to buy spears for my servants, and at the escort which had been ordered me; but I soon found that, whether necessary or not, such precautions were at least customary. Every traveller whom we met, even the common people going to market, had either swords and shields, spears, or match-lock guns, and one man had a bow and quiver of arrows, in that circumstance, as well as in his dress and person, extremely resembling a Circassian warrior. The road was rugged; nothing, indeed, so far as I had yet seen, could appear more unfounded than the assurances which I have heard in Calcutta, that an open carriage is an eligible method of travelling in the Dooab, on any other ground than cheapness. I have been often told that the road as far as Meerut would answer perfectly for a gig. The fact is, there are no roads at all, and the tracks which we follow are very often such as to require care even on horseback. By driving slowly, no doubt a gig may go almost anywhere, but it is anything but an agreeable pastime to drive along tracks which, when beaten, are so poached by the feet of horses and cattle, and so hardened by the sun, as to resemble a frozen farm-yard, while, if the traveller forsakes these roads, he encounters cracks deep and wide enough to break his wheels. Here and there is a tolerably level mile or two, but with a few such exceptions,

there is no fast or pleasant driving in this part of India.

Both men and women, whom we met on the road, I thought decidedly taller, fairer, and finer people than the Bengalees. Some of the sepoys, indeed, of a regiment who passed us, were of complexions so little darker than those of Europe, that as they approached I really at first took them for Europeans. Everything seems to assimilate gradually to the scenes and habits of the eastern and southern parts of Europe. The people no longer talk of their daily *rice*, but say "it is time to eat *bread* to-day." Instead of the softness and gentleness so apparent in those Indians whom we first saw, these men have a proud step, a stern eye, and a rough loud voice, such as might be expected from people living almost always in the open air, and in a country where, till its acquisition by the English, no man was sure that he might not at any moment be compelled to fight for his life or property. Much of this necessity is passed away, but something yet remains. The nation is still one of lawless and violent habits, containing many professed thieves, and many mercenary soldiers, who, in the present tranquillity of the country, are at any instant ready to become thieves, and the general sense of moral feeling is, in this particular, so low, that one ceases to wonder that banditti are from time to time heard of, and that every body finds it desirable to take his arms with him on a journey.

I was greatly pleased with my new horse, but I was annoyed in the course of the ride by one of his shoes breaking. At Cassiah I inquired of the "Tussildar," or tacksman, a very decent sort of gentleman-farmer, where a smith could be obtained, and he told me to my sorrow that the people of the country seldom shod their horses, and that I should not meet with one nearer than Futtehpoor, a distance of three days' journey. There was no remedy but patience, and I had my horse led as quietly as possible. In other things there was enough to occupy my attention, as I was assailed by complaints from every part of the cofilah, of some

deficiency or other in our equipments, or some experienced or apprehended inconvenience. My own tents were found to be so large as to require elephants to carry them, the camels were too few, and some of them were very weak, there were no "sitrinjees," or tent-carpets, and no tent for the sepoys. In the midst of all this hubbub, it began to rain hard, and the camp followers with one consent began to say that we must halt next day to supply these deficiencies, and to dry the tents, which, being so large, could not be carried in a wet state. To halt on a Saturday I was very unwilling, inasmuch as I had always proposed to rest on the Sunday following. I did my best, therefore, to persuade them to get on with all which could be done that day, and since the camels were too few, applied to the tussildar for some hackeries to help them. Even to this, however, the poverty of the village was unequal, and I was glad to obtain four baggage-oxen, to make up the deficiency in the Company's appointments. Meantime arrived a sepoy, with sitrinjees from General Morley, and I sent back by him some of the most useless articles of our equipage, thus materially lightening one of the heaviest laden camels. The rest were relieved by the accession of the oxen, and if the tents got dry, the "clashees" (tent-pitchers) again allowed that we might proceed in the morning prosperously. The evening was fair and very pleasant, and we all found abundant interest and employment in walking round the motley groupes of men and animals which made up our caravan, seeing the camels, horses, and oxen fed, and talking with the tussildar, who, with a little retinue of swords, shields, and spears behind him, again made his appearance. I attempted to have some conversation with the jemautdar, who commanded the sepoys, but found him a very shy and modest man, little disposed to talk, while for asking many questions, my language was hardly sufficient; to him and the soldiers I gave up some of the servants' tents, as they had been completely overlooked by the Commissariat at Allahabad.

In the course of this evening a fellow, who said he was a gao-wala, brought me two poor little leverets, which he said he had just found in a field. They were quite unfit to eat, and the bringing them was an act of cruelty of which there are few instances among the Hindoos, who are generally humane to wild animals. In this case, on my scolding the man for bringing such poor little things from their mother, all the crowd of camel-drivers and camp-followers, of whom no inconsiderable number were around us, expressed great satisfaction and an entire concurrence in my censure. It ended in the man promising to take them back to the very spot (which he described) where he had picked them up, and in my promising him an ana if he did so. To see him keep his word two stout waggoner's boys immediately volunteered their services, and I have no doubt kept him to his contract.

October 2.—The night was drizzly, so that when I arose at four in the morning I found the tent too wet, in the opinion of the tindals, for the camels to bear it. About eight o'clock, however, a drying wind having sprung up, we were enabled to send off the two small "routees" (or breakfast tents), to serve as a shelter till the arrival of the larger tents, and partly on horseback, partly in my palanquin, I reached a place a few miles short of our destined station before noon. At Coty, our halting-place, we remained till the cool of the evening, and then went on to Camaulpoor, near Currah. Here we encamped amid a vast field of tombs and ruins (of the former our guide said there was "a lac all save five"), and the whole scene, with its jungle, and deserted appearance, was singularly picturesque and romantic. The inhabited part of Currah is still, however, considerable, and we soon found that there were people in the neighbourhood, by the number of little shops at once set up under the trees around us, with an eye to our custom.

Currah owes its fame, it seems, and stately buildings, to a celebrated saint, named Camaul Shek, who, with his son, and several of his disciples, lies

buried here. The tomb is still in tolerable repair, which is more than can be said of any of the others, which have been splendid, but are now mere ruins, in a grave and solemn style of architecture, being a square tower pierced on each front with elegantly formed and carved Gothic door-ways, and surmounted with a dome of a very judicious form, and harmonizing with the general character of the building, not being semicircular but conical, and in the same form of a Gothic arch as is displayed in the other arches of the building. Besides this large chapel are many raised tombs, of different sizes, from small terraces, with kiblas for prayers down to stone coffins, as they are sometimes called in England, and as they are found, in similar forms and with nearly the same ornaments, in our old cathedrals. These ruins and sepulchres reminded me of Caffa; but there was no other similarity; instead of the bare rocks which surround that ancient city, we had a grove of noble trees, under which our horses, camels, and bullocks were disposed in different clusters, and the tents, the fires, the baskets of fruit, rice, ghee, &c., exposed for sale, and the varied and picturesque costume of the crowd assembled under it, the red uniform of the sepoys, the white garments of our own servants, the long veils and silver ornaments of the female villagers, and the dark mantles, dark beards, and naked limbs of the male peasantry and coolies, mingled with the showy dresses, swords, shields, and spears of the chuprassies, gave the whole scene the animated and interesting effect of an eastern fair, an effect which the east, perhaps, can alone supply, and which I greatly regretted my want of skill to convey effectually to my friends in Europe. My dear wife will, I trust, sooner or later see many such scenes in my company.

These tombs, ruins, and jungles are favourable to robbery, for which Currah and Camaulpoor bear a very bad name, and an additional body of ten chuprassies, besides the four sepoy sentries, were thought necessary by the zemindar of Currah to keep watch

at night over our extensive encampment.

October 3.—This day being Sunday was a day of rest to us all, and to none of us I believe was it unacceptable. Its value to the animals, soldiers, and labourers was never perhaps so powerfully impressed on my mind, as now that I saw them round me, after three days of great fatigue, in the actual enjoyment of a twenty-four hours' repose and relaxation. I had church in my tent, which, besides our two families and Abdullah, was attended by two of Mr. Corrie's former converts, Fyzee Musseeh and Anund Musseeh, who joined him at Benares, and are attending him up the country. The latter is a fine young man, who speaks and reads English well. Fyzee Musseeh understands it but imperfectly, except in reading, but is an interesting and remarkable person. He is the son of a wealthy ryot near Moradabad, who, though himself a Hindoo, sent his son to a celebrated Mussulman preceptor, in the hope that a knowledge of Arabic and Persian would recommend him to the service of the King of Oude. The lessons, however, which the young idolater received opened his eyes to the absurdity of the religion which he had hitherto professed. He turned Mussulman, was circumcised, and received the name of Fyzee Mohammed, and was regarded for several years as one of the most promising students among "the true believers." His increased knowledge, however, of his new creed was far from satisfying him of its proceeding from God, and he was still more induced to waver by learning that a very holy Mussulman saint in the neighbourhood had, on his death-bed, confessed that he found no comfort but in the words of Jesus the son of Mary. To obtain a knowledge of these words, he went to a Romish priest at Lucknow, and applied to him for a copy of the Gospel. The priest took considerable pains with him, but Fyzee Mohammed no sooner saw the images in his chapel than he cried out that this could never be the religion of which he was in quest, and undertook another journey in search of Mr. Chamberlain,

the Baptist minister, who was then in the service of the Begum Sumroo. He had but little conversation with him, but obtained the book he wanted, which completely convinced him, till he was again dissatisfied with the explication which he obtained of some of the difficult passages. He at length went to Agra, another long journey, and after staying some time in Mr. Corrie's neighbourhood, was baptized into, and has ever since continued a steady member of the Church of England, under the name of Fyzee Musseeh. He is a little man, middle aged, with a very mild and meditative cast of countenance, of no talent for public speaking, and his whole manner reserved, shy, and timid. He is, however, an admirable scholar in every part of eastern learning, of much disinterestedness and modesty, reads English pretty well, though he is too diffident to speak it, and is still very greatly respected as a learned and holy man by many, both of the Hindoos and Mussulmans. His retired manner and want of oratorical powers have as yet deterred Mr. Corrie from recommending him as a missionary or catechist, but I am myself inclined to believe that his sterling sense and intellectual powers may well counterbalance any external deficiencies. Fyzee Musseeh travels independently of us on a pony, with one servant, for his circumstances are respectable. He lodges in the caravanserais, and from time to time calls on the Archdeacon. This morning he brought a singular account of a conversation he had had the night before with a stranger, a Hindoo in outward appearance, who, on entering the serai, drew his carpet near him, and conversed on indifferent subjects till the usual hour of Mussulman prayer, when, supposing him to be a Mussulman, he said, "I will pray with you," and chanted a distich which Mohammedans are in this country fond of repeating :

"If the grandson of Jesus had died for the
sins of men,
Then all the Christians would have been
Mussulmans."

The meaning of this couplet is not very easy to make out. All I can con-

jecture is, that there is some confusion between sister's son, or cousin, and grandson, the name of Agawzee being, though less properly, applicable to these relations likewise; that an allusion is made to the notion entertained by Mussulmans, that our Lord himself was not crucified, but taken up to heaven, and that Judas was executed in his stead and in his likeness; and lastly, that they confound Judas, or Jude, the relation of our Lord (not Iscariot), with the traitor, and that they mean to say that, had the atonement on the cross been what Christians suppose, they would have been the true professors of Islam, and the subsequent mission of Mohammed would have been unnecessary. Be this as it may, the couplet gave occasion to Fyzee Musseeh to set his new acquaintance right as to many particulars in the history of Christ, to which the man listened with profound attention. When he had ended, he asked some very pertinent questions, and at length said, "May God reward you, sir! God, I believe, has sent me to this place to meet you, for you have told me much which I did not know before, and much that I was desirous of learning. I am a Hindoo, but have been for some time a searcher after truth, and was inclined to turn Mussulman, if I had not found that the Mussulmans also acknowledged Eesa as a prophet, and that therefore it was desirable to learn something of his religion in the first place. I shall now pray to God and to Jesus to guide me farther." They prayed together, and parted next morning, the man saying that Fyzee Musseeh should hear from him again.

This is interesting in itself, and on many accounts; but it is particularly curious, inasmuch as Fyzee Musseeh says it is only one of many symptoms of a considerable change taking place in the Hindoo mind, a growing contempt of idolatry, and an anxiety after other forms of belief. At present he says the Mussulmans get many converts. Ere long, perhaps, Christianity also may come in for its share of the harvest.

Fyzee Musseeh was not our only visitor; the zemindar, a very well dressed and gentlemanly man, on a good horse,

and with a greater retinue than usual, also called and sate some time. Mr. Ward, the collector of Allahabad, had prepared us to expect him, and told us that he was a man of good family and respectable character. The conversation was of course general enough, till I luckily introduced the subject of field-sports, on which he was eloquent. I observed that there was much jungle in the neighbourhood, and asked if there were any tigers. "Tigers! No," said he, "not for several years back; and as for jungle, there is three times as much cultivated land now as there used to be under the government of the vizier. Then there were tigers in plenty, and more than plenty; but there are better things than tigers now, such as corn-fields, villages, and people. However, in the jungle which still remains, we have deer, wild hogs, and *arnu*." This latter name belongs to a species of gigantic buffalo, which I had understood to be very uncommon, but which, it seems, though rare, is here sometimes to be met with. The thickest jungles, he said, were on the banks of the river, and they were the most abundant in game of every kind. On the whole it is curious and interesting to find both the apparently progressive improvement of the country under the British government, as contrasted with its previous state, and also how soon, and how easily, in a settled country, the most formidable wild animals become extinct before the power of man. The tiger will soon be almost as great a rarity in our eastern as in our western dominions: the snake, however, will hold his ground longer. I forgot to mention that while at Allahabad I was one night roused by the entrance of several men armed with sticks and spears. Abdullah, who was at their head, called out, "Lie still, my lord; these people have seen a very large chichta creep into your window." I did not lie still, however, but got a stick and joined the party. After an accurate search nothing was found, except a large hole in the floor, into which, probably, the animal had made its escape. The bearers might have killed him when they first saw him, but, un-

less they are urged to do so, they seldom will, from their superstitious veneration for serpents, a feeling very common among the Hindoos, and which accounts in part for the number of snakes yet found in these provinces. Next morning a further search was made, but nothing found; and I could observe that this double discovery of snakes entering my bed-room was considered by my Hindoo servants as a sign of great good luck, and raised me in their estimation.

We had yet another visitor; the Imam of the neighbouring mosque, a very handsome man, with a splendid beard, a cheerful, though rather sarcastic countenance, and two of the merriest, most intelligent eyes that I have seen, called, as he said, in his capacity of *padré*, to offer his respects to *his Bishop*. He had been a pilgrim to Mecca and Medina, had visited Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and Cairo, and had testimonials from a Greek Archimandrite at Bethlehem to his good character and good acquirements. He sate with us some time, and I was able to understand him very tolerably. Mr. Corrie was much amused with him, and said he was a good specimen of a travelled worldly Mussulman, with little seriousness in his peculiar creed, and probably few thoughts of religion at all. I asked him to drink coffee, telling him that he must know very well that in Turkey, Egypt, and Arabia, Mussulmans and Christians eat together without scruple. He bowed, and answered with a smile, "I know that well, my lord, but it is not the custom in this country." He was pleased, however, with the offer, and said, with my permission, since we seemed curious about his travels, he would return in the evening and bring his journal, which he had kept regularly. I answered, that if his journal was as entertaining as his conversation, he might find it worth his while to get it printed at Calcutta. In the evening, however, it turned out to be a very short and dry diary, merely curious to a person making a map. Indeed, to do him justice, when I talked about printing it at first, he shook his head, as if he thought it would not answer. He now told us how it came to pass that he first

went to Mecca. A certain Mussulman of good connexions, and bred a soldier, had been, after the late pacification of India by Lord Hastings, completely thrown out of employment. In his distress what to do he applied to a relation high in the service of the Nawâb Vizier for help and advice, whose answer was, "Turn Saint." "How so?" was the reply; "everybody knows that my life has not been saintly!" "But your beard," said the adviser, "is very much so, and a few weeks will enable you to assume the proper tone and carriage. I have a brother, who is a man of acknowledged learning and holiness; I will get him to countenance you, and introduce you to different devout Mussulmans, and then you have only to get disciples, and you will live very well." He did so—put on a coarse raiment and a sad exterior, preached up pilgrimage to Mecca, declared himself ready to conduct a caravan thither, and soon found people enough, among whom our guest was one, to follow him and subscribe their money for this holy undertaking. The profits, however, he made during the voyage, and by a dustoory* on all the alms either given or received by the party, were so considerable, that on his return some of his confidential disciples had a quarrel with him for a more equal distribution of booty, and scandal arose, which compelled the saint to go and make disciples elsewhere. "Nevertheless," said the Hajee who gave us this account, composing his face to a due expression of gravity, "he is doubtless a holy man, and of great eloquence." I suspect our visitor may have been, on this occasion, not one of the geese, but the foxes.

October 4.—We went this morning to a station named Choubee Serai, through a country differing little from that which we had passed already. In the march we met a strong column of infantry, about two thousand three hundred men, with a long train of baggage, elephants, camels, bullocks, and camp-followers,

on their march from Cawnpoor to the eastward. The groups afforded by the line of march, the little parties halting under trees, the loaded animals, the native women conveyed in "dhoolies," or litters, and hackeries, the naked limbs of the baggage-drivers and camp-followers, the different gradations of horse, from the wild shaggy tattoo to the sleek and gentle Arab, with the uniforms and arms, were some of them beyond description beautiful. What would not Wouvernans have made of an Eastern army!

Some of the sepoys asked Mr. Corrie's servants to whom our party belonged, and where we were going. On being told it was the Lord Padre Sahib going to Bombay, one of them exclaimed, "The Lord Sahib goes to the side of Bombay; we go where fighting is!" It is possible that he had never heard of any Lord Sahib but the Governor-General, and was therefore naturally surprised to hear of his going in a direction so contrary to that where the stress of public affairs called him. On our arrival at Choubee Serai we found the people complaining sadly of these troops, who had, they said, taken whatever they wanted, without payment, had broken and wasted more than they consumed, and beaten the peasantry for not bringing the supplies faster. The laws of British India are, in these respects, no less just than those of England, and the magistrates, I have every reason to believe, are, to the utmost of their power, anxious to afford complete protection to the people. There are some articles, however, such as grass, fire-wood, and earthen pots of the cheap and coarse kind used once for cooking a dinner and afterwards broken by all Hindoos of a respectable caste, which the zemindars are expected to furnish gratis to the Company's troops, and all persons travelling with public "Purwanas," or Government orders, for which the zemindars receive a yearly abatement of their taxes, but which may sometimes, when many and extensive requisitions are made, press hard on the poor ryots. I was, therefore, as careful as I possibly could be to ascertain the amount of the different things demanded

* A customary deduction from all money paid, given, or received on any possible occasion, made by the person through whose hands it passes, and one of the most fruitful sources of cheating in India.—Ed.

by my people, or furnished by the villagers, to take care that no unreasonable demands were made, and that nothing more than the letter of the law required was either taken or accepted by our people, without payment. This was the first thing I did on alighting from my horse (my arrival in the camp and that of the supplies usually taking place about the same time), and while a readiness to listen to all complaints obtained me from the peasantry the name of "Ghureeb-purwar" (poor man's provider), the object was easily accomplished with a caravan so small as ours. With an army, however, of course the case is very different, and the officers at Cawnpore, to whom I thought it right to mention the complaints I had heard, said that they feared the sepoys often took provisions without payment, when the bustle of a march and other circumstances rendered them secure from the observation of their European officers. Still, they said, the neighbourhood even of these last was a great check to them, and the difference between their minor encroachments and the open plunder and violence of a native prince's camp was what nobody could believe who had not seen it.

Soon after I had got through the complaints and difficulties of the *commissariat*, an elderly European in a shabby gig drove up, and entering into conversation with Abdullah, asked him some questions about my horse. On hearing that he had lost a shoe he professed himself a blacksmith, and said he had been farrier many years to a dragoon regiment, and was now a pensioner, on his way to Allahabad in search of employment in his trade. He produced some specimens of very neat horse-shoes, and I soon set him to work to remove the Indian shoes, which pinched my horse's feet, and replace them with some of a better fashion. He was a very good and tolerably reasonable workman—a Lancashire man from the borders of Yorkshire, with a dialect and physiognomy rather approaching the latter than the former country. In the evening he went on to the *serai* a little further, having, as he frankly observed, "been in *vary gud*

luk to meet us, since he found a profitable job, without any delay in his journey, and obtained a letter of recommendation, as a neat artist, to Allahabad. In the course of this evening my attention was attracted by the dreadful groans of one of our baggage-camels at some little distance among the trees. I went to the spot, and found that two of the "sarbanns," or camel-drivers, had bound its legs in a kneeling posture, so that it could not rise or stir, and were now busy in burning it with hot irons in all the fleshy, muscular, and cartilaginous parts of its body. They had burned six deep notches in the back of its neck, had seared both its cheeks immediately under the eye, its haunches, and head, and were now applying the torturing instrument to its forehead and nostrils. I asked what they were doing, and they answered that "it had a fever and wind, and would die if they did not treat it in this manner." I called Abdullah, and asked him if such a remedy was usual. He said it was so in this country and in Persia, but that the Arabs, in similar cases, found a little warm water-gruel, with garlick, sufficient. I should have thought so too; but the poor animal's sufferings were now over for the present, and by and bye they actually gave it a large ball of garlick. It was better, they told me, some hours after, but on renewing my inquiries in the morning I heard that it was finally released from its misery.

October 5.—Another stage of fourteen miles to Mundiserai. The parched state of the country had till now threatened a famine. Rain had fallen at Benares and Allahabad, but none as yet in the country through which we had marched. The fears expressed by the poor people everywhere had been very touching. One of the *tussildars* had asked me to pray for them, and said, with a curious mixture of Eastern compliment and undoubted truth, "We poor people have had great trouble here, but now your worship is come, if it pleases God, we shall have rain." I assured him of my prayers, and had indeed used, both in the church at Allahabad and during our morning and evening

family prayers of every day for the last fortnight, the collect containing that petition. This morning, soon after we had reached our encampment, their deep distress was relieved, and several smart showers fell during the day and night, at which we rejoiced most sincerely, since, though for us the dry weather was better, it was impossible to put our convenience in competition with the food of millions. The change of weather, however, seemed to disagree with our people, who were several of them taken ill, but were relieved by proper remedies.

October 6.—The march before us being longer than usual, the loaded waggons began to set out soon after midnight, and Mr. Lushington and I were on horseback at three, to enable the *clashes* to take down our tents. The sky was cloudy, and as we picked our way with some difficulty in the dark, through watery roads and a wild open country, my recollection was forcibly drawn to those times when my youngest brother and I used to ride some miles to meet the mail in our way to school, and afterwards to college. Thence I naturally passed to the journeys of a riper age in the same neighbourhood, my wife's parting adieu and exhortation to take care of myself, and to write as soon as I got to London, at a time when we little thought of ever enduring more than a month's separation. Hodnet, dear Hodnet, as we left it, and as it is now, Moreton, and all the names and recollections connected with them, combined to make me sad, and I was obliged to turn my attention to Bombay, and the meeting to which I look forwards there, to restrain some emotion which I was not sorry the darkness concealed. We rode on in silence about seven miles, when, in passing a village, we were roused by the lights, tinsel, flowers, mummery, horns, gongs, and shouts of Seeta, Rama, Luchmun, and their followers, in the concluding feast after the destruction of the paper giant Ravana. The show was really pretty at a certain distance, but the little performers were all sadly tired, and I was not sorry, for their sakes, that this was their last night of acting.

One of the bystanders told us our road, which we should otherwise have had some difficulty in finding, and we went on through a winding street, and amid the mud walls of cow-houses and sheds, when a coolie came up to me and said that Dinoo, one of my sick servants, had fallen off his horse and was dying. I immediately went into the watchhouse, and found him stretched on a mat which they had brought out for him, complaining of great pain, but speaking little and moaning dismally. I was much shocked, and the more so because I did not know what to give him; indeed my medicine chest was gone on with the palanquin, and all the town, except the watchman, were busy with the show. I asked if they could get a *dhooley* for him, and bring him on to our next station, Futtehpoor. The watchman, who was now joined by another man, said, "there were no bearers in the village." "What," said I, "all those men whom I saw following Rama, can none of them put their shoulders under a bamboo and carry this poor man a few coss, when they are sure of being well paid for it?" "My Lord," was the characteristic answer, "they are all coolies, not bearers; they can only carry loads on their heads, and cannot carry a man!" I grew impatient, and said that I insisted upon his being brought some way or other, and by hand, for the motion of a hackery was more than he could bear, and that if he was not brought in three hours' time to Futtehpoor, I would complain to the *cutwal*. I repeated this to the *jemautdar* of the village, who now made his appearance, and he promised faithfully that help should be forthcoming. At length (an European would never guess how the matter was settled) four women came forward with one of the country canebedsteads; the patient was placed on it, and the sturdy lasses took it up on their heads like *Caryatides*, and trudged away with it. I left a spearman by way of escort, and went on before, with but little hope that the poor man would reach the camp alive.

The day was now breaking, and we went on at a brisker pace, my young

horse confirming me more and more in my good opinion of him, till, while stopping to let him drink in a splash of water, he all at once lay down and began rolling. I was not hurt, and the circumstance would not have been worth mentioning, had not the saees given as a reason for it, that the Turkomans fed their colts with buffalo's milk, and that my horse had probably thus acquired both the fondness for water and the folly of his foster-mother! Certainly he seemed altogether unconscious of having done wrong, and imagined, perhaps, that the cold bath would be as agreeable to me as to himself; indeed, I gave him no reason to suppose the contrary, but shall in future watch him more closely on similar occasions.

The road for some miles from Futtehpoor lies over an open plain, as level as any part of India, and seeming marked out by nature for the scene of a great battle which should decide the fate of the country. Here we were met by the cutwal of Futtehpoor, who, in much civility, had come out on horseback to pay his respects, attended by the usual up-country retinue of shield and spear. I could not help smiling as the thought occurred, how different from the "great man," whom he probably expected, he must have found me, on a horse, without attendants, or even saees, and having on every part of my hat, jacket, and trowsers, the muddy stains of the nullah. However, the interview passed with great propriety on all sides, but as I was still wet and cold, and his retinue could not possibly keep pace with me, I begged him to spare the compliment of accompanying me into the town.

Futtehpoor is a large place, with more appearance of prosperity than any town I have seen since Allahabad. It contains some tolerably good houses, and a very elegant little mosque, built within these few years by the nephews and heirs of the celebrated eunuch Almass Ali Khân, long minister to the Nawâb of Oude, and who held for many years the whole southern and western Doab from Meerut to Allahabad in farm. He was remarkable for his wealth, his attachment to the English, and, as it is said, for his talents.

Futtehpoor is surrounded, like most of these towns, with tombs, in the midst of which our tents were pitched. Near us was a large but ruinous serai, which had, however, more of its interior detail perfect than most which I have seen in India. It corresponded in many respects with those of Turkey and Crim Tartary,—a large court with two gateways opposite to each other, surmounted by towers not unlike those of a college, with a cloister or verandah all round raised about a foot from the ground, with a pukka floor, and having little fire-places contrived against the wall, just large enough to hold the earthen pitchers in which all the cookery of the country is carried on, and behind this, a range of small and dark apartments a step lower than the verandah. No payment is required for lodging here, except a few cowries to the sweeper, while for a very few pice, grass and water will be furnished to a traveller's beasts, and wood and earthen pots to himself; for provisions the neighbouring bazar is ready. These serais are generally noble monuments of individual bounty, and some were in ancient times liberally endowed, and furnished supplies of gram,* milk, and grass gratis to the traveller, as well as shelter. Their foundations are most of them alienated, but even so far as shelter only is concerned, it is a very great blessing in this country, where the general poverty of the natives, and the prejudices of caste, forbid a stranger hoping for admission into any private dwelling. Even now, though ruinous, they are kept tolerably clean, and their benefit is so great to all persons, whether Europeans or natives, who are not rich enough to possess tents, and occasionally to some even of those who are, that I rejoice to learn that their restoration is one of the objects proposed by Government in the application of the internal tolls to works of public improvement.

The only plague attendant on our present situation arose from the swarms of sturdy Mussulman beggars, calling

* A kind of vetch on which horses are chiefly fed in India.—F.

themselves "Marabouts," or holy men, and living in the tombs around us. I gave alms to one old man who addressed me by the claim of being a fellow-servant of the same God, and had, in consequence, my ears deafened for half the morning by continued cries of supplication from people in the full possession of youth, health, and strength, who would not even have thanked me for less than half a rupee, and who had about as much sanctity in their appearance and demeanour as Friar Tuck, or Fra Diavolo. At last the Archdeacon went out, and talked to them in their own way, and they dispersed. Dinoo, to my surprise, arrived in camp about an hour after us, very materially better, and there seemed no doubt but that in a dhooly he would be able to proceed.

There were some hard showers during the day, and the night was so rainy, that, though the morning of October 7th seemed rather more promising, I gave up all idea of attempting to stir the tents, and sent Mr. Corrie word to this effect. He called on me, however, to say that he had no doubt of being able, by the help of the cutwal, to obtain hackeries from the town to carry the flies, which are the heaviest parts of the tents; that the camels would have no difficulty with the remainder, and that the loss of a day now would prevent our arriving in time for Sunday at Cawnpoor. I told him that all the natives said the day would be rainy; but he answered that he thought the clouds were breaking, and that the natives never were to be depended on when the question was about moving. Under these circumstances, I ordered the camels and baggage to be got ready, having first ascertained that there was a serai at Kuleaunpoor, where we might get shelter should our tents be useless. The routees were gone on over-night. Mr. Lushington and I accordingly set out immediately, that we might get in before the morning grew hot, and a dismal ride we had! I had anticipated at least some showers, and was not discouraged by the first or second which fell. But by the time we had got something less than half-way, it set in for a thoroughly tropical wet day, with a

fierce N.W. wind, and thunder and lightning, the rain falling in a continued torrent. It was in vain to stop, for we were already wet to the skin, and had indeed no shelter within reach, and we had only to keep our horses steadily to the storm, and to be thankful to God that it did not come on before we had daylight sufficient to see our way through a wild and flooded country, where the nullahs were already, in many places, as high as our horses' bellies.

After travelling about five miles in this way, and when we were still four from our halting-place, we fortunately overtook one of the palanquins, in which was a leathern bottle of brandy, which did us both infinite good. The road, too, was now better, and as his horse was fresher than mine, Mr. Lushington galloped on, in the hope of getting a fire lighted. I followed more leisurely, passing, to my concern, the greater part of our baggage on the road, and having, consequently, reason to apprehend that we should find no dry clothes ready for us. In fact, I found Mr. Lushington stripped to his flannel waistcoat, and cowering over a little fire of sticks and cow-dung, in a shed of very unpromising appearance, the ground having been by far too wet to enable our advanced party to pitch the routees, and the serai turning out, unfortunately, one of the worst and most ruinous of the kind. More brandy was not forthcoming, but we added sticks to the fire, and I ordered breakfast, for which, fortunately, the materials were arrived, while some of the advanced party of bearers, stripping themselves naked, volunteered to go back, and, by their fresh strength, help their companions to bring up the pettarahs with our clothes more quickly. This answered well, as we had the satisfaction of finding, when they arrived, that they were really dry. Things looked now more promising; our horses and ourselves were under the common shelter of the ruinous cloister, with just room for a little table between them and the fire. A crowd of poor shivering servants was huddled round this on every side but that which we occupied; and

another shed at some little distance was used by Mr. Corrie's khânsaman as cook-room, and, should they arrive, would serve as parlour and dressing-room for their party. But each successive detachment of the caravan, as they continued to drop in, gave, as might be expected, worse and worse accounts of the road. It was "knee-deep,"—it was "middle-deep,"—it was "half a spear's depth in water." Still the rain kept pouring on, but without thunder or wind; and as we looked from our shed on the swimming dung-hills of the serai, and the poor wet camels patiently standing or lying down among them, I thought what a whimsical contrast the scene offered to the description in Irving's story of the "Stout Gentleman."

Our caravan continued to arrive during the day, which cleared up towards evening, but not time enough to prevent all our bedding from being hopelessly wet through. Meantime we were not quite without employment, since, besides seeing our horses taken care of, we had all manner of complaints to adjudicate between the villagers, our servants and sepoy, and two companies more of sepoy who were also driven in to shelter. I could not help feeling very uncomfortable about the Corries and their children. The people who came up said they had obtained shelter in the house of a zemindar, but whether a gig and palanquin could get through the waters which were between us was more than we could form a judgment of. At length, just as we had given them up, and were sitting down to dinner, they arrived, happily all well, and having received a hospitable entertainment from the zemindar in question, at whose house they had asked permission to boil a little gruel for the children, and who had immediately invited them into a comfortable verandah, and, though a Hindoo, sent to purchase them a fowl and currie. The Archdeacon expressed much unwillingness to eat these in his house, knowing, he said, how strong a prejudice would, a few years since, have been excited against such a step. But on his saying, "Oh, do not let us

pollute your house," the good man returned an answer which, Mr. Corrie observed, showed more than most things how fast caste was wearing away. "We have different customs, but are we not of the same flesh and blood?—My house is much honoured by your company."

When the Corries saw what sort of place they were come to, they at first regretted that they had not accepted the zemindar's invitation to stay all night. His khânsaman, however, had managed matters for them better than could have been expected, and except that their apartment admitted the rain in places, it made about as good a bedroom as a common blacksmith's shed in England would have done, but clean, and very sufficient for the climate. Our palanquins made excellent beds, and we had so many unexpected comforts, my khânsaman having provided an excellent dinner of kid-soup and bouillé, and the chest of wine having come up, that we had abundant reason for thankfulness, which was increased by finding that our sick men were not worse for their journey.

It was evident, however, that the tents could not again be moved without a thorough drying, and as I had appointed Saturday morning for the confirmation at Cawnpoor, Mr. Lushington and I agreed with the bearers of our palanquins, for a trifling additional sum, to carry us next day, two marches in one, to that station, should the weather be such as to make it practicable. We left the tents, servants, and the two policemen whom we had brought from Allahabad, with the Corries, and set off ourselves after breakfast on the 8th of October. The day was fine, and though the roads were in a very bad state, it was delightful to hear the mutual congratulations of our bearers and the villagers whom we passed, both parties full of thankfulness to God, and considering themselves, with apparent reason, as delivered from famine and all its horrors. One of these mutual felicitations, which the Archdeacon overheard the day before, was very interesting, as it was not intended for his ear, and was one of the strongest proofs I have met with of the satisfaction of

the Hindoos with their rulers. "A good rain this for the bread," said one of the villagers to the other. "Yes," was the answer, "and a good government under which a man may eat bread in safety." While such a feeling prevails, we may have good hopes of the stability of our Indian Government.

In crossing a nuddee, which from a ford had become a ferry, we saw some characteristic groupes and occurrences; the price of passage in the boat was only a few cowries, but a number of country-folk were assembled, who could not, or would not, pay, and were now sitting patiently by the brink, waiting till the torrent should subside, or, what was far less likely to happen, till the boatmen should take compassion on them. Many of these poor people came up to beg me to make the boatmen take them over, one woman pleading that her "malik our bucher" (literally master, or lord, and young one) had run away from her, and she wanted to overtake them; another that she and her two grand-children were following her son, who was a havildar in the regiment which we had passed just before; and some others, that they had been intercepted the previous day by this torrent, and had neither money nor food till they reached their homes. Four anas purchased a passage for the whole crowd, of perhaps thirty people, and they were really very thankful. I bestowed two anas more on the poor deserted woman, and a whimsical scene ensued. She at first took the money with eagerness, then, as if she recollected herself, she blushed very deeply, and seemed much confused, then bowed herself to my feet, and kissed my hands, and at last said, in a very modest tone, "it was not fit for so great a man as I was, to give her two anas, and she hoped that I and the 'chota Sahib' (little lord) would give her a rupee each!" She was an extremely pretty little woman, but we were inexorable, partly, I believe, in my own case at least, because we had only just rupees enough to take us to Cawnpoor, and to pay for our men's provisions; however, I gave her two more anas, my sole remaining stock of small change.

When this was all done, the jemautdar of the neighbouring village came to ask for the usual certificate of his having rendered us assistance. I wrote it out for him on the top of my palanquin, having provided myself for such purposes with paper and Sir Thomas Acland's inkstand, when a new scene followed. He was very grateful for the good word I gave him, but he had a brother, a fine young man, now in the service of the Peishwa Bajee Row, in the neighbouring town of Betourah, but who was anxious to get into the Company's service. "Would I have the goodness to give him a recommendation to the judge Sahib of Betourah?" "I do not know the judge Sahib of Betourah." "But Huzoor (your worship) is Malik of the land, and your firman will be obeyed." "Suppose I could do your brother any good, I do not know him; how shall I recommend him?" "Huzoor may believe me when I tell him that my brother is one of the best men in the world!" "But I am only a traveller, and have no power." "Huzoor is pleased to say so—but"—in short I could hardly get him away from the palanquin side, particularly as I did not choose to set off till I had seen the poor people embark, for whose passage I had paid. We then parted, the jemautdar still declaring that he would follow me to Cawnpoor, and bring his brother with him.

The natives of India seem to attach very great importance to a written recommendation by an European, or person in a public station, in which, as in many other points, they strongly resemble the Russians. The whole scene which I have described, *mutatis mutandis* (crucifixes for Brahminical strings, &c.), might have occurred at a ferry on the Don or the Dnieper. The mixture of simplicity and cunning, the importunity, the patience and the flattery, seem to belong almost equally to the peasantry of both countries, or more accurately speaking, perhaps, to the state of society in which they are placed.

We arrived between three and four at Searsool, the station half-way between Kuleanpoor and Cawnpoor, a moderate sized village, with some neat

houses, and a handsome serai. Our people, however, were so much tired with wading up to their middles in water, that we bade them get their dinners, and go to sleep till midnight, when we should again set off. We ourselves did the same as far as dinner was concerned, and after a little walk round the village, which was completely insulated by the inundation, retired to our palanquins, which, for security, we had had carried into the court-yard of the Tannah, or police-office. We also engaged four mussaulchies, less for their light, the harvest-moon being sufficient, than to serve as guides through the flooded country.

October 9.—The night and morning were again fine, and the waters much abated. Still we were seven hours going sixteen miles, and I had the disappointment to find, on arriving at Mr. Williams's house, that despairing of my reaching Cawnpoor in such weather, he had sent round to say that the Confirmation was postponed. It might, however, I found, be easily arranged for Sunday morning, and in the hospitality, cleanliness, and comfort of his house, we found abundant compensation for our recent labours.

During my stay at Cawnpoor not many events occurred worth noticing. On Sunday the 11th, I confirmed upwards of eighty persons, a considerable proportion of whom afterwards received the Sacrament. I visited on Monday the new military hospital, and regimental school of the 16th Lancers, both of which are in excellent order. There is one ward of the former furnished with tubes of a new invention, for the admission and refrigeration of air, which is introduced through two great valves, like gigantic chimneys, with cowls on them, and let off through the roof by a multitude of small iron tunnels, with heads like ventilators. It is said to answer tolerably, but not better than tatties, which are here hardly more expensive. Externally, the machinery is a great deformity to the building. The regimental school is on the national system, and conducted extremely well. An institution of a wider scope and loftier pretensions was esta-

blished some years ago in Cawnpoor, for the children both of Europeans and natives, which obtained a very liberal subscription from the English residents, and has since received from Government a handsome grant of four hundred s. rupees per month. It has an excellent house, with good school-rooms, an English master and mistress at a large salary, and a Persian moonshee, but I found it attended but by few European and half-caste, and still fewer native children, in deplorable want of books and other similar supplies, and with a master who had apparently been brought in as a party measure, who was previously altogether inexperienced in the improved system of education, and actually declined to be examined in any of the points most necessary to his usefulness. Except their catechism, which they said well, there was nothing satisfactory in the appearance, numbers, or proficiency of the European children. The native boys were learning Lindley Murray's Grammar, without any tolerable knowledge of the language in which it is written, and had for their single class-book Joyce's Scientific Dialogues, which they stammered over by rote, but could none of them construe into Hindoostanee. I asked if they had any Hindoostanee books, and could read them into English? If they learned geography, mathematics, or even wrote English exercises by double translation or otherwise? Nothing of the sort seemed to have entered the master's head. He taught them to write a fair hand, and to work ridiculous and useless sums in fellowship, the double rule of three, and this was all his ambition. Archdeacon Corrie kindly undertook, during his stay at Cawnpoor, to put him into a better train, and I wrote out a list of books, which I recommended to the committee to supply him with, as well as some of the primary and simplest elements of Bell's system of education. Thus, I hope, things will be amended; at present they are bad enough, and when compared with the establishment at Benares, not at all creditable to those who have employed more ample means with so little judgment.

Cawnpoor is a place of great extent, the cantonments being six miles from one extremity to the other, but of very scattered population. Its population, however, abstracted from the civil and military establishments, is still considerable; there are many handsome mosques, and the view of the town from the course gives quite the idea of a city. The European houses are most of them large and roomy, standing in extensive compounds, and built one story high, with sloping roofs, first thatched, and then covered with tiles, a roof which is found better than any other to exclude the heat of the sun, and to possess a freedom from the many accidents to which a mere thatched roof is liable. I received much civility and kindness from General Martindell and the other military officers, and especially from Colonel Lumsdaine, who took great pains in getting our party all which was required from the Commissariat.

Of the climate of Cawnpoor I had heard a very unfavourable account, which, however, was not confirmed by the residents, who said that during the rains it was a very desirable situation, that the cold months were remarkably dry and bracing and that the hot winds were not worse than in most other parts of the Dooab. The great inconve-

niences of the place are, as they represent it, its glare and dust, defects, however, which are in a considerable degree removed already by the multitude of trees which they are planting in all directions. There is no regular Christian Church. Divine service is performed alternate mornings and evenings in a thatched but convenient bungalow, nearly in the centre of the station, and in a riding-house adjoining the cavalry barracks. Government has sanctioned the building of two churches, but on a scale, I am told, of so rigid inspection and economy, that nobody will undertake the contract. The shops in Cawnpoor are large, and, though far from showy, contain some good things, which are sold very little dearer than in Calcutta. The necessities of life are barely half the price which they are there, and an excellent house may be rented for eighty or ninety rupees monthly. On the whole, it is in many respects one of the most considerable towns which I have seen in northern India, but being of merely modern origin, it has no fine ancient buildings to show; the European architecture is confined to works of absolute necessity only, and marked by the greatest simplicity; and few places of its size can be named where there is so absolutely nothing to see.

CHAPTER XV.

CAWNPOOR TO LUCKNOW.

Entrance into the King of Oude's Territories—Increase of Guards—King's Suwarra—Aûmeen—Entrance into Lucknow—Court Circular—Narrow Streets—Armed Inhabitants—Prime Minister—Rhinoceroses—Dil-Koushar—Constantia—Deceased King's Wives—Breakfast at the Palace—Distribution of Money at the Gates—King breakfasts at the Residency—Private Details of the Government—Christians at Lucknow.

WE left Cawnpoor on Monday afternoon, the 18th of October, having sent our baggage and tents early in the morning to the first station, which is only six miles from the northern bank of the Ganges, the passage of which, by camels and elephants, usually takes up a considerable space of time. The Ganges is still a noble stream; its width, at the usual place of ferrying, is, I should think, not far from a mile and a half, but it is divided at this season by a large sand-bank, and the water is in many places shallow. Its banks on both sides are flat and ugly, but the southern side has the advantage in its numerous bungalows, surrounded by their respective gardens. We had heard much of the misgoverned and desolate state of the kingdom of Oude; boats had been recently menaced, in their way to Cawnpoor, by some of the villagers adjoining the river, and my guard had been increased, without any application from me, from thirty to forty-five sepoy, by the obliging care of General Martindell. The immediate vicinity of the river we certainly found uncultivated, and the peasants who passed us here were still more universally loaded with defensive and offensive weapons than those of the Company's territories in the Dooab. We found them, however, peaceable and courteous, though our escort was mostly gone forward, and Mr. Lushington and I had cantered on by ourselves, leaving the remainder of the party behind, and, in fact, had repeat-

edly to ask our way as the evening closed in.

When we arrived at our tents, a letter was put into my hands from Mr. Ricketts, the resident at Lucknow, stating that the King of Oude had sent a purveyor, or collector of taxes, (I hardly know how to translate the word "Aûmeen,") with two chobdars, and ten "suwarra," or horsemen, to obtain supplies for us during our march. These persons, however, together with Mr. Ricketts's own messenger, had expected us at Onnaw, a village four miles further on, but a supply had been obtained by their authority of all which was necessary for our present encampment.

October 19.—We started early on two elephants, which, after all, the good-natured exertions of Captain Lumsdaine had obtained for us, though not till I had purchased a second horse for my journey, a purchase, indeed, which most of my friends tell me, in such a journey, I shall not find superfluous. The elephants are extremely convenient in the commencement of a march, while it is yet too dark to ride on horseback with comfort; and by sending on our horses half-way to wait for us, we have the relief and pleasure of a ride during the pleasantest time of the morning. It was very dark, and the road excessively bad, through a country naturally broken and marshy, and now rendered almost impassable by the recent rains.

In the village of Onnaw, which we

reached about half-past four in the morning, it was very difficult to find our way, and nobody was awake except one poor foot-traveller, who, himself a stranger, had sat down on the brink of a large pool, in which, apparently, the only track visible terminated, and, wrapped up in his mantle, his sword and shield under him, and at intervals blowing the fusee of his long matchlock gun, was waiting, as he said, for day, and prepared for any possible attack which might in the mean time be made on him. We did not like to wait so long, and began knocking at the door of the nearest house, a cottage rather larger than ordinary. No answer was returned, and my spearmen were at once going to break the door, or rather gate, for it was built round a small court-yard. I forbade this step, however, on which one of the followers of the elephant crept like a cat up the mud wall, and dropped down inside of the little enclosure, calling loudly for a guide to show the way. He was received with a volley of abuse in a female voice, which was not at all calmed by my assurance that she had nothing to fear, and that, if her husband would come and show us the way, he should be well paid for his trouble. She declared her husband was not at home, but at last, as she said, merely to get rid of us, herself vouchsafed to open the gate, and give us some few directions. Our road we found, in fact, lay through the pool I have mentioned; and she said, if we kept well to the right hand, without going beyond an old tree, it was probable we should find safe footing. With these directions we were fain to be content, and they carried us on safely.

We wondered all this time that we heard nothing of the king's people, or Mr. Ricketts's servant; shortly after, however, as the day dawned, we saw the former galloping after us. They were mounted on very tolerable horses, and armed with sabres like the suwaris of the Company's magistrates, but extremely ill-dressed, and more like thieves than peace-officers or soldiers. The Aumeen and Mr. Ricketts's servant had, they said, gone on to prepare things for our reception at the encamp-

ment, where we arrived about eight o'clock, and found it in a grove of trees, as usual, near a half-ruined village, but surrounded with a greater extent of well-cultivated ground than we were prepared to expect in this neighbourhood.

The Aumeen here called on me, and offered his nuzzur. He was a decent elderly man, looking like an Arab merchant, and was attended by two of the king's chobdars, also respectable men, and Mr. Ricketts's servant, one of the tallest and most powerful men I ever saw. They were followed by a troop of country people with the usual supplies, which were, however, yielded very grudgingly, and with bitter lamentations, all the crowd, particularly the women, declaring that they were fleeced to the last penny. They were apparently well satisfied, and certainly a good deal surprised, however, on my telling them that I should pay for the fowls and milk, and give a gratuity of two rupees among the wood and grass-cutters; the whole expense only came to three rupees and a half, so cheaply may a great deal of oppression be remedied in this country!

Nothing remarkable occurred during our continuance here, except the care with which the sarbanns and saeeses brought all the animals, and everything which could be stolen, immediately under the eye of the sentries. On my observing this circumstance, the reply was immediate, "We are in the Nawab Vizier's country." Hardly any, even of his own people, call him king, and I must say his name seems to be treated very disrespectfully under all denominations.

The waters were so deep a few days ago in the rivers which we had passed during this day's march, that palanquins were floated over by the help of kedgerees-pots, eight of which were competent to support the vehicle, with its contents. It was, however, no very agreeable way of passing a pool of deep water, pushed on by people swimming.

October 20.—The journey this morning was of seven very long coss, through bad roads, with a deep river, and several gullies made by the recent rain.

Our station was a large walled village, with gates, and bazar in a much handsomer style than usual, but the walls bearing marks of decay, and many of the houses roofless, though the shops were neat, and the appearance of the people comfortable and thriving. All was quiet when we arrived; but the servants who had gone on before with the breakfast tents had found the place in a state of siege. A large sum of money, said to be thirty thousand rupees, on its way to the treasury at Lucknow, had attracted a number of the neighbouring peasantry, who were assembled outside the walls with their weapons, waiting for the departure of the treasure, while sentries were posted by the escort on all the old towers, and the gates were fast closed. One of our servants applied for a passage in vain; the warders were civil, but peremptory, pointing to the lurking enemy, and asking how they should endanger the treasure of the "refuge of the world." At last, on more of our sepoys coming up, and finding that we were strong enough to protect them, they gladly opened their gates, and the armed peasantry dispersed themselves. Our camp was fixed beyond the town, near a large pool of water, amid some tall trees, and having at a little distance a grove surrounded by a high wall with a Gothic gateway, the garden, as we were told, of a former minister of Oude, named Nawall Sing, who had built the village, and from whom it derived its name.

Adjoining the pool we saw a crowd of people assembled round a fallen elephant; apprehending that it was one of our own, I urged my horse to the spot. On asking, however, whose it was, a bystander said it belonged to "the asylum of the world," and had fallen down from weakness, which was not surprising, since instead of an allowance of twenty-five rupees a month, necessary for the keep of an elephant, I was told that these poor creatures, all but those in the immediate stables of his majesty, had for some time back, owing to the dilapidated state of the finances, and the roguery of the commissariat, received only five! They had now given the wretched animal a

cordial, and were endeavouring to raise it on its legs, but in vain. It groaned pitifully, but lay quite helpless, and was in fact a mountain of skin and bone. Another elephant of a very large size, and in somewhat better plight, was brought to assist, and I was much struck with the almost human expression of surprise, alarm, and perplexity in his countenance, when he approached his fallen companion. They fastened a chain round his neck and the body of the sick beast, and urged him in all ways, by encouragement and blows, to drag him up, even thrusting spears into his flanks. He pulled stoutly for a minute, but on the first groan his companion gave he stopped short, turned fiercely round with a loud roar, and with his trunk and fore-feet began to attempt to loosen the chain from his neck. In fact, his resistance and refusal to sanction their proceedings were so decisive, that an immediate cry arose of "le-jao," take him away, in which I very cordially joined. I asked them if they could get nothing which the fallen animal was likely to eat, urging that weak as he was, even if they did get him to rise, he would certainly fall again. They seemed sensible of this, and two of them ran for a great bundle of greens and a pot of water; the greens he ate readily enough, but refused the water, which they accounted for by saying he supposed it was physic. He was said to be very old, which the size of his tusks confirmed. Among the group thus assembled were some of the tallest and finest men I have ever seen here, or indeed in Europe. All the crowd were civil and communicative, and I could not help thinking that the peasants of Oude, in everything but honesty, bore a high rank among those of their own class throughout the world.

In the course of the day a messenger, mounted on a fast-trotting camel (a style of conveyance for couriers very usual in these provinces), arrived from Mr. Ricketts, his saddle perched high on the top of the hump, his carbine and sabre hanging down on each side, and guiding the animal not with a bridle, but with a small cord fastened to a ring through his nostrils. The message from

Mr. Ricketts was, that his own aide-de-camp, with one of the king's, would meet me next morning, at about six miles from Lucknow, and that if I chose they would bring with them spare elephants for our party. This was fortunate, since on inquiry we found that we had still nearly ten coss between us and the Residency, a greater distance than our animals or foot attendants could get through without some rest, or before the middle of the day. Mr. Ricketts's offer, however, made the arrangement easy.

October 21.—We set out at half-past three o'clock, and for some time lost our way, there being no other road than such tracks as are seen across ploughed fields in England, the whole country being cultivated, though not inclosed, and much intersected by small rivers and nullahs. The king's suwarra were, I found, for show only, since they knew nothing about the road; and as for defence, I should have been very sorry to be obliged to rely on them. I was pleased, however, and surprised, after all which I had heard of Oude, to find the country so completely under the plough, since were the oppression so great as is sometimes stated, I cannot think that we should witness so considerable a population, or so much industry. Yet that considerable anarchy and mis-rule exist, the events of yesterday afforded a sufficient reason for supposing.

The bulk of the population is still evidently Hindoo. All the villages have pagodas, while many are without mosques; by far the greater part of the people who pass us on the road have the marks of caste on their foreheads, and it being now a Hindoo festival, the drumming, braying, and clattering of their noisy music was heard from every little collection of houses which we passed through. At length, and sooner than we expected, we saw a considerable "suwarree," or retinue of elephants and horses, approaching us, and were met by Captain Salmon and the King of Oude's officer, the latter followed by a train of elephants splendidly equipped with silver howdahs, and sufficient to accommodate more than three times the

number of our party. A good many suwarra, in red and yellow, followed Captain Salmon, and a most irregular and picturesque body of infantry, with swords and shields, long matchlock guns, and other guns of every sort and size, spears like spits, composed, sheath and all, of iron, and some silvered over, large triangular green banners, and everything most unlike the appearance of European war, made up the cortège of Meer Hussun Khân. The whole formed a stage procession of the most interesting and showy kind, in which there was no regularity, and little real magnificence, for the dresses of the men and trappings of the elephants were all the worse for wear, and the silver howdahs did not bear a close examination, but where flowing and picturesque dresses, glowing colours, numbers, and the majestic size of the noble animals which form the most prominent part of the group, produced an effect more pleasing to the eye of a poet or an artist than the sprucest parade of an English review.

While I was changing elephants, a decent-looking man stepped up to me, and begged to know my name and titles at full length, in order, as he said, "to make a report of them to the asylum of the world." I found on inquiry, that he was the writer of the court circular, a much more minute task, and one considered of far more importance here than in Europe. Everything which occurs in the family of the king himself, the resident, the chief officers of state, or any stranger of rank who may arrive, is carefully noted and sent round in writing. And I was told that the exact hour at which I rose, the sort of breakfast I ate, the visits I paid or received, and the manner in which I passed my morning, would all be retailed by the king's chobdars, for the information of their master, whose own most indifferent actions, however, are with equal fairness written down for Mr. Ricketts's inspection. As I mounted my new elephant, the same sort of acclamation of "Bismillah! Ullah Acbar! Ullah Kureen!" was made by the attendants, as I had heard on the Nawâb of Dacca's arrival and departure. It is, I find, the ancient Mussulman fashion,

and during their stay in Lucknow, my chobdars and bearers learnt it also from those of the king and the resident. How long they will continue it I do not know. It seems a very pious custom, and one which I should not wish to check, though I certainly should not allow them to adopt the proclamation, which followed on this occasion, of my name and title, so mangled as name never was before.

We now proceeded, three elephants abreast, that on which Mr. Lushington and I rode in the centre, Meer Hussun Khân on the right, and Captain Salmon on the left, with the motley multitude before and the spare elephants behind. The Corries had fallen back, being unable to keep up with us. We thus advanced into Lucknow, through a very considerable population, and crowded mean houses of clay, with the filthiest lanes between them that I ever went through, and so narrow that we were often obliged to reduce our front, and even a single elephant did not always pass very easily. A swarm of beggars occupied every angle and the steps of every door, and all, or nearly all the remaining population were, to my surprise, as much loaded with arms as the inhabitants of the country; a circumstance which told ill for the police of the town, but added considerably to its picturesque effect. Grave men in palanquins, counting their beads, and looking like Moullahs, had all two or three sword-and-buckler lackeys attending on them. People of more consequence, on their elephants, had each a suwarree of shield, spear, and gun, little inferior to that by which we were surrounded, and even the lounging people of the lower ranks in the streets and shop-doors had their shields over their shoulders, and their swords carried sheathed in one hand.

I recollected Sir W. Scott's picture of the streets of London in the "Fortunes of Nigel," but I should apprehend that Lucknow offered at this moment a more warlike exterior than our own metropolis ever did during its most embroiled and troublesome periods. As we advanced the town began to improve in point of buildings, though the streets

remained equally narrow and dirty. We passed some pretty mosques and some large houses, built like the native houses in Calcutta, and the bazars seemed well filled, so far as I could distinguish from the height at which I sat, and the general narrowness of the area. At last we suddenly entered a very handsome street indeed, wider than the High-street at Oxford, but having some distant resemblance to it in the colour of its buildings, and the general form and Gothic style of the greater part of them. We saw but little of it, however, as we immediately turned up through some folding-gates into a sort of close, with good-looking houses and small gardens round it, and a barrack and guard-house at its entrance. One of these houses I was told belonged to the resident, another was his banqueting-house, containing apartments for his guests, and a third very pretty upper-roomed house in a little garden was pointed out as that which the king had assigned to receive me and my party. Here, therefore, our companions took their leave, and Mr. Lushington and I found ourselves in a very prettily arranged and well-furnished dwelling, with excellent stables and accommodations for our numerous followers. It was the house usually assigned to the king's physician, now absent, and was extremely well suited to my purpose, both as being near the Residency, and sufficiently detached from it to allow me to have some part of my mornings to myself. The Corries arrived in about half an hour, and shortly afterwards we were summoned to breakfast at the Residency, where we found so large a party as completely to give the idea of a watering-place. After breakfast I was told the prime-minister was come to call on me, and Mr. Ricketts introduced us to each other in form. He is a dark, harsh, hawked-nosed man, with an expression of mouth which seems to imply habitual self-command struggling with a naturally rough temper. He is, I understand, exceedingly unpopular. He was originally khânsaman to the present king, when heir apparent and in disgrace with his father, Saadut Ali. His house

is the most splendid in Lucknow, and his suwarree exceeds that of the king, who is said to be so attached to him as to have given himself entirely into his hands. His manners, though not his appearance, are those of a gentleman; he is said to be a man of undoubted courage, and to be a pleasant person to do business with, except that too much confidence must not be placed in him. He was very civil to me, and very tolerant of my bad Hindoostanee, but I saw that he was nursing some ill-humour towards Mr. Ricketts, and found at length that offence had been taken because Lord Amherst had not himself written to the king to introduce me, as had, he said, been the constant custom with other governors-general whenever any person of a certain rank in the country visited Lucknow. We explained to him that my regular progress was through those stations where there were chaplains, and that, therefore, it was probable that Lord Amherst did not know that I intended to visit Lucknow, and he seemed satisfied. Possibly Lord Amherst was not aware that such an etiquette was usual; and in my own case it was certainly ignorance which prevented my asking for such credentials.* However, the minis-

* The following letter from the Governor-General was subsequently sent to the King of Oude:—

“ TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF OUDE.

“ Written 10th December, 1824.

“ I have lately been informed, by a letter from the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, of the gracious reception which his Lordship experienced from your Majesty, and of the gratification which he derived from his visit to your Majesty's Court of Lucknow.

“ I had no opportunity of making known, previously, to your Majesty, the Bishop's intention of visiting Lucknow, as his proceeding to that capital was a sudden thought, and he had not beforehand contemplated that the course of his public duties would allow of his deviating so far from his proposed route. This being the case, I feel myself now doubly called on to address your Majesty, both in explanation of the above apparent omission, and to offer my sincere acknowledgments for the flattering and cordial reception given by your Majesty to the head of the British Church in India, of which the Bishop writes in the warmest and most grateful terms.

“ (Signed) AMHERST.

(A true Copy)

“ (Signed) A. STIRLING,

“ Persian Secretary to Government.”—Ed

ter seemed satisfied, his dark countenance cleared up, and he said that the introduction of their friend the resident was quite enough for them, and that the king hoped to make Lucknow not unpleasant to me. The remaining conversation was about the cities and countries which I had visited, how I liked the first sight of Lucknow, and concluded with the minister's inviting me, on the part of the king, to breakfast with him the Monday following.

This is the usual way of being presented at this court, and the reason given for not naming an earlier day was that the king had a bad feverish cold. I found, indeed, half Lucknow laid up with the same influenza, though of a slighter degree, with that which had prevailed so universally in Calcutta during the rains. In fact, I know not how, the sight of the town, its various villainous smells, and its close population, gave me the idea of a very unhealthy place, though I found that the old residents disclaim the imputation. I felt much chagrined, on more accounts than one, to find that Mr. Ricketts's marriage could not take place before the 1st of November; if this were out of the question, however, it was very unlikely I should be able to leave it before that time, from the different things that were to be done. Under these circumstances it was a satisfaction to me to find that, if a week's notice was given, I should be sure of a numerous attendance at the Sacrament,—that many persons had been asking about confirmation, who only needed some days to prepare themselves, and make up their minds to the ceremony, and that a full share of those other opportunities of usefulness might be expected which I had found at Allahabad, Monghyr, and other places where there was, as here, no resident chaplain.

The great detentions which I have already met with have not only thrown me much behind the reckoning which I formed from my conversation with Colonel Cunliffe, but, joined to the experience which I have already had of marching, have obliged me to calculate on a much slower progress hereafter than I looked forward to when first

that reckoning was made. In so long a journey as this, I find it evident that a Sunday halt is not only advisable, in a religious point of view, but necessary for the animals and men who accompany me. To be useful I must arrange my stay in each station, so as to include a Sunday, and shall thus be often kept, besides these halting days, several others, which I should have employed, more to my liking, in pressing onwards towards the meeting to which I look forward with daily increasing earnestness. To go Dāk any considerable part of the way would be a great additional expense, and it so happens that it would save me very little time, since I must still adjust my stay in the different stations according to Sundays, and wait for my servants and baggage to rejoin me. As, to the best of my calculation, it seems very improbable that I can reach Surat before the beginning of April, I was well pleased to learn from Mr. Hyde, one of the party at the Residency, who had recently come across from Bombay, that travelling in Guzerāt was not only practicable but pleasant till that time. Mr. Hyde is a great traveller, and the only Englishman whom I have heard of, except Lord Valentia, who has visited India from motives, exclusively, of science and curiosity, since the country has been in our possession. All others, however science might engross their attention, have, like Leyden and Sir W. Jones, had some official and ostensible object, whereas this gentleman is merely making a tour. He left England seven years ago, with the intention of being absent a few months, and has been since rambling on, without plan, and chiefly as his course has been determined by the motions of others. Having attached himself to Mr. Bankes, I believe in Spain, he accompanied him into Egypt, Nubia, Syria, and Arabia. Mr. Rich enticed him from Palmyra on to Babylon and Bagdad. From Bussorah he came to Bombay, touching in his way at some of the ports of Oman and Yemen, in the hope of finding an eligible opportunity of returning home by sea; and then, finding himself in a new and in-

teresting country, determined to make the tour of India. Added to his zeal for seeing new countries, he has an uncommon share of good nature and cheerfulness, and is exactly the person whom I could conceive Bankes selecting as his travelling companion.

I do not know that there is any use in writing a regular journal of the manner in which I passed my time at Lucknow. There was, as must be the case, a good deal of sameness, in morning rides, evening sight-seeing, late breakfasts, and later dinners. There were several pleasant people among the crowd, and I was daily more and more pleased with my host and future hostess, and from him I obtained much information as to the manners and customs of northern India. The king very good-naturedly sent an elephant every morning for Mr. Lushington and myself, and a chariot for the Corries, that we might see the sights of Lucknow to more advantage. There is a menagerie, with a greater number of scarce and curious animals, but in far worse order, than that at Barrackpore; and on the other side of the river Goomty, in a well-wooded park, is a large collection of different varieties of cows, camels, and deer, and five or six very large rhinoceroses, the first animals of the kind I ever saw, and of which I found that prints and drawings had given me a very imperfect conception. They are more bulky animals, and of a darker colour than I had supposed, and the thickness of the folds of their impenetrable skin much surpasses all which I had expected. These at Lucknow are gentle and quiet animals, except that one of them has a feud with horses. They seem to propagate in captivity without reluctance, and I should conceive might be available to carry burthens as well as the elephant, except that, as their pace is still slower than his, their use could only be applicable to very great weights, and very gentle travelling. These have sometimes had howdahs on them, and were once fastened in a carriage, but only as an experiment which was never followed up. There is, on the same side of the river, a poultry-yard of beauti-

ful pigeons; and on the river itself is a steam-boat, a vessel fitted up like a brig of war, and other things which show the king to be fond of mechanical inventions. He has, indeed, a very skilful mechanist, an English officer, in his service, and is himself said to know more of the science, and of the different branches of philosophy connected with it, than could be expected in a person who understands no European language.

Another pleasant ride is to "Dilkoushar," Heart's Delight, a small summer palace of the king's, about three miles from the city. The house is small and ugly, with a high front like a grenadier's cap, and two low wings, like some of the old French and German châteaux. It is said to be prettily arranged and furnished inside, but this I did not see.

The park is extensive, and some parts of it extremely pretty, being sufficiently wild and jungly to offer a picturesque variety, and in parts sufficiently open for air and exercise, as well as to show off its deer and neelghaus to advantage. Some parts of it put me in mind of the few remaining glades of Needwood Forest. There are not only neelghaus and the common Indian deer, but some noble red deer in this park, which contribute much, with a broad and excellent drive through it, and the form of its lodge, to give it an English air, which, however, is from time to time destroyed by the tall jungle grass, with its beautiful silver tufts, and the monkeys. These, as well as all which I have yet seen in this country, resemble the corpulent one which I described on the banks of the Pudda in every particular, except that of wanting a tail, which he, I suppose, had lost by some accident. Though they seem better adapted for climbing than running, they are tolerably swift on the ground. I have more than once taken them at first for Pariah dogs. They are very tame, never being shot at or injured, and are not, I think, the lively frolicsome animal which they are in Europe supposed to be. There is a sort of cage in the middle of the park, where they are fed, at least where some gram is thrown to

them to scramble for once in two or three days, whether founded by the king or some pious Hindoo I know not. I suspect the latter, because the people who keep it are fakirs, and beg, and because there is a statue of Hunimān in front of it.

Another popular drive is to Constan-tia, a very large and most whimsical house and grounds, in the worst possible taste, but displaying in its outline and some parts of its arrangements an eccentric and uneducated genius, built by the late General Martin, a Frenchman, and originally a common soldier, who rose by good fortune more than any brilliant services to the first rank in the Company's army. His tomb is in one of the cellars, a marble altar-shaped sarcophagus, with a very modest inscription, and a bust also of white marble. It is surrounded by four figures of grenadiers, as large as life, with their arms reversed, in the elegant attitude used in military funerals, and the whole would have had an extremely good effect, had not the grenadiers, which, it is said, Martin meant to have been of marble also, been paltry plaster figures, painted after nature in red coats! Whose taste this has been I could not learn.*

There are one or two other very English-looking country houses near Lucknow, all, I believe, the property of the king, and it may be said that from the Residency all the way down the principal street, and afterward through the park of Dil-Koushar, and the neighbouring drives, Lucknow has more resemblance to some of the smaller European capitals (Dresden, for instance) than anything which I have seen in India. The king's troops, besides the irregular gentry, of whom I saw a specimen on entering the city, are dressed in the same way that the British sepoy's used to be twenty years ago, and as they are represented in Ker Porter's "Storming of Seringapatam." They are armed with mus-

* All the furniture of the house was sold on General Martin's death, and the looking-glasses and lustres were purchased by the Company to ornament the Government-house in Calcutta.—Ed.

kets and bayonets, under British officers, and not ill-disciplined, but their numbers are not more than are required for the usual purposes of parade and mounting sentries. His horse-guards are fine tall men, and well mounted, but are in discipline and military appearance a little, and but a little, better than those which attend the Nawáb of Dacca. The British subsidiary force, which is at the disposal of the resident, is, by a strange choice, placed in a cantonment five miles from the town, separated by the broad and rapid stream of the Goomty, where there is indeed a fine old bridge, but one which might in a few minutes be rendered impassable by any force without a regular siege, so that in case of a commotion in the city, either king or resident would have to rely entirely on the single company which is always on guard at the Residency, but which would be as nothing when opposed to such an armed population as that of Lucknow. That they have never yet been exposed to this danger seems a sufficient proof of the quiet disposition of the people, as well as of the opinion which they entertain of the supposed stability of the Company's empire; yet the English, both at Lucknow and Cawnpoor, often spoke of the anarchical condition, the frequent affrays, the hatred of the European and Christian name, the robberies and murders by which this city is distinguished, and I was cautioned expressly, by more people than one, never to go into the populous parts of the city except on an elephant, and attended by some of the resident's or the king's chuprassees. It so happened that the morning before this counsel was given, Mr. Lushington and I had gone on horseback through almost the whole place, along streets and alleys as narrow and far dirtier than those of Benares, and in a labyrinth of buildings which obliged us to ask our way at almost every turn. So far from having chuprassees, we had, as it happened, but one saees between us, and he as much a stranger as ourselves, yet we found invariable civility and good nature, people backing their carts and elephants to make room for

us, and displaying on the whole a far greater spirit of hospitality and accommodation than two foreigners would have met with in London. One old man only, when my horse showed considerable reluctance to pass an elephant, said, shaking his head in a sort of expostulating tone, "This is not a good road for sahibs." Some of the instances, indeed, which were related of Europeans being insulted and assaulted in the streets and neighbourhood of Lucknow were clearly traced to insolent or overbearing conduct on the part of the complainants themselves; and though of course there are bad and worthless people everywhere, though where everybody is armed, and there is no efficient police, street-brawls will be less infrequent than in cities more fortunately circumstanced, and though by night narrow streets, ill-watched and unlighted, must be dangerous, I am not disposed to think that the people of Oude are habitually ferocious or bloodthirsty, or that they are influenced by any peculiar animosity against the English or the Christian name. It is certain, however, that they have not a good character, and that in no part of the country should valuable property be trusted in their way without proper precaution. I had heard of some travellers having been menaced by the villagers on the Oude bank of the Ganges a short time before, and when, on leaving Lucknow, I ordered my mate-bearer, who had staid with me after the tents had set off, to follow, as I could do without him, he pleaded (though he had a spear) that he was afraid to go alone. Abdullah laughed at this, but afterwards went very gravely to examine into the state of the pistols, and was careful at night to bring them to my bed-head, observing, that "in this country a man does not trust his own father." This, however, is a digression. I return to Lucknow, and its public buildings.

The minister's house is a very large pile of building, in a bad part of the town, and both in architecture and situation a good deal resembling the house of the Mullich family in Calcutta. There are many stately khâns, and some

handsome mosques and pagodas scattered in different corners of these wretched alleys, but the most striking buildings in Lucknow are the tombs of the late Nawāb Saadut Ali and the mother of the present king, the gate of Constantinople ("Roumi Durwazu"), and the "Imambara," or cathedral. The Imambara consists of two courts, rising with a steep ascent one above the other. It contains, besides a splendid mosque, a college for instruction in Mussulman law, apartments for the religious establishment maintained here, and a noble gallery, in the midst of which, under a brilliant tabernacle of silver, cut-glass, and precious stones, lie buried the remains of its founder, Asuphud Dowlah. The whole is in a very noble style of Eastern Gothic, and when taken in conjunction with the Roumi Durwazu which adjoins it, I have never seen an architectural view which pleased me more from its richness and variety, as well as the proportions and general good taste of its principal features. The details a good deal resemble those of Eaton,* but the extent is much greater and the parts larger. On the whole it is, perhaps, most like the Kremlin, but both in splendour and taste my old favourite falls very short of it. Close to this fine group is a large and handsome, but dull and neglected looking pile, which is the palace or prison appropriated to the unfortunate widows and concubines of deceased sovereigns. Some ladies are still there, as it is said, who belonged to Asuphud Dowlah. Those of Vizier Ali and Saadut Ali are, naturally, many of them alive, though they must mostly be in years. An Indian king, who allows his elephants to be starved, is, I fear, not very likely to attend much to the feeding of his old women, and the allowance which these poor creatures receive is said to be always so miserably in arrear, that they have occasionally been reduced to extreme distress. Once they fairly broke loose from their prison, sallied in a body into the adjoining bazar, and carried off all they could lay hands on, exclaiming, that they had

already pawned or sold all their trinkets, and almost all their clothes, that they were perishing with hunger, and that the king must pay for what they took, as well as bear the disgrace of reducing his father's wives to show themselves to the people. The measure was a bold one, but probably did them good as to their subsequent treatment, for the king is allowed by every body to be a kind-hearted, well-meaning man, and the general sympathy and horror excited were very great.

None of the royal palaces (there are, I think, three in Lucknow besides this gloomy one) are either very large or striking. That in which the king received us to breakfast, and which is the one which he usually occupies, is close to the Residency; a cluster of mean courts with some morsels of showy architecture intermingled, like the offices of a college. We went there in long procession, the resident in his state palanquin, made open like the nuptial one which we saw in Chowringhee, I in a tonjon, the rest of the party in all manner of conveyances. The resident had a very numerous suwarree of armed men, silver sticks, &c.; and my servants were so anxious that I should make a good appearance on the occasion, that they begged permission to put on their new blue coats, though the day was so hot it was painful to see them thus loaded. There was the usual show of horse and foot guards in the approaches to the palace, and the street was lined with the same picturesque crowd of irregular gendarmerie, which I had seen on entering the town. We were set down at the foot of a strangely mean stone staircase, resembling rather that leading to a bathroom than anything else, on the summit of which the king received us, first embracing the resident, then me. He next offered an arm to each of us, and led us into a long and handsome, but rather narrow, gallery, with good portraits of his father and Lord Hastings over the two chimney-pieces, and some very splendid glass lustres hanging from the ceiling. The furniture was altogether English, and there was a long table in the middle of the room, set out

* The Earl of Grosvenor's seat in Cheshire.
—ED.

with breakfast, and some fine French and English china. He sat down in a gilt armchair in the centre of one side, motioning to us to be seated on either hand. The prime-minister sate down opposite, and the rest of the table was filled by the party from the Residency, and about an equal number of natives, among whom were one of the king's grandsons, the commander-in-chief, and other public officers. The king began by putting a large hot roll on the resident's plate, and another on mine, then sent similar rolls to the young Nawâb his grandson, who sate on the other side of me, to the prime-minister, and one or two others. Coffee, tea, butter, eggs, and fish were then carried round by the servants, and things proceeded much as at a public breakfast in England. The king had some mess of his own in a beautiful covered French cup, but the other Mussulmans ate as the Europeans did. There was a pillow, which the king recommended to me, and which, therefore, I was bound to taste, though with much secret reluctance, as remembering the greasy dainties of the Nawâb of Dacca. I was surprised, however, to find that this was really an excellent thing, with neither ghee nor garlic, and with no fault except, perhaps, that it was too dry, and too exclusively fowl, rice, and spices. Mr. Ricketts told me afterwards, that the high-bred Mussulmans of this part of India affect to dislike exceedingly, as vulgar, the greasy and fragrant dishes of the Bengalees and Hindoos, and that the merit of their cookery is to be dry, stimulant, and aromatic.

During the meal, which was not very long, for nobody ate much, the conversation was made up chiefly of questions from the king as to the countries which I had visited, the length of time which I had been in India, and the objects of my present journey; as also how I liked what I had seen of Lucknow, with the rest of what Faulconbridge calls the "A B C book" of a traveller, when such a "picked man of countries" is at the breakfast table of a great man. I took care to thank him for his kindness in sending the guard and the Aumeen to meet me, as also for the loan of the

elephant and chariot. I understood pretty well all which he said, though he does not speak very distinctly, but I seldom ventured to answer him without the aid of Mr. Ricketts's interpretation, being aware of the danger of giving offence, or using vulgar or "unlucky" words. He said his servants had told him I spoke Hindoostanee remarkably well; I answered that I could speak it to people in the camp or on the river, but I was not used to speak it in such a presence. He said, very politely, I had only to go on according to the progress I had already made, and the next time I came to see him he would not allow me an interpreter. The fact is, however, that I have gained very little in Hindoostanee lately, considerably less than before I was constantly with the archdeacon and Mr. Lushington. It is much easier to get them to interpret than myself to labour at an explanation, and, in marching, I have little or no time to read. Hindoostanee, not Persian, is here the court language; I suppose this has arisen from the king's desertion of his old allegiance to the house of Timur, since which it has been a natural policy to frame the etiquette of his court on a different model from that of Delhi.

After breakfast the king rose and walked, supported as before by Mr. Ricketts and me, into a small adjoining drawing-room, where his crown stood on a sofa-table. It is a very elegant one, of what heralds call the "Oriental" form, a velvet cap surrounded by pointed rays of diamonds, and a white heron's plume in front. I was no judge of the merit of the diamonds, but was able honestly to say, I had never, except on the Emperor of Russia's crown, seen a more brilliant show. He asked me if there was any difference between his crown and that of the King of England. I told him what the difference was, and said his majesty's was more like that of the Emperor of Constantinople, "Padshahi Roum." The conversation ended by his giving me a copy of his own works, and a book of some sort to the archdeacon. We then took leave, and ended the morning by making a tour of the palaces, the new

Imambara, the Menagerie, and the tombs of the king's father and mother. We went as before in our tonjons; and Mr. Ricketts, on going out at the palace gate, sent me a purse of thirty rupees in quarters, saying it was usual, on such occasions, to throw silver among the beggars. He had scarcely done this when our chairs were actually swept away from each other by a crowd of miserable objects of all kinds, who had waited our coming out, and had already learned my name. I at once saw that in such a scramble the strong and young would get everything, and therefore bid the chobdars and other people round me to keep them off, and bring near the blind, lame, leprous, and very old. They executed this work zealously and well. The Cawnpore sepoys particularly, twelve of whom had begged leave to attend me on this occasion, with their side-arms and ramrods, as orderlies, laid about them with such hearty good will, that they made a very effectual way, and really seemed anxious to bring forward the greatest objects, so that I had the satisfaction of making my hundred and twenty pieces of silver a good deal more useful than they otherwise would have been, as well as advancing with a progress considerably more rapid than I could have done without such tools as iron ramrods. I had, however, the mortification to find that some of the weakest and most helpless of those who were admitted to the side of my chair were hustled on their return to the crowd, to snatch from them the alms which they had received; and one poor old woman, to whom I gave half a rupee on account of her great age and infirmities, was, after I had passed, thrown down, trampled on, and her hands, arms, and breast dreadfully pinched and bruised, to compel her to unlock her grasp of the money. The resident's people rescued her, or she probably would have been killed. I observed, by the way, that my chobdar and the rest of my escort seemed to think that it was strange to give more to a woman than to most of the men; and I had noticed, on many occasions, that all through India anything is thought good enough for the weaker

sex, and that the roughest words, the poorest garments, the scantiest alms, the most degrading labour, and the hardest blows, are generally their portion. The same chuprassee, who, in clearing the way before a great man, speaks civilly enough to those of his own sex, cuffs and kicks any unfortunate female who crosses his path without warning or forbearance. Yet to young children they are all gentleness and indulgence. What riddles men are! and how strangely do they differ in different countries! An idle boy in a crowd would infallibly, in England, get his head broken, but what an outcry would be raised if an unoffending woman were beaten by one of the satellites of authority! Perhaps both parties might learn something from each other; at least I have always thought it very hard to see beadles, in England, lashing away children on all public occasions, as if curiosity were a crime at an age in which it is, of all others, most natural.

This custom of throwing away money at presentations and other "high times" is said to be the cause of the number of beggars in Lucknow. They are, indeed, very numerous, but on no other occasion did I see a crowd of them; and in any large city, the certainty that money was to be scrambled for would bring together a multitude, perhaps as great as that I saw to-day.

The King of Oude is rather a tall man, and being long-backed and sitting on a somewhat higher cushion than his neighbours, looks particularly so at his own table. He has evidently been very handsome, and has still good features and a pleasing countenance, though he looks considerably older than he is, or than he as yet chooses his painter to represent him. His curling hair and whiskers are quite grey, and his complexion has grown, I understand, much darker within these few years, being now, indeed, perhaps the darkest in his court. On Mr. Home's canvas, however, his locks are still "like the raven," and his "bonnie brow is brent." The same immutability of youth, indeed, I have noticed in other royal portraits. The King of Oude, however, is evidently fond of dress, and is said to be a

critic in that of others as well as his own; and his palaces, his new Imambara, his throne-room, jewels, and all the many other fine things which we visited this day, though extremely costly, and marked by a cultivated taste, and an eye familiarized with European models, are less solid and massive in their properties, and impress the mind with far less magnificence, than the proud Roumi Durwazu, and the other works of his more frugal and fortunate father and uncle. His manners are very gentlemanly and elegant, though the European ladies who visit his court complain that he seldom pays them any attention. Lady Hood and Lady Macmahon were, however, exceptions to this rule.

By a recent order of Government all presents of shawls, silks, ornaments, or diamonds, whether made to ladies or gentlemen, are taken from them on leaving the palace, by the resident's chobdar, and sold on the account of Government. Nothing is kept but the silken cords which the king throws round the necks of his visitors at parting, and books, which, as nobody buys them, remain the unmolested property of the presentee.

Still presents are given and received, when such a public mark of respect is thought proper, but in a manner well understood by both parties. If a person of rank is introduced to the king, a tray of shawls is offered, accepted, and put by in store at the Residency. When the great man takes leave, on departing from Lucknow, he offers a similar nuzur, which the Company supplies, and which is always of rather superior value to that which the king has given. Thus the king gets his own shawls, and something more, returned to him in due course of circulation, and except that every such interchange of presents costs the Company about five hundred rupees, the whole is reduced to little more than a bow, and the occasion of a fee to his majesty's chobdars and hurkars. I was asked if I chose to go through this mock interchange of presents. But I had no authority to draw from the Company's funds the presents which I was to return, nor any desire

to encroach on the discretion which is, in such case, exercised by the resident. I answered, therefore, that, as a clergyman, I could not be supposed to derive honour from the present of fine clothes and costly ornaments, and that I was anxious for nothing so much as the possession of his majesty's works: this I found was well taken.

I had the usual compliment paid me of an offer to have a fight of animals under my window, at breakfast, which I declined. It is a sight that religious persons among the Mussulmans themselves condemn as inhuman, and I did not want to be reckoned less merciful to animals than their own moullahs. Nor was the king, who is himself pretty well tired of such sights, displeased, I found, that his elephants and rams had a holiday.

The king, to finish my court-days all at once, returned my visit on the Thursday following at the Residency, and was received by the resident and myself at the head of the stairs, in all points as he received us, and was conducted between us, as before, to the middle of the long breakfast-table, and after breakfast I presented him with a copy of the Bible in Arabic, and the Prayer Book in Hindoostanee, which I had got bound in red velvet, and wrapped up in brocade for the purpose. The morning went off so much like that which had preceded it, that I remember nothing of importance, except that during breakfast he asked me to sit for my portrait to his painter, and that after breakfast he offered me an escort of twenty suwarra through his territory, of which, in conformity with the principle on which I acted, of declining all needless parade, I accepted only ten, stating that I found those his majesty had sent me before quite sufficient.

I lastly met him again, under circumstances perfectly similar, at the Residency on the day of Mr. Ricketts's marriage, at which he had expressed a wish to be present. At this breakfast he was more communicative than he had been, talked about steam-engines, and a new way of propelling ships by a spiral wheel at the bottom of the vessel, which an English engineer in his

pay had invented; mentioned different circumstances respecting the earthquake at Shiraz which had been reported to him, but were not named in the Calcutta newspapers, and explained the degree of acquaintance which he showed with English books, by saying he made his aides-de-camp read them to him into Hindoostanee. He was full of a new scheme of authorship or editorship in the form of a Hindoostanee and Arabic Dictionary, which he was pleased to find was likely to be well received at the college of Fort William. Captain Lockitt, indeed, said that it would in all probability be a very useful book, for he had men about him quite competent to do it respectably. He asked so much about my publications, that Mr. Ricketts told me I was bound to offer to send them to him as soon as I returned to Calcutta, and, on my assenting, made a very pretty speech on my behalf. The king said he should receive them with great pleasure, and had no doubt he should get their meaning explained to him. I cannot tell how this may be, but am now bound to make the trial. The marriage ceremony went off very well. The king, his grandson, the minister, &c. remained in the room as spectators, and after it, Mr. Ricketts presented him with a splendid velvet and gold saddle-cloth, and housings. Thus ended, after another embrace, and a promise of returning "one of these days," my intercourse with one of the very few crowned heads I have ever come into contact with. I have been the more particular in describing what passed, because I know my wife will not be uninterested in it, and because this is in fact the most polished and splendid court at present in India. Poor Delhi has quite fallen into decay.

I sate for my portrait to Mr. Home four times.* He has made several portraits of the king, redolent of youth, and

radiant with diamonds, and a portrait of Sir E. Paget, which he could not help making a resemblance. He is a very good artist indeed for a king of Oude to have got hold of. He is a quiet, gentlemanly old man, brother of the celebrated surgeon in London, and came out to practise as a portrait painter at Madras, during Lord Cornwallis's first administration, was invited from thence to Lucknow by Saadut Ali a little before his death, and has since been retained by the king at a fixed salary, to which he adds a little by private practice. His son is a captain in the Company's service, but is now attached to the King of Oude as equerry, and European aide-de-camp. Mr. Home would have been a distinguished painter had he remained in Europe, for he has a great deal of taste, and his drawing is very good and rapid; but it has been, of course, a great disadvantage to him to have only his own works to study, and he, probably, finds it necessary to paint in glowing colours to satisfy his royal master.

Of the king's character, and the circumstances which have plunged this country into its present anarchy, I will now detail the outlines of what I have been able to learn. He was, by a very common misfortune attendant on heirs apparent, disliked by his father, Saadut Ali, who had kept him back from all public affairs, and thrown him entirely into the hands of servants. To the first of these circumstances may be ascribed his fondness for literary and philosophical pursuits; to the second, the ascendancy which his khânsaman minister has gained over him. Saadut Ali, himself a man of talent and acquirements, fond of business and well qualified for it, but in his latter days unhappily addicted to drunkenness, left him a country with six millions of people, a fertile soil, a most compact frontier, a clear revenue of two millions sterling, and upwards of two millions in ready money in the treasury, with a well-regulated system of finance, a peasantry tolerably well contented, no army to maintain except for police and parade, and everything likely to produce an auspicious reign. Different circum-

* The Editor has great pleasure in repeating her obligations to Mr. Home, for having, unasked, sent to her a copy of the portrait mentioned in the text; and in adding the expression of the gratification which she has felt on learning that Mr. Ricketts has, at his own expense, transmitted another copy to Calcutta for the Bishop's college.

stances, however, soon blighted these golden promises. The principal of these was, perhaps, the young Nawâb's aversion to public business. His education had been merely Asiatic, for Saadut Ali, though he himself spoke English like a native, and very frequently wore the English uniform, had kept his son from all European intercourse and instruction. He was fond, however, as I have observed, of study, and in all points of Oriental philology and philosophy is really reckoned a learned man, besides having a strong taste for mechanics and chemistry. But these are not the proper or most necessary pursuits of a king, and, in this instance, have rather tended to divert his mind from the duties of his situation, than to serve as graceful ornaments to an active and vigorous intellect. When I add to this, that at one period the chase occupied a considerable part of his time, it will be seen how many points of resemblance occur between him and our own James the First. Like James he is said to be naturally just and kind-hearted, and with all who have access to him he is extremely popular. No single act of violence or oppression has ever been ascribed to him or supposed to have been perpetrated with his knowledge, and his errors have been a want of method and economy in his expenses, a want of accessibility to his subjects, a blind confidence in favourites, and, as will be seen, an unfortunate, though not very unnatural, attachment to different points of etiquette and prerogative.

His father's minister, at the time of his death, was Hukeem Mendee, a man of very considerable talents, great hereditary opulence and influence, and to the full as honest and respectable in his public and private conduct as an Eastern vizier can usually be expected to be. The new sovereign was said not to be very fond of him, but there seemed not the least intention of removing him till his power was undermined, most unfortunately for all parties, by the British themselves.

The then resident at Lucknow was said to interfere too much in the private affairs of the king, and in the internal

and regular administration of the country. The minister would not allow it, and the king was so much irritated by this real or supposed interference, that he sent, by some of his European servants, the private intelligence to Lord Hastings of which mention is made in the justificatory memoir of the latter. Lord Hastings readily took up the affair; but in the mean time some of the king's servants, among whom was his khânsaman, worked upon their master's timidity, by representing the danger of coming to an open quarrel with the resident, the probability that the English would not credit the complaints brought against their own countryman, and urged him to a compromise before it was too late. In consequence the king retracted the complaint, and ascribed it to the incorrect information and bad advice of the Hukeem Mendee, who was in consequence deprived of many of his principal employments, which were transferred to the present minister, with the general consent of all parties, and with the concurrence of the Hukeem himself, as a man personally acceptable to the sovereign, of pliant and pleasing manners, and not likely to aim at, or obtain more power than it was thought fit to entrust to him. Soon after, however, the new influence succeeded in getting the Hukeem Mendee deprived of one profitable post after another, in stripping him of many of the Zemindarries in his hands, and at length in having him thrown into prison, whence he was only released by the interposition of the British Government. He now lives in great splendour at Futtehgur.

Expecting me to go to Futtehgur, he sent me, through Mr. Williams of Cawnpoor, a very civil invitation to his house, with the assurance that he had an English housekeeper, who knew perfectly well how to do the honours of his establishment to gentlemen of her own nation. (She is, in fact, a singular female, who became the wife of one of the Hindoostanee professors at Hertford, now the Hukeem's dewan, and bears, I believe, a very respectable character.) Hukeem Mendee was too powerful a man to be summarily got rid of, but

more violent means were taken with others. One man of high rank was murdered in open day in the city; others were driven out of the country, and every death and every banishment was a fresh occasion of adding a new place or a new Zemindarrie to the minister's hoard.

While he grew rich, the king grew more and more in debt. No check whatever was given either to the receipt or issue of public money. The favourite had succeeded in getting both the secretaryship and treasurership in his own hands; and all that was known was, that the minister built a magnificent house, and the king lavished great sums in all manner of trinkets, while the troops and public functionaries were without pay, and the peasantry driven to despair by continual fresh exactions. Of the two millions which his father had left, the king had lent one to Lord Hastings to carry on the Nepâl war. For this he was to receive interest, but, unfortunately for him, he accepted, instead of all payment, a grant of fresh territory under the Himalaya mountains, which is entirely unproductive, being either savage wilderness, or occupied by a race of mountaineers, who pay no taxes without being compelled, and whom he has not the means of compelling. After a second loan Lord Hastings encouraged the vizier to assume the title of king. But the worst consequence of both these loans was, that by laying the British Government under a great obligation to the king, they compelled Lord Hastings to suspend all further urging of the different measures of reform in the administration of justice and the collection of the revenue, which had been begun in Saadut Ali's time, for the benefit of the people of Oude, and which the Hukeem Mendee, while he remained in power, had been gradually introducing, by the suggestion of the British resident, and after the models afforded in our provinces. The chief of these was the substitution of a regular system of Zemindarrie collectors for the taxes, instead of a number of "fermiers publics," who take them from year to year by a sort of auction, collecting them after-

wards in kind, or in any way which suits them best, and who, by a strange injustice, are themselves the assessors, and, in many instances, the only accessible court of appeal, as well as the principal persons who derive a profit from the amount collected. This wretched system, it must be owned, is very common throughout the native governments; but when a sovereign is himself a man of talents and energy, or when his minister has any regard for his own reputation, it has many checks which, in the present case, did not operate. In consequence, three or four times more than the sums really due were often extorted by these locusts, who went down and encamped in different parts of the country, and, under various pretences, so devoured and worried the people that they were glad to get rid of them on any terms. Nay, sometimes, when one Aumeen had made his bargain with the landowners and tenants, and received the greater part of the payment in advance, a second would make his appearance with more recent powers (having outbid his predecessors), and begin assessing and collecting anew, telling the plundered villagers that they had done wrong to pay before it was due, and that they must look to the first man for repayment of what they had been defrauded of. "All this has been done," was said to me, "and the king will neither see it nor hear it." It was not likely, however, to be done long without resistance. The stronger Zemindars built mud-forts, the poor Ryuts planted bamboos and thorny jungle round their villages; every man that had not a sword sold his garment to procure one, and they bade the king's officers keep their distance. The next step, however, of government was to call in the aid of British troops to quell these insurgents. This the King of Oude had, by the letter and spirit of existing treaties, a right to do. His father and uncle had purchased this right by the cession of nearly one-third of their whole territories,—by the admission of two or three garrisons of subsidiary troops into their remaining provinces, and by the disbanding of by far the greater part of their own army,

on the express condition that the English should undertake to defend them against all external and internal enemies. Still Saadut Ali had used this right very sparingly. He was not fond of admitting, far less requesting, any more foreign interference than he could help. And his own guards, consisting of two thousand regular infantry, one thousand horse, three hundred artillery, and the irregulars whom I have noticed, were enough for all usual occasions, and were in excellent order and discipline. Now, however, all was changed. The soldiers themselves were so ill paid, that it was difficult to keep them together; the artillery, a beautiful little corps, first mutinied, and then disbanded themselves to the last man, and the king had really no option between either altering his system, or governing without taxes, or calling in British aid. That aid was demanded and given; and during the greater part of Lord Hastings's time this wretched country was pillaged under sanction of the British name, and under the terror of Sepoy bayonets, till at length the remonstrances of the British officers employed on this service became so urgent, and the scandal so notorious and so great, not to omit that the number of the disaffected increased daily, and that the more parties were sent out in support of the Aumeens, the more were called for, while every peasant who lost lands or property in the progress of the system became a Decoit and made inroads into the Company's provinces, that a different course was imperiously forced on Government. Accordingly, the resident was instructed to urge anew on the king the adoption of a regular system of leasing the crown dues for a certain number of years, like that adopted in the Company's territories, and leasing them to the Zemindars themselves, not to these greedy Aumeens. He was directed also to require proof, before granting the aid of troops, that the sums said to be withheld were really due. To the first of these proposals the king answered, that he would introduce the system gradually, and with such modifications as suited his country. He even named

a district in which he would begin it; but, though two years have now elapsed, nothing has yet been done. The second was met by sending a number of documents to the resident, of whose history and authenticity he could know nothing, but which the officers sent with the detachment declared they believed to be often perfect forgeries. Mr. Ricketts, therefore, about a year ago, declined granting any more military aid, unless the king would, first, immediately carry into effect his promised reform; secondly, unless he would allow an English commissioner, versed in such matters, to accompany each detachment, and determine on the spot the justice of the Aumeen's claim; thirdly, unless he would himself, after the example of his royal ancestors, hold frequent and public durbars, to receive petitions from his subjects, and attend to these specific complaints; and fourthly, unless, to prevent the constant incursion of robbers from his majesty's into the Company's territories, he would allow the judge and magistrates of the adjoining districts to pursue and seize Decoits within his frontier.

To these proposals his answers have been very ingenious and plausible. To the first he says that such great changes cannot be the work of a day; that when half his subjects are in arms against him is not precisely the time to obtain a fair assessment or a permanent settlement of the land; but if the British will first, as he calls on them in the terms of their treaty to do, put down his rebellious Zemindars, destroy their mud-forts, and disarm their people, he will pledge himself to adopt, in course of time, and with due deliberation, such a system as will give satisfaction. To the second he answers, with some reason, that the introduction of English judges and revenue officers, for such the proposed commissioners would be, into his country, would make his own officers ciphers, and his own power contemptible, and that he would sooner bid adieu to his crown at once, and turn Fakir. To the third, that he has not understood it to be the custom of either the King of England or the Governor-General, to hold such an open

darbar as they recommend (nor will those who have seen a Lucknow mob anticipate any beneficial effects from such excessive accessibility). But to prove his regard for his people, he has instructed his prime-minister to hold a darbar for these precise purposes twice a week, who is charged to report all cases of importance to his own ear. The fourth he answers by saying that it is very hard to accuse him of harbouring robbers, while we refuse him all aid in putting down the very Zemindars whose fortresses and fastnesses are the common nests of robbery and rebellion; that if we help him to subdue his rebels, he will keep his robbers in order himself: but that it would be a cruel mockery to continue to call him a king, if any neighbouring magistrate might enter his dominions at pleasure. He urges that "all his difficulties have arisen from his entire confidence in the friendship of the Company. That this induced him and his ancestors to disband an excellent army, till they scarce left sentries enough for the palace; and thus they have become unable, without help, to enforce payment of their ancient revenues. That this induced him to lend to the British Government all the money which would have else enabled him to ease the people of their burdens, and to meet, without inconvenience, whatever loss of income a new assessment may for some time render inevitable. That he never has refused, and never will refuse, to give the best consideration in his power to any measures of reform which may be, in a friendly manner, proposed to him; but he refers those who represent him as a tyrant, or who speak of his country as depopulated, to every traveller who has marched along its principal roads, and has observed the extent of cultivation through which they are carried." He concludes by saying that "he is aware, that notwithstanding the tone of equality and independence which in their treaties and official correspondence the Company have allowed him to maintain, he is in fact in their power; but if he is to reign at all, for which he knows that he has no guarantee but British good faith, he intreats that his requests for the per-

formance of a positive treaty may not be met by stipulations which would render that treaty vain, that he may be defended from the only enemies he has, or is likely to have, his rebellious Zemindars, and protected in the exercise of functions which are essential parts of that sovereignty which has been so solemnly and repeatedly guaranteed to him." The statements, of which these are the purport, I thought very curious; they certainly show strongly the perplexities and mischief arising from the subsidiary system, which seems for so many years to have been our favourite policy in India, and to which it must be owned a considerable part of our political greatness is owing.

I can bear witness certainly to the truth of the king's statement, that his territories are really in a far better state of cultivation than I had expected to find them. From Lucknow to Sandee, where I am now writing, the country is as populous and well cultivated as most of the Company's provinces. The truth perhaps is, that for more than a year back, since the aid of British troops has been withheld, affairs have been in some respects growing better. The Zemindars have in a few instances carried their point, the Aumeens have been either driven away entirely, or been forced to a moderate compromise, and the chief actual-sufferers at the present moment are the king, who gets little or nothing even of his undoubted dues, and the traveller, who, unless he have such a guard as I have, had better sleep in a safe skin on the other side of the Ganges. It should be observed, however, that I have as yet seen no sign of those mud-forts, stockades, and fortresses on which the Zemindars and peasantry are said to rely for safety; that the common people north of Lucknow are, I think, not so universally loaded with arms as those to the southward, and that though I have heard a good deal all the way of the distressed state of the country, as well as its anarchy and lawlessness, except in the single instance I have mentioned, where the treasure was attacked, I have *seen* no signs of either, or had any reason to suppose that the king's writ does not

pass current, or that our Aumeen would have the least difficulty in enforcing it in our favour, even without the small payment which I give, and which is evidently accepted as a gratuity. I cannot but suspect, therefore, that the misfortunes and anarchy of Oude are somewhat overrated, though it is certain that so fine a land will take a long time in ruining, and that very many years of oppression will be required to depopulate a country which produces on the same soil, and with no aid but irrigation, crops of wheat and pulse every year.

It seemed strange to me why, since so much of the present calamities of the country were ascribed to the misconduct of the minister, his removal was not demanded in the first instance, after which all subsequent measures of reform might be looked forward to as attainable. But it was apprehended that the king would rather abdicate than be dictated to in this particular, and that it was thought better to urge an effectual change of system than the mere removal of an individual, who might be replaced by somebody not at all better. I asked also if the people thus oppressed desired, as I had been assured they did, to be placed under English government? Captain Lockitt said that he had heard the same thing; but on his way this year to Lucknow, and conversing, as his admirable knowledge of Hindoostanee enables him to do, familiarly with the suwaris who accompanied him, and who spoke out, like all the rest of their countrymen, on the weakness of the king and the wickedness of the government, he fairly put the question to them, when the Jemautdar, joining his hands, said, with great fervency, "Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that!" "Why so?" said Captain Lockitt, "are not our people far better governed?" "Yes," was the answer, "but the name of Oude and the honour of our nation would be at an end." There are, indeed, many reasons why high-born and ambitious men must be exceedingly averse to our rule; but the preceding expression of one in humble rank savours of more national feeling and personal frankness

than is always met with in India. He was a soldier, however, and a Mussulman who spoke thus. A Hindoo ryot might have answered differently, and it is possible that both accounts may be true, though this only can I vouch for as authentic. It ought to be borne in mind, that the oppression and anarchy to which Oude is a prey are chiefly felt and witnessed in the villages. In the towns the king's authority passes unquestioned, and I have not heard that the dustoor levied is irregular or excessive. An insurrection in Lucknow would be a dreadful thing, and most ministers will be careful how they excite it.

The population of Lucknow is guessed at three hundred thousand; but Mussulmans regard every attempt to number the people as a mark of great impiety, and a sure presage of famine or pestilence, so that nothing can be known with accuracy. It is, I really think, large enough and sufficiently crowded to contain that number. There are two bridges over the Goomty, one a very noble old Gothic edifice of stone, of, I believe, eleven arches; the other a platform laid on boats, and merely connecting the king's park with his palace. Saadut Ali had brought over an iron bridge from England, and a place was prepared for its erection; but on his death the present sovereign declined prosecuting the work, on the ground that it was unlucky; so that in all probability it will lie where it is till the rust reduces it to powder.

There are in Lucknow a considerable number of Christians of one kind or other. Besides the numerous dependants of the Residency, the king has a great many Europeans and half-castes in his employ. There are also many tradesmen of both these descriptions, and a strange medley of adventurers of all nations and sects, who ramble hither in the hope, generally a fruitless one, of obtaining employment.

I had numerous congregations, both at the cantonments and the Residency, the two Sundays which I staid. The Hindoostanee reads well in prayer, particularly those words which are derived from the Arabic, as most of the reli-

gious terms in the translation of our Liturgy appear to be. I like the sound of "Aram Ullahi jo sare fahemon se bahur hue;"—"the peace of God," &c.; and of "Khoda Khader, Mutluk, jo Bap our Beta our Ruk Kodus hue;"—"God victorious, Mighty, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." I had also twelve candidates for confirmation, and administered the Sacrament to twenty-five persons, and found the people extremely anxious to assemble for public worship. The first Sunday I preached, indeed, three times, and twice the second, besides giving two confirmation lectures on the Friday and Saturday, and some other occasional duty. Mr. Ricketts is himself in the habit of acting as chaplain at the Residency every Sunday; but the people in the king's employ, and the other Christian inhabitants, complain that Government are very jealous of their attending at that place, and they express great anxiety to establish a similar meeting for devotional purposes among themselves. It would not be expedient at present to send a missionary here; but they might have a schoolmaster, furnished by our society with a stock of sermons to be read every

Sunday. I have requested Mr. Corrie to inquire for such a person. There are a few Roman Catholics, mostly Portuguese, or their degenerate descendants, who have a small chapel, and a Propaganda Franciscan priest. And, to show the strange mixture of adventurers who are attracted hither, I had applications made to me for charity by a Spaniard from Lima in Peru, who had come in search of service, and a Silesian Jew, who pretended that he had been an officer in the Russian army, and had been encouraged to bend his course in this direction by the golden dreams which men in Europe build of the opening for talent and adventurous spirit in India. I should have thought this last fellow a spy, had he not been quite without papers or documents of any kind, or if it had not been unlikely that a Russian spy would have openly professed to have served in the Russian army. He was exceedingly ignorant, spoke wretched French and German, with a strong Jewish accent, and, instead of having served in the army, had every appearance of having sold oranges all his days in Leipzie.

CHAPTER XVI.

LUCKNOW TO BAREILLY.

Departure from Lucknow—Gratitude of Sepoys—Illness—Mussulman Suwarr—Sandee—Dispute between two Villages—Shahjehanpoor—Rebel Chief in the Forest—Anecdote of Rohilla Chief—Fertility of Rohilcund—Futtehgunge—Hafez Rehmut—Visit from Tussildar—Furreedpoor—Bareilly—Professional Duties—Character of Rohillas—Preparations for the Mountains.

ON Monday, November 1st, having united my two kind-hearted friends, Mr. and Mrs. Ricketts, and taken leave of them, the Corries, and poor Lushington, whose bad health obliged me to leave him behind, under the care of the Residency surgeon, Mr. Luxmore, I set off from Lucknow alone, and I confess, with more regret and depression of spirits than I expected to feel on such an occasion. I had become quite intimate with Mr. and Mrs. Ricketts; for the Corries and Lushington I feel a sincere regard, and I could not but be painfully sensible how great the probability was, in such a climate, that this might, on earth, be our last meeting. I had the satisfaction, however, to leave the archdeacon much better than he had been, and to find that Mr. Luxmore thought favourably of Lushington's case. But it was, altogether, a sad leave-taking. Lushington was very low, in spite of many endeavours to speak cheerfully, the Corries much agitated, and their little girls in tears; and I do not think I felt the least of the party, though I believe I talked the most on various subjects.

I had found great difficulty in ascertaining the best road to Bareilly. That marked down in Paton's routes was declared, by the Dāk Moonshee, and the king's Aûmeen, the only persons from whom I was likely to obtain information, to be no longer practicable, the villages specified there being either deserted, or so far impoverished as to

afford neither supplies nor shade. A very direct road, which is marked on Arrowsmith's map, and which runs north-west from Lucknow to Shahabad, was said by the sarbann to be probably good and practicable at this time of year; but the Aûmeen declared he could not possibly go with me that way; that it was mostly wild jungle, and inhabited by Zemindars at present in a state of rebellion. I argued the matter some time, for the difference of distance is really great, and with a guard of fifty men there was no danger to be apprehended. But the old man said that though, perhaps, we might be safe from open attack, we should certainly get no supplies,—that nobody ever went that way but fakirs and hunters, and that the king had himself ordered him to take me the "Shahi Rustu," king's highway. I then gave up the point, which I afterwards was sorry for, for the Jemaudar of the horse-guards, whom the king sent with me, assured me that one was as much a Shahi Rustu as the other, and that I should have found the Shahabad road not only three days shorter, but, in his mind, much more pleasant. He owned that there were plenty of thieves and Zemindars, but none that were likely to meddle with us, or of whom any but a timid old Aûmeen would be afraid; and he spoke with a good deal of glee of the deer and the wild hogs which we should have met with in these woodland marches. It must be owned, however, that none of the British officers at

the Lucknow cantonments, nor any body at the Residency, or of the Europeans in the king's service, had ever been this road, or believed it to be practicable, so that we might possibly have been occasionally put to some inconvenience for supplies. As it was, I found it impossible to get the distance to Bareilly divided into less than fourteen stages, and was compelled, therefore, to send off the tents and baggage on Sunday morning, in order that I might reach that place for divine service on the 14th, and rest the intervening Sunday by the way.

My separation from Mr. Lushington enabled me to send back to Cawnpoor one elephant and six camels, besides the two elephants which belonged to Mr. Corrie's tent. I also sent back a routee, but kept two small double-poled tents, in order to save trouble and time by pitching them on alternate days. I had still three elephants and twenty-two camels, including two spare ones, a number which was rendered necessary by the length and arduous nature of the journey before me, as well as by the number of tents and quantity of baggage required by my escort. That consisted, besides the king's ten guards, of forty Sepoys, under a "Soubahdar," a native officer, and four non-commissioned officers. I thought this number unnecessary, but was told it was according to rule; and it so happened that I occasioned no inconvenience to the service, since the officers and men who were assigned me were actually under orders for Nusseerabad, and might just as well accompany me thither. My new Soubahdar was introduced to me on the Saturday by his predecessor, who was himself, against his will, ordered back to Cawnpoor. The new one is a grave, modest-looking old man, with a white beard, a native of Rajpootana, and of high caste, but of far more reserved manners, and greater diffidence, than the former. He is, however, a Hindoo, and they are certainly a less dashing race than the Mussulmans.

All my tents and baggage being gone, except what clothes a bag held, and all my servants but two, I set out at half-

past four o'clock, on one of Mr. Ricketts's elephants, accompanied by Captain Salmon on another, and attended by a third with the two servants. Mr. Ricketts had thought it proper that Captain Salmon and a body of suwarrs should go with me through the city; and the king, whose howdahs had no tilts to them, had kindly stationed two more elephants half-way, to receive me as soon as the sun should be gone down. In this way I made the journey rapidly and agreeably, and reached my tent at Hussungunge, twenty miles from Lucknow, a little after eight in the evening. In the way, at Futteh-gunge, I passed the tents pitched for the large party which were to return towards Cawnpoor next day, and was much pleased and gratified by the Soubahdar and the greater number of the Sepoys of my old escort running into the middle of the road to bid me another farewell, and again express their regret that they were not going on with me "to the world's end." They who talk of the ingratitude of the Indian character should, I think, pay a little more attention to cases of this sort. These men neither got nor expected anything by this little expression of good will. If I had offered them money, they would have been bound, by the rules of the service, and their own dignity, not to take it. Sufficient civility and respect would have been paid if any of them who happened to be near the road had touched their caps, and I really can suppose them actuated by no motive but good will. It had not been excited, so far as I know, by any particular desert on my part; but I had always spoken to them civilly, had paid some attention to their comforts in securing them tents, firewood, and camels for their knapsacks, and had ordered them a dinner after their own fashion, on their arrival at Lucknow, at the expense of, I believe, not more than four rupees! Surely, if good will is to be bought by these sort of attentions, it is a pity that any body should neglect them!

The suwarrs furnished by the king for this journey were a very different description of men from those who pre-

viously accompanied me. They were evidently picked for the purpose, being tall, strong young fellows, on exceedingly good horses, and as well armed as could be wished for the nature of their service.

We passed again through Nawalgunge, and I asked after the sick elephant, but was told he died the same morning that we went on towards Lucknow.

November 2.—I went five coss to Meeagunge, which was built by the famous eunuch Almass Ali Khân, whose proper name, while in a state of servitude, was Meea. It consists of a large fort of bricks, with eight circular bastions, surrounded by an exterior enclosure, at perhaps five hundred yards distance, of mud, but also in the shape of a fortification, with great Gothic gateways corresponding to those in the central enclosure. Between are avenues of very noble mangoe-trees, with which indeed the whole intervening space is planted, though at such considerable intervals as not to intercept the breeze. It is a fine old-fashioned park, but now trees, towers, gates, and palaces are sinking fast into rubbish and forgetfulness. Almass had here a park of forty pieces of artillery, and when he received a visit from the Nawâb Saadut Ali, he built him up a throne of a million of rupees, of which, when his Highness was seated on it, he begged him to accept. The fort is now filled with the bazar of a poor village, erected under the shade of the mangoes; the park was laid down, when I saw it, in quillets of beautiful green wheat and barley.

I had been unwell for the last two days, and was obliged to perform my journey of the 3rd in my palanquin, the best way in which a sick man could make it; I travelled seven coss to Seetalgunge, the country level, fertile, and well cultivated. The whole of this day I felt extremely ill, and was in much perplexity what to do, as I was some days' journey from any medical adviser. The application, however, of leeches to my temples relieved me considerably, and I was able to get into my palanquin the next morning,

intending if possible to push on, so that if I grew worse I might be able to get assistance by sending a servant on to Futtehgunge, the nearest station, on a swift-trotting camel.

This day's march, the 4th, brought me to a large town called Mallaon, in the neighbourhood of which my tents were pitched. Here I remained the whole of the next day, being too ill to move. At the time that I gave orders for this halt, I know not why, but the whole caravan seemed to be convinced that I was not long for this world. Abdullah worried me a great deal with his lamentations on my premature end in the wilderness, recommending all manner of unattainable or improper remedies, and talking all sorts of absurd wisdom, at the same time that his eyes were really full of tears. The poor Sirdar said nothing, but showed a most pitiful face every ten or twelve minutes through the tent door. The "goomashta," or master of the camels, the old Soubahdar, the Aûmeen, and many others came to offer up their good wishes and prayers for my recovery; and, perhaps, the best and most useful proof of their good will was, that I heard no needless noise in the camp the whole day; and, if a voice were raised, "chup! chup!" "silence! silence!" followed immediately. Abdullah offered to push on with the camels to procure assistance; and I promised him that, if I were not better next morning, I would send him or some other messenger. But through the mercy of God, the remedies I took, almost in utter ignorance, proved successful, and I found myself so much better on the morning of Saturday, November the 6th, as to be enabled to perform my day's journey with ease in the palanquin; and I received the felicitations of all the elders of the camp on my recovery.

I believe my complaint to have been the Calcutta and Lucknow influenza, a little aggravated, perhaps, by my journey in the sun after tiffin on Monday afternoon. I did not feel, however, the same excessive and distressing languor as is said to have haunted convalescents in that disorder, or more indeed of

weakness than might fairly be accounted for by the discipline which I had undergone.

Our stage-to-day of seven coss, through the same level and fruitful style of country, was to Belgaram, a place remarkable as being the station first fixed on for the British "advanced force," as it then was, which was afterwards fixed at Cawnpoor. There are still several traces of what the king's suwarra said were bells of arms, and officers' bungalows, which certainly might be such, but were now heaps of ruins.

The town of Belgaram itself is small, with marks of having been much more considerable, but still containing some large and good, though old Mussulman houses, the habitations of the tussildar, cutwell, &c. Here again, after a long interval, I found a good many scattered palms, both of the date and toddy species, and there is a noble show of mangoe-trees in every direction. I found myself well enough in the evening to walk round the place, attended by the goomashta, whom I found a very sensible man, willing to give information, and well acquainted with most points which relate to the agriculture, rent, and taxes of this part of India. He said, what I could easily believe from all which I saw, that the soil of Oude was one of the finest in the world; that everything flourished here which grew either in Bengal or Persia; that they had at once rice, sugar, cotton, and palm-trees, as well as wheat, maize, barley, beans, and oats: that the air was good, the water good, and the grass particularly nourishing to cattle: but he said, "the laws are not good, the judges are wicked, the Zemindars are worse, the Aumeens worst of all, and the ryots are robbed of everything, and the king will neither see nor hear." I asked him the rent per begah of the land. He said generally four rupees, but sometimes six; and sometimes the peasant had all taken from him. I observed that it was strange that, under such usage, they continued to cultivate the land so well as they seemed to do. "What can they do?" he answered, "they must eat; and when they have put the seed in the ground, they must

wait till it comes up, and then take what they can get of it." I still, however, suspect exaggeration in all these stories.

We passed a neat garden of turnips, and some potatoes, looking very promising; these last, he said, were at first exceedingly disliked by the people, but now were becoming great favourites, particularly with the Mussulmans, who find them very useful as absorbents in their greasy messes. Our elephants were receiving their drink at a well, and I gave the suwarree some bread, which, before my illness, I had often been in the habit of doing. "He is glad to see you again," observed the goomashta, and I certainly was much struck by the calm, clear, attentive, intelligent eye which he fixed on me, both while he was eating, and afterwards, while I was patting his trunk and talking about him. His mohout told me that, three or four years ago, his trunk had received a very serious wound from the claw of a tiger which sprang on him, and from which he was rescued with great difficulty; the trunk was nearly torn off, but he was recovered by having a bandage applied kept constantly wet with brandy. He was, he said, a fine-tempered beast, but the two others were "great rascals." One of them had once almost killed his keeper. I have got these poor beasts' allowance increased in consideration of their long march; and that they may not be wronged, have ordered the mohout to give them all their gram in presence of a sentry. The gram is made up in cakes, about as large as the top of a hat-box, and baked on an earthen pot. Each contains a seer, and sixteen of them are considered as sufficient for one day's food for an elephant on a march. The suwarree elephant had only twelve, but I ordered him the full allowance, as well as an increase to the others. If they knew this they would indeed be glad to see me.

As I was slowly returning to my tents, a handsome young Mussulman came up, and seeing an European in plain clothes, with only three unarmed people, began talking civilly in point of language, but in a very free and easy

sort of manner: he was smartly dressed, with a gold-laced skull-cap, an embroidered muslin shirt and drawers, earrings, collar, and ring, which professed to be of garnets with a few diamonds, and a showy shawl wrapped round his body, but none of his clothes clean or well put on, and had that sort of jaunty air about him, which, as it is more unusual, is even more offensive in an Eastern than a Western buck. He was followed by seven or eight very dirty ill-dressed fellows with swords, shields, and matchlocks, and had himself a sword, with a tarnished silver hilt, and a large pistol, which he carried in his hand and kept playing with while he was speaking. He was evidently more than half drunk, and had the manner of a foolish boy who wants to play the great man, but is not sure how he will be received, and undecided whether he is to pick a quarrel or no. He salamed, and asked me what I was about, and where I had been, which I answered civilly, but shortly; he then inquired whence I came and where I was going. I asked him why he wanted to know? to which he answered, that he was a man of consequence in the neighbourhood, and it was his business to make inquiries; but added more civilly, that seeing a Sahib, he came to offer salutation. I said I was obliged to him, and asked his name, which he told me, but which I forget, except that he professed to be a Syud, inquiring at the same time what my name was. "Lord Padre Sahib" did not explain the matter at all: he resumed, however, his inquiries about my route next day, and where I intended to halt. I had forgotten the name, and on turning towards the goomashta, he, very eagerly, and with an expressive look, said "Sandee," which I knew was not the place, but as he seemed to wish to see no more of the gentleman, I did not interfere. He then again launched out into an account of his own influence in the neighbourhood, "east, west, north, and south," and added, as I seemed a good man, he would come in the morning with his friends to protect me. I thanked him, but said he need not trouble himself, since, besides my own

servants, I had already fifty Sepoys, and ten of the king's suwarra. While I said this a very whimsical change took place in his countenance. His head was before thrown back in a protecting way, and his eyes were half shut. These he now opened very wide, and raised his head to a perpendicular posture so suddenly, that, since I had, during the conversation drawn up pretty closely to him, in order to prevent, if necessary, any further evolutions with his pistol, our noses and breasts were almost brought into contact. He hastily drew back, called me "Huzoor," instead of "Ap," and again renewed his offer, not of protection, but of service. I cut the matter short, however, by taking a civil leave of this young descendant of Fatima and the Imâms. When he was gone I asked the goomashta if he knew anything of him. He shook his head, saying that there were many such hurramzadus about the country, who were too proud to enter into the Company's army, and who could not find employ in the little army of the king, and were, consequently, idle, drunken, and ready for any mischief. I asked if he were a Zemindar; he said he did not believe that he was either Zemindar or tussildar, or that, whatever his family might be, he had any other profession or character than that of suwarr, and a candidate for employment in some of the mercenary armies of India. He concluded with hoping we should see no more of him, which, indeed, I thought most likely. I was a little tired with my walk, but slept all the better for it, and waked at half-past three on Sunday the 7th, with no traces of sickness. I had ordered the tents and luggage to a station seven coss distant, but the foolish khânsaman finding a want of trees and water there, instead of pushing on further, or trying to the right or left, returned two coss to Sandee, so that the animals and people had a nine coss march, while our actual progress was only five! I was very angry when I came up and found what had happened, but it was then too late to be remedied.

The country through which we passed

to-day was extremely pretty, undulating, with scattered groves of tall trees, and some extensive lakes, which still showed a good deal of water. The greater part of the space between the wood was in green wheat; but there were, round the margins of the lakes, some small tracts of brushwood and beautiful silky jungle-grass, eight or ten feet high, with its long pendent beards glistening with hoar-frost, a sight enough in itself to act as a tonic to a convalescent European. The morning was very cold, however, to my feelings, and though I had a woollen great-coat, pantaloons, and worsted stockings, I was not sorry to draw my cloak also about me. Sandee is a poor little village, shaded by some fine trees, with a large jeel in the neighbourhood swarming with wild fowl. It was described to me as a very dangerous place for travellers without my present advantages; and I was told that from thence to the Company's frontier the country bore an extremely bad character, and several robberies and murders had taken place lately. For us there could, I should think, be no fear, but when I went to take my usual walk in the evening, the Jemautdar of the king's horsemen and one of his troopers came up with their swords and pistols and begged leave to join me.

I had an opportunity, on this occasion, of seeing the manner in which the ground is irrigated from wells, of which there are great numbers. The water is poured into narrow channels conducted all over the field, round the little squares into which the land is divided all through India, and the use of which I before understood but imperfectly. I now found that these ledges are adapted to receive and retain the precious fluid with as little waste as possible, each serving as a small lock, in which, when the water has done its duty, a hole is made by the hand, and the stream passed on to the next. The industry and neatness exhibited in this work were very pleasing, and I rejoiced to see the favourable appearance which the young wheat bore. The lake was half dry already, and would, they said, in three months'

time be quite so; as it recedes, it leaves a fine bed of grass and aquatic plants, on which a large herd of cattle was now eagerly grazing. The Ganges, I was told, was not above four coss distant, and an angle of the Company's frontier hardly so far. One of the king's couriers passed, dressed like a suwarr and well armed, on a good horse, and riding at a great rate with a mounted and armed attendant behind him. There were, the Jemautdar said, a great many of these people, who brought news from different quarters, the greater part of which was afterwards inserted in the court intelligencer. The only regular post in Oude is carried on by the British Government, and is under the management of the resident. This was a lonely Sunday, except that in the evening I said prayers with Abdullah. I hope, however, it was not a misspent one. I hope and believe I was really thankful to God for his late goodness to me. My travelling to-day was not to be avoided, since, otherwise, I could not have reached Bareilly by the following Sunday.

November 8. — Our march to-day, thanks to the blunder of yesterday, was ten coss, or twenty miles, to a large village with an old fortress, named Suromunuggur. The country improved in beauty, becoming more and more woody and undulating, but was neither so well inhabited nor so well cultivated as that which we had gone through before. The king's Aumeen had urged my people to pitch their tents two coss short of Suromunuggur, at another village, but the water was bad and dirty, and they remembered my recent scolding too well to stop again short of the appointed place. In consequence, however, of their advance, a messenger came from the "Foujdah" (chatellain) of Suromunuggur, asking why we were not content with the quarters at first assigned to us, adding that the men of their place neither wanted to see the king nor any of his friends, that they had no supplies to spare, and were able and determined to defend themselves against us. At almost the same time a similar message came from the first village,

bidding us go on in God's name, for they did not want us there; but if the people of Suromunuggur refused to receive us, they would help us with five hundred men. I was asleep in my palanquin, it being early in the morning when this occurred, but Abdullah, who was a little in advance, answered the first messengers very properly, that "His lord did not come there to take any part in their quarrels; that it was known to all the country that I was travelling peaceably, and that instead of using the king's authority to strip the ryots, I had paid for everything which was brought, and had not allowed either servant or soldier to take a blade of corn without leave of the owner. That if their tradesmen would not furnish us with supplies, we would buy them elsewhere, and content ourselves with telling the king and the resident the reception we had met with; but that he, Abdullah, did not dare propose to me to go, in consequence of their foolish threats, to any other place than which I had ordered." The people seemed satisfied and ran off. Abdullah, when I came up, said that he thought this would be the case, and that there would be no occasion to trouble me with the matter, which was probably only a quarrel amongst the villagers themselves. The message from the nearest village came by one of the king's hurkaras, who accompanied me, and in fact required no answer. I saw no trace of the five hundred men as I passed it, and should be much surprised if one hundred effective men could have been found in it. At all events my escort would have chased them all. At Suromunuggur I found the tents peaceably pitched, the sentries posted, and everything with the appearance of quiet. The Foujdar, however, though he had sent some milk, and a fine kid for my use, and a little firewood for the kitchen, was still jealous and uneasy at our neighbourhood. He did not like to admit us indiscriminately into his bazar, and proposed that two of my servants and two of the Sepoys should come in, to market for the rest. I returned answer, through Abdullah, that it was my particular

order that not a single soldier or servant of mine should leave their places; that we only wanted food, and the usual necessaries for travellers, and that if his tradesmen would bring their baskets out into the field they would find us no bad customers. Four or five people of this sort came out accordingly, as well as some labouring men, who, for an ana each, brought as much wood and grass as was sufficient for the party. The only quarrel which occurred was from the misconduct of one of the elephant-drivers, always a brutish and impudent set, who began to help himself and his animal out of a field of maize. The old man to whom it belonged came to me with a lamentable outcry, but was satisfied, since, indeed, no estimable harm had yet been done, with my making the fellow give back the little he had taken, and threatening him with a flogging. The kid which had been brought I saw paid for, and as I did not want it myself, gave it to the king's suwarra, whose conduct and countenance throughout the discussion had been extremely good and soldierly. In the course of the day all jealousies seemed to have passed; and when I went for my evening's walk, merely adding a couple of spearmen to my yesterday's cortège, I asked if they would let me go into the village, and found no objection made; indeed, they said, that the king's Atmeen and the Foujdar were already well reconciled.

The fortress is pretty much like a large serai, surrounded by a high brick wall, with round towers at the flanks, and two Gothic gateways opposite to each other. That by which I entered had a tall iron-studded door like a college, with a small wicket in one leaf, which alone was now open; within, on each side of the passage, was a large arched recess, about three feet from the ground, where were seated twelve or fifteen men, armed as usual, with one or two guns, and matches lighted, but mostly having bows and arrows: all had swords and shields. They rose and salamed very respectfully as I came in, and I passed on through a narrow street of mud-houses, some looking like warehouses, and the whole having more

the air of a place where the peasantry of a small district were accustomed to secure their stores, than the usual residence of any considerable number of people. Half-way along this street I was met by the Foujdar himself, a peasant like the rest, and the old Aumeen, who came out of the house together. The latter had every appearance of having been drinking, but said "he had been at his daily work, arranging with his friend here, matters for Huzoor's comfort and progress next day." After salutation I went on to the opposite gate, which was supplied with warders in the same way as the previous one, and then entered a little straggling bazar, which, with some scattered huts, completed the hamlet. I saw no mosque, but a small pagoda, and the warders were apparently not Mussulmans, but Hindoos, which I had previously found was also the case with my old Aumeen. Thus ended a day which had a commencement apparently so formidable, but of which I cannot help entertaining some doubt that the difficulty was, in the first instance, considerably exaggerated by Abdullah and the other servants, partly to increase the apparent dignity and prudence of the answer returned, partly from the love of the marvellous which the vulgar in all countries cherish. I was not sorry, however, to have witnessed this little specimen of the warlike habits of Oude. The Jemautdar told me during my walk, that these people and those of the other village had long been on bad terms, and that many men had been killed on each side. This will perhaps account both for the anger of the one party in the morning, when they thought that we were leaving their enemies to *sponge* on them, as also for the benevolent offer of the other to lend us their best aid in injuring their neighbours. But, altogether, it was not unpleasant to find myself at the head of so respectable a force as to make it extremely improbable that any of these hot-bloods would court a quarrel.

Some little adventures had occurred during this journey, in the detail of my escort, which I forgot to mention in their places. A Sepoy had deserted

with his musket and clothes, which I chiefly notice, because it was regarded as utterly hopeless and idle to pursue, or even to describe him in my report of the circumstance to the officer of the next station, and still more, because his desertion was spoken of by all in the camp with surprise, and as if it were the voluntary abandonment of a comfortable situation. Two other Sepoys had been ill for several days, in much the same way with myself; I had treated them in a similar manner; and they were now doing well, but being Brahmins of high caste, I had much difficulty in conquering their scruples and doubts about the physic which I gave them. They both said that they would rather die than taste wine. They scrupled at my using a spoon to measure their castor-oil, and insisted that the water in which their medicines were mixed should be poured by themselves only. They were very grateful, however, particularly for the care I took of them when I was myself ill, and said repeatedly that the sight of me in good health would be better to them than all medicines. They seemed now free from disease, but recovered their strength more slowly than I did, and I was glad to find that the Soubahdar said he was authorized, under such circumstances, to engage a hackery at the Company's expense, to carry them till they were fit to march. He mentioned this in consequence of my offering them a lift on a camel, which they were afraid of trying.

Another Sepoy, a very fine young fellow, called on me this evening to beg permission to go to see a brother, who was with some companies cantoned at a little frontier post, eight coss to our left hand, the name of which I forget. He said that as he was to go into Rajpootana, he did not know when he should meet him again; and added that he could easily travel the eight coss that night, and would rejoin me at Shahjehanpoor. I told him not to hurry himself to do so, but to take the straight northern road to Bareilly, by which means he might fall in with me before I reached that city, and that I would give him a pass for four days. He

was much delighted; and I mention the circumstance chiefly to show the falsehood of the common notion, that these poor people will take no trouble for the sake of their kindred.

A pretty trout-stream, named like the large river at Lucknow, the Goomty, winds under the walls of Suromunnuggur, through a beautiful carpet of green wheat, interspersed with noble trees. It is strange, indeed, how much God has done to bless this land, and how perversely man has seemed bent to render His bounties unavailing!

From Suromunnuggur we proceeded, on the 9th, to Oudunpoor, five coss and a half. We passed in our way through Shahabad, a considerable town, or almost city, with the remains of fortifications, and many large houses. Oudunpoor is what would be called a moderate-sized market-town in England. It has a fine "tope" (or grove) of mango-trees adjoining where the tents were pitched, covering six or eight acres, with a little shrine of Siva in the middle, and an open shed near it. The country is chiefly cultivated with cotton. This place also, some years ago, bore a very bad character, and is still dangerous for persons without a guard. On a frontier, it may be well supposed, idle and mischievous people, the refuse of both countries, are likely to establish themselves; but by what I learned, both here and at Shahjehanpoor, there is little to choose in this respect between the two sides of the boundary line.

An old man, one hundred and nine years of age, was brought to my tent to beg to-day. He had his bodily organs perfect, but was apparently childish. He was evidently regarded with great veneration, both by the country people and my own servants, who said, "He must have been a good man to be allowed to live so long." In India, indeed, where the average duration of human life runs so low, such instances are naturally reckoned more wonderful than in the north of Europe. I know not how the idle stories arose, which are found in the ancient Greek writers, of Indian longevity. I remember Malte Brun supposes they must have been

taken from the upper provinces; but here, in one of the finest and healthiest climates of the whole east, the age of man very seldom exceeds seventy. This old man had no means of support but begging, and his character of a religious person; he was, however, very cleanly and neatly dressed, with a large chaplet of beads, and was attended, to all appearance, very carefully, by a man who called himself his disciple.

Some men came with two young bears, exactly like those at Barrackpoor, and very tame. They wanted to make them fight before me, which I declined, but gave the men a trifle, and the bears my remaining stock of stale bread, for which I had no more human use. I asked where they were caught, and they told me in the mountains of Bundelcund.

In the evening I walked round the town, before the principal house of which, under a spreading tree, I found the old Aumeen, stripped all but his waistcloth, cooking his supper in the simple manner of a Hindoo. He followed me shortly after, and begged to introduce the principal "mohajun," or merchant of the place, who wanted to see me. He was, as it appeared, a dealer in cloth, and in the other multi-form commodities which generally stock an English country shop; a fat man, with a red turban, warmly and plainly, but neatly dressed, and looking like one well to pass in the world. He told me, in Eastern style, that my fame had gone through all the country, and that I was considered as the only great man who had come from foreign parts to Lucknow, with less disposition to take than to give money. "Most of them," he said, "come to strip us poor people." I certainly found myself, this evening, rather the sheared than the shearer, inasmuch as I had to take leave of the king of Oude's people, and give them their presents; they were all well satisfied with what they received. I had, again, to-day given up the goat which was brought for my use to the suwarra, and I found that these two successive dinners pleased them far more than even their fee, as being less

expected. Nothing, however, seemed to give so much satisfaction to the Jemautdar as a certificate under my hand, and with my great seal, of his good conduct. The Ameen also, who, besides a couple of coarse shawls, got forty rupees, was greatly delighted with a similar paper, kissing the seal, and pressing it to his forehead with high respect. I told them I wished them to see me over the frontier next day, but they said they hoped for my permission to escort me fairly to Shahjehanpoor.

November 10.—From Oudunpoor to Shahjehanpoor is seven coss of the same cultivated country. The frontier here is only an ideal line. Soon after I had entered the Company's territories, I was met by ten suwars, very gaily dressed, but neither so fine men, nor so well mounted, as those of the king. They had been sent to meet me by Mr. Neave, the judge of Shahjehanpoor. With them and the king's people, who would not relinquish their station, I rode on in high style, Câbul (the name of my horse) showing off in his best manner, as being much animated by so numerous a company; though, as we pranced up the street of Shahjehanpoor, I could not help thinking that, in the midst of this barbarous cavalcade, with musketeers, spearmen, and elephants closing the procession, my friends at home would have had some difficulty in recognising me, or believing me to be a man of peace.

At the entrance of the town I passed the river Gurruk, a quiet, winding stream, over a little mean old bridge, by the side of a much more splendid one, begun some months since at the expense of the ex-minister of Oude, the Hukeem Mendee, who has a house and considerable property within the British territories in this district. The bridge would, if completed, have been a very good and extensive one, but is now much dilapidated, a great part of the unfinished work having fallen in during the rains.

Shahjehanpoor is a large place, with some stately old mosques, and a castle. These are mostly ruinous, but the houses are in good plight. The bazars

show marks of activity and opulence, and I could not help observing that there really is a greater appearance of ease, security, and neatness among the middling and lower classes of the Company's subjects than among those of the king of Oude. I found my tent pitched just beyond the town, not far from the gates of the compound of Mr. Campbell, the collector of the district, whose guest I was to be. I breakfasted and dined with him, and met most of the gentlemen of the station.

I found no professional duties to perform; but endeavoured, during the day, to persuade these gentlemen to remedy, in some little degree, in their secluded situation, the want of a chaplain (of which they complain, but which I see no chance of supplying at present), by meeting at some convenient place on Sundays, and taking it by turns to read a selection, which I pointed out, from the Church Prayers, the Psalms, and lessons of the day, and a printed sermon. I urged on them the example of Mr. Ricketts at Lucknow, and hope I produced some effect; at any rate I am glad I made the trial, and I think I gave no offence by doing so.

The conquest of Rohilcund by the English, and the death of its chief in battle, its consequent cession to the Nawâb of Oude, and the horrible manner in which Sujah ud Dowlah oppressed and misgoverned it, form one of the worst chapters of English history in India. We have since made the Rohillas some amends by taking them away from Oude, and governing them ourselves; but, by all which I could learn from the society this day, concerning the present state of the province of Bareilly, the people appear by no means to have forgotten or forgiven their first injuries. The Mussulman chiefs, who are numerous, are very angry at being without employment under Government, or hope of rising in the state or army, and are continually breaking out into acts of insubordination and violence, which are little known in the other provinces of the Company's empire, but are favoured here by the neighbourhood of Oude, and

the existence of a large forest along the whole eastern, southern, and northern frontiers. In this forest a rebel chief is by many supposed to have lurked the last seven years, for whose apprehension Government have vainly offered no less a sum than ten thousand rupees. Many robberies are certainly still perpetrated in his name; but the opinion of the magistrates at Shahjehanpore is, that the man is really dead, and that his name only, like that of Captain Rock, remains as the rallying point of mutiny. The military officers of our dinner party had often been in this forest, which they describe as extensive, and in some places very picturesque, with some few tracts of high land, whence, even in this neighbourhood, the snowy range of Himalaya is visible.

The Rohilla insurgents are usually very faithful to each other, and as in Oude there is neither police nor pursuit, it very seldom happens, if they once escape, that they can be laid hold of afterwards. One of the most notorious of them, who had long eluded justice, came into the hands of Government not long since, under very singular circumstances. He had passed over into Oude, and bought a Zemindarrie there, which was last year seized on, under circumstances of excessive injustice, by the servants of the favourite, who, at the same time, carried off one of his wives. The Zemindar, equally high-spirited and desperate with Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, under similar circumstances, rode immediately to Lucknow, scaled, by the assistance of his servants, the wall of the minister's private garden, and waited there, well armed, but alone, till his enemy should make his appearance. The minister did not himself appear, but his two youngest sons came out to walk with their ayahs. The Rohilla knew them, pounced on them like a tiger, and, holding them between his knees, told the terrified women to go and call their master. The palace was soon in an uproar, but he sat still, with his back against the wall, the infants under his knees, and a pistol in each hand, calling out, "Draw near,

and they are both dead!" The minister wept, and tore his flesh, promising him everything if he would let them go; to which he answered, "The restoration of my wife, my own safety, and the guarantee of the British esident for both!" The woman was immediately brought out, and the minister went like one frantic to the Residency, begging, for God's sake, either Mr. Ricketts or Major Raper to go with him. The latter went, and the Rohilla, after a horrible pause, in which he seemed still to be weighing the sweetness of revenge against the promises held out to him, rose, took his wife by the hand, and led her away. He was not, however, satisfied with the security of his continuance in Oude, but soon after surrendered himself to the British, saying that he knew he must look forward to a confinement of some time, but he preferred their severities to the tender mercies of the minister, who, in spite of his promise, had, he was convinced, already laid snares for him. He is now a prisoner in the castle of Allahabad, but it is generally believed that he has made his peace, and that his confinement will not be a long one, though his offences before were serious enough, and though it would be a strange reason for pardoning him, that he had been about to kill the two children of the prime-minister of an allied power.

The soil and climate of Rohilcund are very fine; the former produces everything which is to be found in Oude, and the commodities are reckoned better, because, being under a better system of government and lighter taxes, the peasants bestow more pains on them. Their sugar, rice, and cotton are the most high-priced in India, and I was surprised to see not only the toddy and date palms, but plantains common, while walnuts, strawberries, grapes, apples, and pears likewise thrive here.

I drove out after dinner, and thought the country pretty. It has the same fine tall trees with Oude, and the cultivation is decidedly neater, but the ground is not so agreeably undulating as that which I have come over for the last few days. The hot winds are not

much felt here, and on the whole it seems one of the most favoured districts between Lahore and Ava. I asked if they ever saw ice formed in the pools; but I do not think they could positively say they had; though hoarfrost is no unusual occurrence, and ice is obtained without difficulty in shallow trenches, made for the purpose, and filled with water.

There are five companies of Sepoys at Shahjehanpoor, and several similar detachments scattered up and down the country. They seem, indeed, to have their hands tolerably full of work, and to lead nearly the same lives which soldiers similarly situated do in Ireland. They have, however, not the misery of enforcing revenue laws, and the greater number of cases either arise from civil suits respecting property, the decrees of which it is not the manner of the Rohillas to attend to very scrupulously, or from an inveterate habit of "lifting" cows and sheep, which the beggarly Zemindars and idle long-legged "gil-lies" of one village are always apt to feel a pride in exercising against those of the next. "Take care of that long-tailed horse of yours," was the first caution which I received. "Keep him carefully at night under the sentry's eye, or you will never carry him over the ferry of Anopshehr." I therefore gave an especial caution to the people about Cábul. The other horse having his tail cut, they are not so likely to meddle with.

November 11.—From Shahjehanpoor to Tillhier is seven coss, through a level and extremely well-cultivated country, intersected by the river Gurruk, another branch of which we crossed by a ferry. At Tillhier our encampment was in a noble grove of tall trees, with a large tank of clear water adjoining, the whole so like some of Poussin's landscapes, that one might have supposed him to have visited Rohilcund. The tindals, however, in the first instance, had stupidly chosen to pitch my tent where no shade approached, and close by the public track. As the day bid fair to be hot, I insisted on their doing their work over again, and thus gave them a lesson, which, I have rea-

son to think, will make them in future more attentive.

The people here have a curious idea, which I have never seen any sign of in Bengal, that the shade of the tamarind-tree is unwholesome to man and beast. It is certain that trees of this description, though useful in so many ways, are seldom planted in those beautiful groves where cofilas usually halt.

Mr. Neave and Mr. Campbell had the goodness to send some of their swarms with me. I did not see the necessity of it, but was told it would secure me attention from the village thánna-dars and tussildars.

In the evening, as usual, I walked about the town and neighbourhood, but attracted a considerably greater crowd than I expected, or than was quite convenient, though the people were exceedingly civil, anxious to show me one curiosity after another, and neither asked, nor apparently expected, any fees for their trouble as ciceroni. I found a large party of Mussulmans celebrating the vigil of a saint who lies buried by the further side of the tank I mentioned. They had covered his tomb with a green cloth, had planted a number of green banners round it, and were drumming, after a very dissonant manner to call the faithful to prayers. The congregation already assembled were apparently of the lower class of tradespeople. Knowing that such solemnities generally produce an attack on the pockets of any great man who goes near them, and being well conversant with the Mussulman forms of worship, I should not have approached, but I happened to turn on them, round a corner, before I was aware. The Imâm immediately ran forwards, with some fragments of the sacred tomb in his hand, reciting the "bismillah" as he came along, and pressed me to draw near. I was consequently obliged to put a rupee down on the fragments, and had the honour, in return, of having my name recited in the prayers which followed.

There is a large but ruinous serai in the centre of the town, some very elegant fragments of the house, which, under the late Patan dynasty, was occu-

pied by the Jemautdar of the district, and a ruinous old fort, pretty much like that at Suromunuggur, within which the present tussildar has built a small, but very neat, and almost elegant bungalow. Some noble old banyan-trees grow in different parts of the town, and my evening walk was on the whole an interesting one.

A strange receipt was suggested by one of these people for the benefit of Câbul's health, whose beauty attracts general notice, as well as his docility and fondness for me. It was a boiled sheep's head once in fourteen days! and the object was to make him strong and help his digestion. I asked Abdullah if he had ever heard of such a "messala," or mess, before? He answered it was sometimes recommended, and he had tried it himself, to his sorrow, since the horse never lived to have the dose repeated.

The same adviser wanted me to take off a joint of Câbul's tail, under the hair, so as not to injure his appearance. "It was known," he said, "that by how much the tail was made shorter, so much the taller the horse grew." I said, "I could not believe that God gave any animal a limb too much, or one which tended to its disadvantage, and that as He had made my horse so he should remain." This speech, such as it was, seemed to chime in wonderfully with the feelings of most of my hearers, and one old man said, that "during all the twenty-two years that the English had held the country he had not heard so grave and godly a saying from any of them before." I thought of Sancho Panza and his wise apothegms, but I regretted that, without doing more harm than good, I could not, with my present knowledge of Hindoostanee, tell them anything which was really worth their hearing. Yet, if my life is spared, I trust the time may come!—They told me the true name of the village is Camaun; why the Sahibs called it Tillhier they could not tell. I suspect that several malentendus of this kind have occurred in Paton's routes, through the hasty manner in which names are sometimes asked for and set down by young officers on a

journey. One of Mr. Neave's suwarra had a very handsome white horse, a native of Cutch, with the hollowest back I ever saw, though yet quite young. He said, and Abdullah confirmed it, that all the Cutch horses have this "neshan," or mark, but it does not increase with age. The Cutch horses bear a good price, as being supposed to have Arab blood in them.

I have several times lately made inquiries about tigers, but both in Oude and in Rohilcund they are evidently rare, and unless a man goes into the woods to look after them, are very seldom seen. Fifteen or sixteen years ago they said a man had been killed by a tiger at Shahjehanpoor, and six or eight years ago, for they were not positive as to the exact time, some cows had been carried off by one in this neighbourhood. The Sahibs from Shahjehanpoor, they added, had a hunt and killed the tiger. They call this animal not "bagh," or "bahr," but "shehr," which is, strictly speaking, a lion; but there are no lions in this part of India; and they explained to me fully, that the "shehr" was, in their acceptance, the same animal which was elsewhere called "bahr."

November 12.—From Tillhier to Futtehgunge is a distance of seven short coss, over a level, open, and comparatively naked country, with few villages, and less signs of cultivation, except that its very nakedness is, in these wooded countries, a sign, which I have not seen since I left Lucknow. The road, however, was very good; we passed a small river by an excellent new bridge, and notwithstanding all which I had heard of the warlike and predatory habits of the Rohillas, the passengers whom I have met these two last days have been much less universally loaded with offensive and defensive weapons than in Oude, or even in the Doab. Futtehgunge is a poor village, surrounded by a ruined mud wall, with two handsome brick Gothic gateways. There is a noble mangoe-tope adjoining, covering, I should think, from twenty to thirty acres, under which my tent was pitched, and this time in a very convenient situation.

Here again the increased neatness and apparent comfort of the cottages over those of Oude struck me forcibly. Undoubtedly a regular government, under which a man may eat the fruit of his labour, and display his little comforts without fear of their being taken from him, is an inestimable blessing. But it must be observed that I was not struck by any material difference between the villages of Oude and those which I had passed in my way between Allahabad and Cawnpoor, so that other causes, besides a difference of régime, may be supposed to operate in favour of the Rohillas. They have, indeed, the character of a cleanly and industrious people, and their land, before its conquest and transfer to Oude, is said to have been a perfect garden. From that time it grew worse and worse, till on its cession to us by Saadut Ali, it was a frightful scene of desolation and anarchy. Its subsequent recovery has been rapid, but is not yet complete.

Within these two days I have noticed some fields of tobacco, which I do not think is a common crop in the districts through which I have hitherto marched. The Hindoostanee name is "tumbuc-coo," evidently derived, as well as the plant itself, through the Europeans, from America. How strange it is that this worthless drug should have so rapidly become popular all over the world, and among people who are generally supposed to be most disinclined from the adoption of foreign customs!

The daroga of Futtehgunge called on me in the course of the morning, a fine-looking man, with a full black beard, and a complexion very little darker than a southern European. He brought a present of two large geese, and was better dressed than most public functionaries of a corresponding rank in India. I asked him to sit down, which greatly pleased him. He told me that Futtehgunge, which means the Mart of Victory, was founded by the Nawáb Suja ud Dowlah, in memory of the great battle in which the last Patan chief, Hafez Rehmut Khân, was slain, and which was fought between this place and Cuttrah in the year 1776, a little to the southward. This unfortunate man

was an excellent sovereign, and the country under his government, notwithstanding the anarchy which had preceded it, was highly cultivated. He has been described as a noble warrior with a long grey beard, who led his cavalry on in a brilliant style against the allied armies. When his nobles, at the head of their respective clans, either treacherous or timid, gave way, he remained almost alone on a rising ground, in the heat of the fire, conspicuous by his splendid dress and beautiful horse, waving his hand, and vainly endeavouring to bring back his army to another charge, till seeing that all was lost, he waved his hand once more, gave a shout, and galloped on the English bayonets. He fell, shot through and through, and the brutal Suja ud Dowlah applied for his body, that it might be cut in pieces, and his grey head carried on a pike through the country. The English general, however, had it wrapped in shawls, and sent with due honour to his relations. Still a sad stain seems to rest on the English name for the part they took in this business, and this, with the murder of Nundemar, and the treatment which the raja of Benares met with, are the worst acts of Mr. Hastings's administration.

The noble mangoe-tope was planted by the jemautdar whom Hafez Rehmut established here, and is about thirty-six years old. These trees begin to decay in about sixty or seventy years, and seldom last much more than one hundred.

The daroga was followed by the tussildar, a man of not so splendid an appearance, but one whom I saw, by the bustle my servants made to receive him, was a person of some importance. I found, in fact, in the course of such conversation as I was able to carry on with him, that he was of an illustrious family, which in ancient times had been sovereigns of the greater part of Rohilcund, but had been displaced by the family of Hafez Rehmut. He was also, in comparison with the people of the eastern provinces, a fair man. His address was good and gentlemanly, but he had little to say, except what related to the greatness of his ancestors, who had, he said, reigned at Rampoor. He

told me one curious fact, however, that the wheat now cultivated in Rohileund was propagated from seed brought from England, since the conquest, by Mr. Hawkins. The English at Shahjehan-poor had not mentioned this circumstance, though they spoke highly of the excellence of the bread made in this district. It answers, indeed, the beau idéal of Anglo-Indian bread, being excessively white, utterly tasteless, and as light as a powder-puff; when toasted and eaten dry with tea it is tolerably good, but I would as soon bestow butter on an empty honey-comb, which it marvellously resembles in dryness, brittleness, and apparent absence of all nourishing qualities. It is lamentable to see fine wheat so perversely turned into mere hair-powder. The native bread is nothing but baked dough, but I like it the best of the two. The tussildar brought as a present three very fine lambs, which, my own dinner being already provided for, I sent to the Sepoys and to the other folks of the camp. I meant to have sent them all to the Sepoys, but I was assured that two would be sufficient for them, so far does a very little meat go with Hindoos, and when well mixed up in currie; it is to be owned, however, that a considerable number of the Sepoys were likely to scruple eating meat.

During the last week we have almost every day fallen in with large parties of pilgrims, going to or returning from the Ganges, as well as considerable numbers of men bringing water from Hurdwar. The greatest proportion of the pilgrims are women, who sing in a very pleasing, cheerful manner in passing near a village or any large assembly of people. Once, as they passed my tents, their slender figures, long white garments, water-pots, and minstrelsy, combined with the noble laurel-like shade of the mangoe-trees, reminded me forcibly of the scene so well represented in Milman's "Martyr of Antioch," where the damsels are going to the wood in the cool of the day, singing their hymns to Apollo. The male pilgrims, and those who carry water, call out in a deep tone, "Mahadeo Bôl! Bôl! Bôl!" in which I observed my

Hindoo servants and bearers never failed to join them.

My new acquaintance, the tussildar, called again in the evening to ask if he could do anything more for me, and to say he would see me again at the next station. I had in the mean time happened to find his pedigree and family history in Hamilton's Gazetteer, and pleased him much, I believe, by asking him which of the six sons of Ali Mohammed Khân he was descended from? He said, "Nawâb Ali Khân;" and added, that his own name was Mohammed Kasin Ali Khân. The father and founder of this family, Ali Mohammed Khân, was a peasant boy, saved from a burning village, about the year 1720, by Daood Khân, an Affghan or Patan freebooter, who came into this country about that time, and after a long course of robbery and rebellion, at length became its sovereign. He adopted the foundling, to the prejudice of his own children, and, on his decease, Ali Mohammed succeeded to the throne, and held it to his death. His six sons, as usual in such cases, quarrelled and fought. Nawâb Ali Khân, the fourth, was for some time the most successful; but all were at length overthrown by another chieftain, said to be of better family, Rehmût Khân. He in his turn was killed in battle by the English and men of Oude; and thus ended the sovereignty of Rohileund. Of such strange materials were those dynasties chiefly composed on whose ruins the British empire has been erected, and so easily did "the sabre's adventurous law" make and mar monarchs in the olden times of Hindostan!

A miserable little sickly man, wrapped in a ragged blanket, asked charity, saying, he was going with his wife and two children the pilgrimage to Mecca! What a journey for such a person! I advised him to return home, and serve God in his own land, adding, that He was everywhere, and might be worshipped in India as well as by the side of a black stone in Hejaz. He smiled in a melancholy way, as if he were partly of the same opinion, but said he had a vow. At home, indeed, he perhaps, to judge from his appearance, left nothing

but beggary. I do not think that this pilgrimage is very popular with the Indian Mussulmans. This is only the fourth person whom I have met with who appeared to have made it, or to be engaged in it; and yet the title of Haje, which such persons assume, would, apparently, point them out to notice.

November 13.—From Futtehgunge to Furreedpoor is seven coss, through a country equally well cultivated, and rather prettier, as being more woody, than that which I saw yesterday. Still, however, it is as flat as a carpet. The road is very good, and here I will allow a gig might travel well, and be a convenience, but it would have made a poor figure in the flashy country on the other side of Lucknow, and have not been very serviceable in any part of the King of Oude's territories. We encamped in a smaller grove of mango-trees than the four or five last had been, but the trees themselves were very noble. The chief cultivation round us was cotton. The morning was positively cold, and the whole scene, with the exercise of the march, the picturesque groups of men and animals round me,—the bracing air, the singing of birds, the light mist hanging on the trees, and the glistening dew, had something at once so Oriental and so English, I have seldom found anything better adapted to raise a man's animal spirits, and put him in good temper with himself and all the world. How I wish those I love were with me! How much my wife would enjoy this sort of life,—its exercise, its cleanliness, and purity; its constant occupation, and at the same time its comparative freedom from form, care, and vexation! At the same time a man who is curious in his eating had better not come here. Lamb and kid (and we get no other flesh) most people would soon tire of. The only fowls which are attainable are as tough and lean as can be desired; and the milk and butter are generally seasoned with the never-failing condiments of Hindostan, smoke and soot. The milk would be very good if the people would only milk the cow into one of our vessels instead of their own; but this they generally refuse to do, and refuse with

much greater pertinacity than those who live near the river. These, however, are matters to which it is not difficult to become reconciled, and all the more serious points of warmth, shade, cleanliness, air, and water, are at this season nowhere enjoyed better than in the spacious and well-contrived tents, the ample means of transport, the fine climate, and fertile regions of Northern Hindostan. Another time, by God's blessing, I will not be alone in this Eden; yet I confess there are very few people whom I greatly wish to have as associates in such a journey. It is only a wife, or a friend so intimate as to be quite another self, whom one is really anxious to be with one while travelling through a new country.

The tussildar called again this afternoon, and brought three more lambs or goats, I am not sure which, for both are called "buckra" here. I, however, thought it too bad to take the firstlings of his flock in this unmerciful manner, and declined them as civilly as I could, giving him at the same time a certificate of my satisfaction with his attentions, with my great seal appended—a distinction of which I have discovered the value in native eyes, and mean only to give it to gentlefolks. He took his leave with a profusion of compliments, having got a "neknamee," or character, and kept his mutton.

The evening was beautiful, and I walked round the village, which, however, had nothing in it worth seeing.

November 14.—From Furreedpoor to Bareilly is a distance of eight short coss, not much more than twelve miles, but to the cantonment, in the neighbourhood of which my tent was pitched, it is a mile and a half less. Mr. Hawkins, the senior judge of circuit, had offered the use of a large room in a house of his in the immediate neighbourhood of my encampment, for divine service, and I had the pleasure of finding a numerous congregation of the civil and military officers, with their families, as well as a good many Christians of humbler rank, chiefly musicians attached to the regiments stationed here, with their wives. I had, I think, sixteen communicants.

Bareilly is a poor ruinous town, in a pleasant and well-wooded, but still a very flat country. I am told, that when the weather is clear (it is now hazy) the Himalaya mountains are seen very distinctly, and form a noble termination to the landscape. Nothing, however, of the kind is now to be seen, though the distance is barely sixty miles. The nights and mornings are become, really, very cold, and in my tent I find a blanket, a quilt, and my large cloak, no more than enough to keep me comfortable.

November 15.—I breakfasted and dined to-day at General Vanrenen's, and met a very large family party. They are extremely hospitable, kind-mannered, and simple-hearted people, and the General has seen more of different parts of India than most men whom I have met. After breakfast I had a number of children brought to be baptized, three couples to be married, and one young woman, a native, but engaged to be married to an English soldier, who was a candidate for baptism. She spoke English a little, though imperfectly, and to my surprise was not much better acquainted with Hindoostanee, being a native of Madras. Her intended husband, however, a very respectable young man, had evidently taken much pains to instruct her in her new belief. She repeated the substance of the Lord's Prayer and Creed very well in English, and afterwards explained, in answer to my questions, the different clauses intelligibly in Hindoostanee. In Telinga, her husband assured me, she was very perfect in both. I explained to her myself, as far as our means of communication went, and got him to explain to her more fully, the obligations which she was to take on herself in baptism and marriage. For the former she seemed very anxious, and to judge from her extreme seriousness during the ceremony, and the trembling earnestness with which, both in English and Hindoostanee, she made the promises, I trust it was not performed in vain. This day I baptized and married her. Her name was Cudjee, but her husband wished that she should now be called Susan. These ceremonies all took place at General

Vanrenen's house, he having good-naturedly appointed the people to meet me there, as being more roomy than my tent, and more centrically situated with reference to those who were likely to attend.

I heard, in the course of conversation, many interesting particulars respecting the province of Rohilcund. Mr. Hawkins has been here many years, and holds to all intents and purposes the situation of civil governor: he has been in India forty-two years, during which time he has never returned home, and is evidently an extremely useful man in his present situation. I have not for a long time met with any one so interesting; how I wish she for whom I write this may one day see him! The account which he gives of the Rohillas is not very flattering. They are a clever and animated race of people, but devoid of principle, false, and ferocious. Crimes are very numerous, both of fraud and violence, and perjury almost universal. When he first came here the English were excessively disliked, and very few would so much as salam to either general or magistrate; at present they are brought into better order, and, probably, better reconciled to a government, under which their condition, so far as tranquillity and the impartial administration of justice extend, has been greatly improved, and their land, from a mere desert, to which the tyranny of Oude had reduced it, restored to its former state of cultivation and richness. But the country is burdened with a crowd of lazy, profligate, self-called suwarra, who, though many of them are not worth a rupee, conceive it derogatory to their gentility and Patan blood to apply themselves to any honest industry, and obtain for the most part a precarious livelihood by spunging on the industrious tradesmen and farmers, on whom they levy a sort of "black-mail," or as hangers-on to the few noble and wealthy families yet remaining in the province. Of these men, who have no visible means of maintenance at all, and no visible occupation except that of lounging up and down with their swords and shields like the ancient Highlanders, whom in many

respects they much resemble, the number is rated at, perhaps, taking all Rohilcund together, not fewer than one hundred thousand; all these men have everything to gain by a change of government, and both Mr. Hawkins and General Vanrenen said they hardly knew what it was that kept them down, considering the extremely inadequate force at present in these provinces. Twice, indeed, since the English have been in possession, their tenure of the country has appeared exceedingly precarious; and once, when Jeswunt Row Holcar advanced to the fords of the Ganges, the whole European population of Bareilly were compelled to take refuge within the walls of the gaols, which they were prepared to defend to the last extremity.

The natural remedy for this state of things would be to find a vent for a part of this superabundant population, by raising fencible regiments, who, as they are really faithful to those whose salt they eat, would sufficiently keep their countrymen in order, and materially relieve the regular troops in some of their most unpleasant duties. They should be cavalry, on something like the footing of our yeomanry corps; they should be commanded by the judges and magistrates, with the aid of an adjutant and major from the regular army; and should be officered, so far as captains and lieutenants, by the most respectable of the native gentry. Such a measure I am the more convinced, the more I see of upper India, would very greatly contribute to the efficiency of the police, and the popularity and permanency of the Company's Government.

A strong impression has lately prevailed in all these provinces, arising I cannot learn how, that the English were preparing to evacuate the country. The people, with whom Mr. Shore has had to deal, have pleaded this to justify their rebellion, or, at least, to account for their temerity.* Every movement of troops

and officers towards the east has been regarded as a part of the same system of abandonment and abdication; and it is even thought that my travelling, with a certain degree of official splendour, in an opposite direction, as it has attracted considerable notice and curiosity among the inhabitants of these distant regions, has had the effect of giving them more favourable thoughts of the security and permanency of the British Government.

November 16.—I breakfasted and passed the day with Mr. Hawkins at what he calls his country-house,—a large and handsome building very prettily situated, with a farm of four hundred acres round it, little less neat and English-looking than if it had been in Norfolk. His trees are very fine, but the whole view is flat, though here again I was told I ought to see the mountains. In our return to Bareilly, I saw some interesting animals: a fine covey of wild peacocks arose at some little distance; a mungoose or ichneumon crossed the track; and at Mr. Hawkins's door we found a beautiful and rare animal of the deer kind, which had just been sent him as a present from the hills. It is now about the size of a large fallow-deer, with upright horns, not palmed, but is still young, and is expected to grow so tall and stout as to bear a saddle. It is of a brown colour, mixed with grey and black, and its hair very thick, and as coarse and strong as hogs' bristles. Mr. Hawkins said he thought it would turn the edge of a sword. It is a gentle and tame creature, eating from and licking the hands of any one who caresses it. It is called goonh, and is considered a great rarity in the plains, though among the moun-

the Honourable F. J. Shore, who held a civil employment in that district, with his suwaris. The banditti fled into the fort of Koonga, a place of considerable strength, which could only be entered by breaching; at the suggestion of Mr. Shore a tree was formed into a battering ram, and directed against the gate, he himself manning the foremost rope. When the breach was sufficiently opened, Captain Young, Mr. Shore, and another officer entered, followed by their men. The contest was severe, from the superiority of the enemy's force, but decisive. Mr. Shore was opposed to several single combatants, and received two sabre wounds in the breast.—Ed.

* The following circumstance is here alluded to. A strong body of freebooters having committed various devastations in the neighbourhood of Saharanpoor, a detachment under the command of Captain Young was sent against them, which was accompanied by

tain it is not uncommon, and sometimes used to carry the children of great men. It seems to be as yet unknown to European naturalists, at least I never heard the name, nor saw any drawing like it; were the horns palmated it would most resemble the elk.

I had been for some time in much doubt as to the expediency, after the many delays which I had experienced in my journey, of proceeding to Almora, but what I heard during these few days at Bareilly determined me in the affirmative. Though an important station, it has never been visited by any clergyman; and I was very anxious not only to give a Sunday to its secluded flock, but to ascertain what facilities existed for obtaining for them the occasional visits, at least, of a minister of religion, and for eventually spreading the Gospel among these mountaineers, and beyond them into Thibet and Tartary. The former of these objects I have good hopes of being able to accomplish; a residence in these cold and bracing regions may, in many cases, do as much good to chaplains and missionaries, exhausted by the heat of the plains, as a voyage to Europe would do; and good men may be well employed here, who are unequal to exertion in other parts of our Eastern empire. To the second there are many obstacles, not likely, as yet, to be overcome; and in encountering which considerable prudence and moderation will be necessary. But there are facilities and encouragements also, which I did not expect to find; and if God spare me life and opportunities, I yet hope to see Christianity revived, through this channel, in countries where, under a corrupted form indeed, it is said to have once flourished widely through the labours of the Nestorians.* My opinion as to the advantage which might arise from such a visit was fully confirmed; and I found reason to believe that late as the season was, and much as I have to do, the pre-

sent is likely to be the best, if not the only opportunity for such an excursion.

The whole skirt and margin of the mountains are surrounded by a thick forest of nearly two days' journey, with a marshy soil and an atmosphere, during two-thirds of the year, more pestilential than the Sunderbunds, or the grotto Del Cani; a literal "belt of death," which even the natives tremble to go near, and which, during the rains more particularly, the monkeys themselves are said to abandon. After the middle of November this is dry, practicable, and safe; so that the very delays which have thrown my arrival in Rohilcund so late, have given me an opportunity which I may, under the usual circumstances of my visitation, never have again, of penetrating into Kemaon. Above all, everybody tells me that, except in a case of real necessity, a journey into the Himalaya should never be undertaken by women and children: that camels, elephants, tents, and palanquins, nay, even horses, such as are usually ridden in the plains, must be left behind at Bamoury Ghât, and that nothing but mules, mountain-ponies, the "yâk," or Thibet cow, and active unencumbered foot-passengers, can make their way along the track and beside the precipices which are to be traversed. This, if true, destroys much of the hope which has already reconciled me to leaving many interesting spots unvisited, that I might see them at some future opportunity with my wife and children; and though I have little doubt that these difficulties are greatly exaggerated, still it is plain that without a previous reconnoitering, I could never take them such a journey, in defiance of such assurances. For the present excursion, Captain Satchwell, the acting commissary-general of the district, promised me the use of some mules, which Government were sending up to Kemaon for the public service there. Mr. Boulderson, the collector, offered me the loan of an able and experienced pony; and I received a letter from Mr. Traill, the commissioner for the affairs of the hill countries, offering me every assistance in the last four mountain stages. Under

* The Nestorians are a sect of ancient Christians, who take their name from Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, who lived in the fifth century, and whose doctrines were spread with much zeal through Syria, Egypt, Persia, India, Tartary, and China.—Ed.

these circumstances I made up my mind not to miss the opportunity, and arranged to send off my tents, &c. on Wednesday evening, being the earliest moment at which my necessary arrangements could be completed.

November 17.—This day was chiefly taken up in packing. My plan was to take my whole caravan to Bamoury at

the first rise of the hills, where the air is good, and supplies are plentiful, and leave them encamped there till my return. Accordingly I sent off in the evening the greater part of my escort, servants, and animals, retaining only ten Sepoys, some bearers, my horse, and the suwarree elephant with his mohout and coolie.

CHAPTER XVII.

BAREILLY TO ALMORAH.

First distant View of the Himalaya Mountains—Sheeshghur—Visit from Raja and Sons—Account of Terrai—"Essence of Owl"—Wretchedness of Inhabitants—Kulleanpoor—Tiger Hunt—Ruderpoor—Case of Malaria Fever—Burning the Jungle—Tandah—Bamoury—Beemthāl—Water Mill—Khasya Nation—Ramghūr—Sikh—Mount Meru—Pilgrim to Bhādrinath.

NOVEMBER 18.—I went this morning from Mr. Hawkins's house to a village named Shahee, about sixteen miles, over a country like all which I had yet seen in Rohilcund, level, well cultivated, and studded with groves, but offering nothing either curious or interesting, except the industry with which all the rivers and brooks were dammed up for the purposes of irrigation, and conducted through the numberless little channels and squares of land which form one of the most striking peculiarities of Indian agriculture. The country is almost entirely planted with wheat, with a few fields of Indian corn, and the pulse called dāl. I looked out vainly all the morning for the mountains, which, at the distance of fifty miles, for the nearest range is no further, ought certainly now to be within sight. All I saw, however, was a heavy line of black clouds, in the direction in which I knew them to be; and when this gradually melted before the rising sun, it was succeeded by a grey autumnal haze, through which nothing was distinguishable.

At Shahee I found Mr. Boulderson, the collector of the district, encamped, in the discharge of his annual duty of surveying the country, inspecting and forwarding the work of irrigation, and settling with the Zemindars for their taxes. His tent, or rather his establishment of tents, was extremely large and handsome. That in which he himself lived was as spacious as those which were first sent me from Cawnpoor, with glass doors, a stove, and a canvas enclo-

sure at one end, which, in Calcutta, would have passed for a small compound. He had a similar enclosure at some little distance, adjoining his servants' tent, for cooking; and, on the whole, my tent, a regulation field-officer's, and my whole establishment, which I had till now thought very considerable for a single man, looked poor and paltry in comparison. For such a journey as mine, however, I certainly would not exchange with him; and the truth is, that to persons in his situation, who have no occasion to go far from home, or to make long marches, these luxuries are less cumbersome than they would be to me; while, on the other hand, they pass so much of their time in the fields, that a large and comfortable tent is to the full as necessary for them as a bungalow. Mr. Boulderson had good-naturedly waited two days at Shahee to give me time to overtake him, and now offered to accompany me to the foot of the hills at least, if not the first stage amongst them. In the passage of the forest, with which he is well acquainted, he says he expects to be of service to me. He strongly recommends our pushing on through the forest in a single march. The distance, he allows, is too great, being twenty-six miles; but he regards it as a less evil to ourselves, our attendants, and animals, than remaining a day and night at Tandah, the intermediate station, a spot at which no season of the year can be considered as quite safe either from fever or tigers. Against the former of these dangers I

had been furnished with a set of instructions by Mr. Knight, the station surgeon of Bareilly. Natives, Mr. Knight thinks, are more liable to the complaint, and recover from it with greater difficulty, than Europeans, who are, in the first instance, better protected against the damp and unwholesome air, and whose full habit of living, and the high temperature of their health, make the work of depletion with them at once more easy and more effectual than with men whose pulse is always feeble, and who sink at once into despondency on the attack of a disease which they know to be dangerous.

As to tigers, though we may possibly hear their roars and see traces of their feet, it is not often that they venture near the fires of an encampment, or the formidable multitude of men which such an encampment as mine presents to them. Still, if a tiger shows himself, it will, in all probability, be at Tandah; and though I should not dislike to see the animal in its natural state, I am bound, for the sake of my half-naked and careless followers, and my numerous train of animals, still more than my own, not to linger twelve hours in a spot of so bad reputation. In the daytime at this season, and by those who merely pass along the beaten track, neither fivers nor tigers are usually to be apprehended. The latter, indeed, on any approaching bustle, keep themselves, at those hours, so close in cover, that those who seek them find it difficult enough to start them. Mr. Boulderson is a keen sportsman, and told me several interesting facts respecting the wild animals of this neighbourhood. The lion, which was long supposed to be unknown in India, is now ascertained to exist in considerable numbers in the districts of Saharunpoor and Loodiana. Lions have likewise been killed on this side the Ganges in the northern parts of Rohilcund, in the neighbourhood of Moradabad and Rampoor, as large, it is said, as the average of those in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope. Both lions, where they are found, and tigers, are very troublesome to the people of the villages near the forest, who, having no elephants,

have no very effectual means of attacking them with safety. The peasantry here, however, are not a people to allow themselves to be devoured without resistance, like the Bengalees; and it often happens that, when a tiger has established himself near a village, the whole population turn out, with their matchlocks, swords, and shields, to attack him. Fighting on foot, and compelled to drive him from his covert by entering and beating the jungle, one or two generally lose their lives, but the tiger seldom escapes; and Mr. Boulderson has seen some skins of animals of this description, which bore the strongest marks of having been fought with, if the expression may be used, hand to hand; and were in fact slashed all over with cuts of the "tulwâr," or short scimitar. A reward of four rupees for every tiger's head brought in is given by Government; and if the villagers of any district report that a tiger or lion is in their neighbourhood, there are seldom wanting sportsmen among the civil or military officers, who hear the news with pleasure, and make haste to rid them of the nuisance. A good shot, on an elephant, seldom fails, with perfect safety to himself, to destroy as many of these terrible animals as he falls in with.

In the afternoon Mr. Boulderson took me a drive in his buggy. This is a vehicle in which all Anglo-Indians delight, and certainly its hood is a great advantage, by enabling them to pay visits, and even to travel, under a far hotter sun than would otherwise be endurable. The country, however, in this neighbourhood, and everywhere except in the immediate vicinity of the principal stations, is strangely unfavourable for such vehicles. Our drive was over ploughed fields, and soon terminated by a small but, to us, impassable ravine. We had, however, a first view of the range of the Himalaya, indistinctly seen through the haze, but not so indistinctly as to conceal the general form of the mountains. The nearer hills are blue, and in outline and tints resemble pretty closely, at this distance, those which close in the vale of Clwyd. Above these rose what might, in the present

unfavourable atmosphere, have been taken for clouds, had not their seat been so stationary, and their outline so harsh and pyramidal, the patriarchs of the continent, perhaps the surviving ruins of a former world, white and glistening as alabaster, and even at this distance of, probably, one hundred and fifty miles, towering above the nearer and secondary range, as much as these last (though said to be seven thousand six hundred feet high) are above the plain on which we were standing. I felt intense delight and awe in looking on them, but the pleasure lasted not many minutes, the clouds closed in again, as on the fairy castle of St. John, and left us but the former grey cold horizon, girding in the green plain of Rohilcund, and broken only by scattered tufts of peepul and mangoe-trees.

November 19.—This morning we went seven coss to Sheeshghur, over a worse cultivated country than the last day's stage, and one which had, evidently, suffered much from want of rain. The heavy and happy fall which had given plenty to Oude and the Dooab did not extend here, and except in a few places, where irrigation had been used, the rice and Indian corn had generally failed, and the wheat and barley were looking very ill. Where there are rivers or streams, irrigation is practised industriously and successfully, but there are few wells, and they do not seem, as in the Dooab and Oude, to draw water from them by oxen for their fields. The rain which falls is, in most seasons, said to be sufficient.

On leaving our encampment we forded the river Bhagool, and afterwards, once or twice, fell in, during our march, with its windings. At last, soon after the sun rose, and just as we had reached a small rising ground, the mist rolled away and showed us again the Himalaya, distinct and dark, with the glorious icy mountains, towering in a clear blue sky, above the nearer range. There were four of these, the names of three of which Mr. Boulderson knew, Bhadrinâth, Kedar Nâth, and the peak above the source of the Ganges, the Meru of Hindoo fable. The fourth, to the extreme right, he did not know, and

I could not find it in Arrowsmith's map. Bhadrinâth, he told me, is reckoned the highest. From hence, however, it is not the most conspicuous of the four. That we saw the snowy peaks at all, considering their distance, and that mountains twice as high as Snowdon intervened, is wonderful. I need hardly say that I wished for my wife to share the sight with me. But I thought of Tandah and the Terrai, and felt, on recollection, that I should have probably been in considerable uneasiness, if she and the children had been to pass the intervening inhospitable country.

Sheeshghur is a poor village, on a trifling elevation, which is conspicuous in this level country. It has a ruinous fort on its summit, and altogether, with the great surrounding flat and the blue hills behind it, put me in mind of some views of Rhuddlan. The Clwydian chain, indeed, is not crowned by such noble pinnacles as Bhadrinâth and Ganguotree, but I could not help feeling now, and I felt it still more when I began to attempt to commit the prospect to paper, that the awe and wonder which I experienced were of a very complex character, and greatly detached from the simple act of vision. The eye is, by itself, and without some objects to form a comparison, unable to judge of such heights at such a distance. Carneth Llewellyn and Snowdon, at certain times in the year, make really as good a picture as the mountains now before me: and the reason that I am so much more impressed with the present view, is partly the mysterious idea of awful and inaccessible remoteness attached to the Indian Caucasus, the centre of earth,

"Its Altar, and its Cradle, and its Throne;"

and still more the knowledge derived from books, that the objects now before me are really among the greatest earthly works of the Almighty Creator's hands,—the highest spots below the moon—and out-topping, by many hundred feet, the summit of Cotopasi and Chimborazo.

I had two sets of visitors to-day; the first were a set of Nâch-women, accompanied by a man, who beat a small

drum, and a naked boy, who seemed the son of the elder of the three females. The whole party were of the "cunja," or gipsy caste, with all its most striking peculiarities. The women would have been good-looking, had not their noses been distorted, and their ears lengthened, by the weighty ornaments suspended from them. Their arms, legs, and necks were loaded with rings and chains, and their dress was as tawdrily fine as their poverty would admit of. The man and boy were in all respects but clothing the same description of animal which might steal a hen or open a gate for a traveller in the neighbourhood of Norwood. I gave them a trifle, but declined seeing their performance. The second set of visitors were an old raja and three sons and a grandson, who were introduced by Mr. Boulderson. Their ancestors had possessed a considerable territory, but the Patan wars had lowered them down to simple, and far from wealthy landowners, whose main dependance is, at present, on a pension of four thousand s. rupees a year, allowed them by the Company. The raja was a homely, cheerful old man, with a white beard and unusually fair complexion; and excepting the few swords and shields in his train, neither he nor his sons had much which differed from the English idea of respectable yeomen. Their visit was not long: I gave them, at taking leave, lavender-water by way of pawn and attar; and the old raja (on account of the supposed sanctity of my character, in which I heartily wish I more accorded with their ideas of me) desired me to lay my hand on his back and that of his sons, and bless them. His business with Mr. Boulderson chiefly respected an embankment which he wished to make on the neighbouring small river Kullee, in order to throw the water over many acres of land, some of which we had crossed, which were now altogether dependant on rain, and sometimes, as in the present year, unproductive. The embankment had been commenced, but was opposed by the Nawâb of Rampoor, a descendant of Ali Mohammed Khân, already mentioned, and who still holds a very pro-

ductive jaghire, as large as an English county, extending from the neighbourhood of Moradabad almost to the foot of these mountains. He maintained that the proposed work would drown some of his villages. We went in the afternoon to see the place; and I endeavoured, by the help of a very rude extempore levelling instrument, made of the elephant-ladder, four bamboos, and a weighted string, to ascertain the real course which the water would take, and how high the dam might be raised without danger of mischief. My apparatus, rude as it was, was viewed with much wonder and reverence by these simple people; and as I kept on the safe side, I hope I did some good, or, at least, no harm by my advice to them. The ryots of the Nawâb, indeed, as well as the raja and his sons, professed themselves perfectly satisfied with the line proposed.

Mr. Boulderson said he was sorry to learn from the raja, that he did not consider the unhealthy season of the Terrai as yet quite over. He, therefore, proposed that we should make a long march of above twenty miles the following day to Ruderpoor, in order to be as short a time in the dangerous country as possible. I was, for several reasons, of a different opinion. My people and Sepoys had already had two long marches through very bad and fatiguing roads. That to Ruderpoor was described as worse than any which we had yet seen. As Ruderpoor is reckoned only a shade less dangerous than Tandah, to halt there on the Sunday would be impossible, and we should have on that day also a march of twenty-five miles through the forest to Bamoury. Besides my reluctance to subject the men to so great fatigue on such a day, I had always understood that lassitude was among the most powerful predisposing causes to fever, and I could not think, without uneasiness, of any of them being tired out and lagging behind in so horrible a country. The direct way to Ruderpoor lay through the Nawâb's territory, and Manpoor, the intervening station, was by no means a desirable one, either from its air or the mutinous character of its inhabit-

ants. A little to the right, however, was a village named Kulleanpoor, within the Company's border, and at least not more unwholesome than its neighbours. The distance was eight or nine short coss, which would do nobody any harm. There would remain a stage of six or seven miles to Ruderpoor on Sunday, which might be done without any nightly travelling, and leave both men and cattle fresh next morning for our long march to the mountains. For Europeans there was in either place little risk; our warm clothing, warm tents, elevated bedsteads, mosquito-nets (a known preservative against malaria), and our port wine, would probably be sufficient safeguards, but for the poor fellows who sleep on the ground, and are as careless of themselves as children, it behoved me to take thought, and Mr. Boulderson, for the reasons which I have mentioned, agreed with me in the opinion that Kulleanpoor should be our next stage.

I asked Mr. Boulderson if it were true that the monkeys forsook these woods during the unwholesome months. He answered that not the monkeys only, but everything which had the breath of life, instinctively deserts them, from the beginning of April to October. The tigers go up to the hills, the antelopes and wild hogs make incursions into the cultivated plain; and those persons, such as Dāk-bearers, or military officers, who are obliged to traverse the forest in the intervening months, agree that not so much as a bird can be heard or seen in the frightful solitude. Yet during the time of the heaviest rains, while the water falls in torrents, and the cloudy sky tends to prevent evaporation from the ground, the forest may be passed with tolerable safety. It is in the extreme heat, and immediately after the rains have ceased, in May, the latter end of August, and the early part of September, that it is most deadly. In October the animals return; by the latter end of that month the woodcutters and the cowmen again venture, though cautiously. From the middle of November to March, troops pass and repass, and with common precaution no risk is usually apprehended.

November 20.—The way to Kulleanpoor turned out exceedingly bad, rugged, and intersected by nullahs and "gools," or canals for the purpose of irrigation, so that our baggage, though sent off at five in the evening of the 19th, did not arrive till five the next morning, and both camel-drivers and Sepoys complained a good deal. It turned out, however, that they had been themselves partly to blame, in not, according to my directions, taking a guide, and consequently losing their way. The country is by no means ill-cultivated thus far, but as we approach the forest it gradually grows marshy and unwholesome, and the whole horizon, at some little distance, was wrapped in a thick white mist, which Mr. Boulderson called "Essence of Owl," the native name for the malaria fever. The villages which we passed were singularly wretched, though there is no want of materials for building, and the rate of land is very low. It seems, however, as if the annual ague and fever took away all energy from the inhabitants, and prevented their adopting those simple means of dry and well-raised dwellings, and sufficient clothing, which would go far to secure their health and life. They are a very ugly and miserable race of human beings, with large heads and particularly prominent ears, flat noses, tumid bellies, slender limbs, and sallow complexions, and have scarcely any garments but a blanket of black wool. Most of them have matchlocks, swords, and shields, however; and Mr. Boulderson pointed out two villages, near which we passed, which had last year a deadly feud, ending in a sort of pitched battle, in which nine men were killed, and several wounded. It was necessary to despatch a corps of Sepoys to the spot to settle the quarrel, by bringing a few of the ringleaders on both sides to justice. So expert are men, even when most wretched, in finding out ways and means of mutually increasing their misery!

The only satisfaction to be derived from a journey through such a country, is to look steadily at the mountains beyond it, which increase as we advance in apparent magnitude and beauty. The

snowy peaks, indeed, are less and less distinguishable; but the nearer range rises into a dignity and grandeur which I by no means was prepared for, and is now clearly seen to be itself divided into several successive ridges, with all the wildest and most romantic forms of ravine, forest, crag, and precipice. They are now perceptibly and obviously, even to the eye, the highest mountains I ever saw sufficiently near to judge of them. There may be some peaks of the Norwegian Alps, such as Dovre and Fille Fiel, and there are, as is, I believe, ascertained, some points of Caucasus which considerably surpass them, and take a middle place between them and the giants in their rear, but the general chain of Norwegian hills, so far as I can recollect, does not equal these now before me; and the white peaks of Caucasus I saw only from a great distance. Notwithstanding the height, however, of this secondary chain of the Himalaya, I could see no snow on it, but Mr. Boulderson assured me that in a few weeks more it would be pretty plentifully powdered, and the probability was that even now I should have some showers of snow in my passage. On the northern side of the hills he had known snow lie till the latter end of May, when nothing could be more strange and sudden than the change in the feelings of a traveller descending from those regions to the hot winds and fiery furnace of the plains.

At the foot of the lowest hills a long black level line extends, so black and level that it might seem to have been drawn with ink and a ruler. This is the forest from which we are still removed several coss, though the country already begins to partake of its insalubrity. It is remarkable that this insalubrity is said to have greatly increased in the last fifteen years. Before that time Ruderpoor, where now the soldiers and servants of the police thanna die off so fast that they can scarcely keep up the establishment, was a large and wealthy place, inhabited all the year through without danger or disease. Nay, Tanaah itself, ten years back, was the favourite and safe resort of sportsmen from Bareilly

and Moradabad, who often pitched their tents there, without injury, for ten days together. The forest was, in fact, under a gradual process of reclaimer; the cowmen and woodmen were pushing their incursions farther every year, and the plain where we were now travelling, though always liable to fever and ague, was as populous and habitable as many other parts of India where no complaints are heard. The unfavourable change is imputed by the natives themselves to depopulation; and they are no doubt philosophically right, since there seems to be a preservative in the habitation, cultivation, nay, perhaps in the fires, the breath, and society of men, which neutralizes malaria, even in countries naturally most subject to it. The instance of Rome and its adjacent territory is exactly a similar one, and I recollect being told that in proportion to the number of empty houses in a street, the malaria always raged in it. The depopulation of these countries arose from the invasion of Meer Khân, in 1805. He then laid waste all these Pergunnahs, and the population, once so checked, has never recovered itself. There was, indeed, in former times, a cause which no longer exists, which tended materially to keep up the stock of inhabitants in the Terrai, inasmuch as, from the nature and circumstances of their country, they were free from many of the oppressions to which the other peasants of Rohilund were liable, paying very light taxes, and living almost as they pleased under the patriarchal government of their own rajas. Their taxes are still light enough, but the hand of the law is, under the present Government, felt here as in other parts of the province; and as the inhabitants of the more wholesome district have fewer motives than formerly to fly from their homes to these marshes, so the inhabitants of the marshes themselves have less powerful reasons for clinging to their uncomfortable birth-place, and the tide of emigration is turned into a contrary direction.

Kulleanpoor (the town of granaries) is a very wretched place, but stands on an apparently dry and open plain, with

one or two clumps of fruit-trees, where, certainly, I should not have suspected anything amiss in the air. At this time of the year there probably is nothing unwholesome; and all the year round, the people of the place said, both its air and water bore a better character than most of its neighbours. Many of them, however, looked very sickly, and the thannadar, who came to pay his compliments, was yellow as gold, with his nails as blue as if he had been poisoned, and shaking pitifully in the cold fit of the country fever, which had, he said, hung on him for some months back. Here, indeed, as in other aguish countries, the disease often kills very slowly, and many persons have a regular attack every May, which leaves them wretchedly weak in November, and from the effects of which they have just time to recover before the fatal month comes round again. With others, however, it is far less ceremonious, and assumes, from the beginning, a typhus form, which seldom leaves the patient many days in suspense. Mr. Boulderson has had it twice; the second time he was left by it in so bad a state of health as to make it necessary for him to go to the Cape. By his account it is precisely an intermittent fever, but of the worst kind, resembling, in most of its symptoms, that of Walcheren and the Sunderbunds, and arising from nearly the same circumstances of soil and climate which may be supposed to produce the latter.

The natives have a singular notion that it is not the air but the water of these countries which produces "Owl." The water is certainly not clear or well-tasted, either at Sheeshghur or Kulleanpoor, and Mr. Boulderson has brought a stock of Bareilly water for our own drinking. I cannot, however, see anything about it which is likely to do so much mischief, and the notion is an unfortunate one, inasmuch as it leads them to neglect all precautions against the other and more formidable causes of disease. I have tents sufficient to shelter all the people who accompany me, and I had offered, at Sheeshghur, if the Sepoys found them-

selves crowded, to receive the Soubahdar, and some of the non-commissioned officers, at night, under my own tent. Yet it was with great difficulty that I could persuade either them or the camel-drivers to forsake their favourite system of sleeping with their heads wrapped up, but with the greater part of their clothes off, in the open air, round their fires. They were exceedingly unwilling to pitch their tents at all, saying, it did not signify, that the fog did no harm, and the water was the cause of all the mischief. In fact there was good reason to hope, from what we learned at Kulleanpoor, that the mischief was over for the present year, and that our old raja of yesterday had been indulging in the very usual amusement of making matters as bad as possible.

I had to-day, again, a princely visitor, in the Raja Gourman Singh, another of these border chieftains, whose father, "Lall Singh" (Red Lion), had been sovereign of all Kemaon, till he was driven by the Gorkhas to take shelter within the Company's border. Government gave him a jaghire of eight villages in the Terai, and his son holds a Zemindarrie of twelve or thirteen more. On the conquest of Kemaon by the British arms, they had hoped to be reinstated, but the conquerors found it convenient, according to our usual policy in the East, to act as much as possible on the principle of maintaining things as they found them. And their cousin, the raja, whom the Gorkhas had set up, was confirmed in the same dependant sovereignty which he held under them. Gourman Singh's claim to the throne is, however, disputed, and with apparent justice, by another cousin, the son of his father's elder brother, who has a house near Ruderpoor. The existence of this person, then a child, was unknown, when the appointments and jaghires of old Lall Singh were continued to his son, and he remained in great poverty till two or three years ago, when a pension was given him also. Indeed, Gourman's title of Singh is a proof that he was of the second house, the elder, or royal branch, having the title of Chund. Lall Singh was, however, a

great favourite with all the English in these parts. Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Boulderson both spoke of him as one of the finest old men whom they had seen, with considerable talent, an uncommon degree of dignity in his air and countenance, and one of the most heavenly tempers that can be conceived. Though by no means deficient in firmness, he was never known to utter an angry word, or to punish any of his dependants till a day and night had intervened to give time for reflection. With narrow means he was splendidly charitable to the poor; and, in fact, as good and holy a man (a male *Alia Bhaee*) as his very imperfect religion would enable him to become. He was regarded as a saint both by Hindoos and Mussulmans, and a message from him would have brought together all the population of the border, from the Ganges to the Lohoo Ghât, to lay down their lives in any cause which he might favour. He behaved with admirable fidelity to the English on all occasions, but he was almost ruined by Meer Khân's irruption. It was, however, partly made up to him by a pension, to himself and his son, of 10,000 rupees, and the latter is considered as wealthy.

The young raja had been described to me as a fine animated man, with whom I should be much pleased, but I saw him under unfavourable circumstances. He had had the same fever with the rest of the world, was looking very yellow, and, as Mr. Boulderson said, unusually silent and out of spirits. His manners and appearance were, however, gentlemanly, and his show of attendants far greater than that of the poor raja of Sheeshghur. He expressed his intention of meeting us again at Bamoury, at the foot of his own hills, and wanted Mr. Boulderson to accompany him from thence to a village which, though actually on the verge of the forest, he recommended as more healthy and better adapted for a civil and military station than Ruderpoor. Ruderpoor is, indeed, his property, and Mr. Boulderson observed, that he was evidently very anxious to remove the thanna to some distance. The young man said that people in this country

liked to live without trouble or interference; that the police were now continually requiring their attendance either as witnesses or arbitrators; that they sometimes got subpœnas as far as to Bareilly; that, in short, when the attorney was added to the ague, the place became insupportable, and that unless his tenants were left to themselves, they would all desert their homes.

He mentioned, in the course of conversation, that there was a tiger in an adjoining tope, which had done a good deal of mischief, that he should have gone after it himself had he not been ill, and had he not thought that it would be a fine diversion for Mr. Boulderson and me. I told him I was no sportsman, but Mr. Boulderson's eyes sparkled at the name of tiger, and he expressed great anxiety to beat up his quarters in the afternoon. Under such circumstances I did not like to deprive him of his sport, as he would not leave me by myself, and went, though with no intention of being more than a spectator. Mr. Boulderson, however, advised me to load my pistols for the sake of defence, and lent me a very fine double-barrelled gun for the same purpose. We set out a little after three on our elephants, with a servant behind each howdah carrying a large chattah, which, however, was almost needless. The raja, in spite of his fever, made his appearance too, saying that he could not bear to be left behind. A number of people, on foot and horseback, attended from our own camp and the neighbouring villages, and the same sort of interest and delight was evidently excited which might be produced in England by a great coursing party. The raja was on a little female elephant, hardly bigger than the Durham ox, and almost as shaggy as a poodle. She was a native of the neighbouring wood, where they are generally, though not always, of a smaller size than those of Bengal and Chittagong. He sat in a low howdah, with two or three guns ranged beside him ready for action. Mr. Boulderson had also a formidable apparatus of muskets and fowling-pieces projecting over his mohout's head. We rode about two miles, across a plain covered with long

jungle-grass, which very much put me in mind of the country near the Cuban. Quails and wild fowl rose in great numbers, and beautiful antelopes were seen scudding away in all directions. With them our party had no quarrel; their flesh is good for little, and they are in general favourites both with native and English sportsmen, who feel disinclined to meddle with a creature so graceful and so harmless.

At last we came to a deeper and more marshy ground, which lay a little before the tope pointed out to us; and while Mr. Boulderson was doubting whether we should pass through it, or skirt it, some country people came running to say that the tiger had been tracked there that morning. We therefore went in, keeping line as if we had been beating for a hare, through grass so high that it reached up to the howdah of my elephant, though a tall one, and almost hid the raja entirely. We had not gone far before a very large animal of the deer kind sprung up just before me, larger than a stag, of a dusky brown colour, with spreading, but not palmed horns. Mr. Boulderson said it was a "mohr," a species of elk; that this was a young one, but that they sometimes grew to an immense size, so that he had stood upright between the tips of their horns. He could have shot it, but did not like to fire at present, and said it was, after all, a pity to meddle with such harmless animals. The mohr accordingly ran off unmolested, rising with splendid bounds up to the very top of the high jungle, so that his whole body and limbs were seen from time to time above it. A little further, another rose, which Mr. Boulderson said was the female; of her I had but an imperfect view. The sight of these curious animals had already, however, well repaid my coming out, and from the animation and eagerness of everybody round me, the anxiety with which my companions looked for every waving of the jungle-grass, and the continued calling and shouting of the horse and foot behind us, it was impossible not to catch the contagion of interest and enterprise.

At last the elephants all drew up

their trunks into the air, began to roar, and to stamp violently with their forefeet, the raja's little elephant turned short round, and in spite of all her mohout could say or do, took up her post, to the raja's great annoyance, close in the rear of Mr. Boulderson. The other three (for one of my baggage elephants had come out too, the mohout, though unarmed, not caring to miss the show) went on slowly but boldly, with their trunks raised, their ears expanded, and their sagacious little eyes bent intently forward. "We are close upon him," said Mr. Boulderson; "fire where you see the long grass shake, if he rises before you." Just at that moment my elephant stamped again violently. "There, there," cried the mohout, "I saw his head!" A short roar, or rather loud growl, followed, and I saw immediately before my elephant's head the motion of some large animal stealing away through the grass. I fired as directed, and, a moment after, seeing the motion still more plainly, fired the second barrel. Another short growl followed, the motion was immediately quickened, and was soon lost in the more distant jungle. Mr. Boulderson said, "I should not wonder if you hit him that last time; at any rate we shall drive him out of the cover, and then I will take care of him." In fact, at that moment, the crowd of horse and foot spectators at the jungle side began to run off in all directions. We went on to the place, but found it was a false alarm, and, in fact, we had seen all we were to see of him, and went twice more through the jungle in vain. A large extent of high grass stretched out in one direction, and this we had now not sufficient daylight to explore. In fact, that the animal so near me was a tiger at all I have no evidence but its growl, Mr. Boulderson's belief, the assertion of the mohout, and what is, perhaps, more valuable than all the rest, the alarm expressed by the elephants. I could not help feeling some apprehension that my firing had robbed Mr. Boulderson of his shot, but he assured me that I was quite in rule; that in such sport no courtesies could be observed, and that the animal, in fact, rose before me, but that he should him-

self have fired without scruple if he had seen the rustle of the grass in time. Thus ended my first, and probably my last, essay in the "field sports" of India, in which I am much mistaken, notwithstanding what Mr. Boulderson said, if I harmed any living creature.

I asked Mr. Boulderson, on our return, whether tiger hunting was generally of this kind, which I could not help comparing to that chase of bubbles which enables us in England to pursue an otter. In a jungle, he answered, it must always be pretty much the same, inasmuch as, except under very peculiar circumstances, or when a tiger felt himself severely wounded, and was roused to revenge by despair, his aim was to remain concealed, and to make off as quietly as possible. It was after he had broken cover, or when he found himself in a situation so as to be fairly at bay, that the serious part of the sport began, in which case he attacked his enemies boldly, and always died fighting. He added that the lion, though not so large or swift an animal as the tiger, was generally stronger and more courageous. Those which have been killed in India, instead of running away when pursued through a jungle, seldom seem to think its cover necessary at all. When they see their enemies approaching, they spring out to meet them, open-mouthed, in the plain, like the boldest of all animals, a mastiff dog. They are thus generally shot with very little trouble, but if they are missed or only slightly wounded, they are truly formidable enemies. Though not swift, they leap with vast strength and violence, and their large heads, immense paws, and the great weight of their body forwards, often enable them to spring on the head of the largest elephants, and fairly pull them down to the ground, riders and all. When a tiger springs on an elephant, the latter is generally able to shake him off under his feet, and then woe be to him! The elephant either kneels on him and crushes him at once, or gives him a kick which breaks half his ribs, and sends him flying perhaps twenty paces. The elephants, however, are often dreadfully torn, and a large old tiger sometimes

clings too fast to be thus dealt with. In this case it often happens that the elephant himself falls, from pain or from the hope of rolling on his enemy, and the people on his back are in very considerable danger both from friends and foes, for Mr. Boulderson said the scratch of a tiger was sometimes venomous, as that of a cat is said to be. But this did not often happen, and in general persons wounded by his teeth or claws, if not killed outright, recovered easily enough.

November 21.—Our road to-day was, though intersected by two or three water-courses, rather less rugged than the day before. The country, however, is dismal enough, leaving everywhere the marks of having been cultivated at no distant period, but now almost all overgrown with a rank vegetation of a dusky, poisonous-looking plant, something like nightshade, and tall jungle-grass, often considerably higher than the head of a man on horseback, through which we pushed our way like Gulliver in the Patagonian corn-field. At last, we emerged on a somewhat higher and drier ground, where were some of the largest peepul-trees I ever saw, but still offering a wild and dismal shade choked up below with the vile underwood which I have mentioned, and a narrow and boggy path winding through it. On the other side we found ourselves among ill-cultivated rice-fields, beyond which was a magnificent range of mango-topes, and some tombs and temples peeping out from among them. On my expressing some surprise to see these appearances of wealth and splendour at Ruderpoor, Mr. Boulderson observed that I should soon change my opinion.

We found, in fact, on drawing nearer, all the usual marks of a diminished and sickly population, a pestilential climate, and an over-luxuriant soil. The tombs and temples were all ruins, the houses of the present inhabitants, some two or three score of wretched huts, such as even the gipseys of the open country would hardly shelter in; the people sate huddled together at their doors, wrapped in their black blankets, and cowering round little fires, with pale faces and emaciated limbs, while the

groves which looked so beautiful at a distance, instead of offering, as mangoe-topes do in well-peopled and cultivated spots, a fine open shade with a dry turf and fresh breeze beneath it, were all choked up with jungle and nightshade, like the peepul-trees we had lately passed amongst. Mr. Boulderson said that every time he had been here before he had found tigers in these topes, and that he would have now sent an elephant or two through the bushes by way of precaution, had he not known, from the testimony of the Rajah Gourman Singh, that there was no other in the neighbourhood but that which we had pursued the day before, and which was four or five miles off.

With all this Ruderpoor is a very striking, and, in many respects, a beautiful spot. The soil is evidently of an exuberant richness. The grass far overtopped the miserable houses; the few slovenly fields of wheat and "badgerow," a kind of maize, were uncommonly strong, flourishing, and luxuriant. The plantains in the gardens were the tallest and broadest I had ever seen, and the castor-oil plant, the prickly pear, and the aloe, formed thickets of impenetrable solidity. A bright and rippling stream, which I should never have suspected of yielding unwholesome water, ran round the village; and our tents were pitched on a grassy lawn, eaten down by cattle, and therefore not troublesomely high, under the shade of some enormous old mangoe-trees, and commanding a very advantageous view of the mountains, of which, however, the nearer ranges were now all which were visible. Here again we found the village magistrate ill of fever and ague, too ill indeed to come out to meet us. The second in authority, who brought his apology and nuzzur, said, however, that no new fevers were likely to be contracted now, the cold season having set in, and the people having begun to go out to burn the jungles. After breakfast I read prayers with Mr. Boulderson and Abdullah; and when the day grew warm the head man of the village ventured out to call on me, and beg for some medicine. He was a decent-looking man,

very neatly and cleanly dressed, but looking grievously ill, and I felt very sorry that I had so little skill to help him. His fever had been on him some time, and he had hot and cold fits every alternate day, but both increased at each return in violence and duration. I made him sit down, which he was very unwilling to do, though quite unfit to stand, and he told me his case very clearly and intelligibly. His hot fit was then on him, his pulse high, and his tongue white, with a little mixture of yellow. No saffron could be yellower than his skin. I would have given him an emetic, but was afraid, and judged beside that his complaint had been too long on him to receive benefit from it. I therefore gave him some calomel pills, bidding him take two as soon as he got home, and one or two every day the fever returned, giving him, for the intermitting days, a bottle of decoction of gentian, having scarcely any bark by me. Nothing could be more grateful than he seemed; and I am sure that, if faith in a remedy is likely to contribute to its efficacy, that requisite at least was not wanting in him. Mr. Boulderson afterwards told me that gentian was a usual and valuable medicine in the malaria fever.

We walked about a little in the afternoon, and finished our day with evening prayers.

November 22.—The march between Ruderpoor and Bamoury is not one which can with propriety be made by night, and we therefore kept our tents and people quiet till four o'clock in the morning, when they all, as I then supposed, set off in admirable military order, with advanced and rear guard, and main body, the venerable Soubahdar on his little pony in the centre. Mr. Boulderson could not conveniently march so soon, and on my tent being pulled down I went to one of his, which he meant to leave at Ruderpoor to await his return, and read and wrote till he was ready for breakfast at half-past seven; at eight we ourselves started on our elephants, and under the shade of chattahs, which protected us quite sufficiently from the sun. In fact, on an elephant's back a traveller is so well

raised above the reflected heat of the plain, and gets so much of whatever breeze is stirring, that, at this time of the year, and in these latitudes, I should care little for the sun even at the hottest time of the day.

Our road lay along an elevated causeway, across an open marshy plain, with many marks of former cultivation, but all now neglected except as pasture. Just as we were setting out the Rajah Gourman Singh joined us on his little elephant, with a small train of suwaris and peons armed with matchlocks, and bringing with him a brace of florikens, which he had shot the previous day. I had never seen the bird before; it is something larger than a black-cock, with brown and black plumage, and evidently of the bustard species. We thus went on about five miles, when to my great vexation I found the mules, which I supposed were half-way to Bamoury, grazing by the road-side, and the muleteers sitting huddled up in their blankets; I found that, out of pure laziness, and not liking to set off so soon as four o'clock, these people, who were encamped a little separate from the rest, had eluded Abdullah's vigilance, and had not set off with the cofila; that one of the mules had broken his girth at the spot where I found them, and that, on the pretence that they were unable to mend it, they had thus stopped short, in about as bad a place as they could have selected. My mohout undertook to mend the girth, which operation indeed was only that of tying a fresh knot on a piece of rope, and I scolded them on as well as I could, in which the mohout joined me, asking them if they meant to remain all night in the forest. They evidently heartily disliked the journey on which they were going, and one of their original number had deserted two nights before. I had, however, no disposable attendants to leave to force them on, and I did not think that they would either venture to desert their mules in the forest, or remain there all night themselves, and trusted to their fear of tigers as a sufficient motive for their following me as closely as possible. They again dropped behind, however, before we reached

Tandah, and only two out of four men, and seven out of twelve mules, made their appearance at night at Bamoury.

About six miles from Ruderpoor the plain became wilder and more forest-like. The grass on either side of the road was almost as high as my elephant, with beautiful white silky tufts. A great many scraggy trees were scattered on either side, whose branches and trunks showed the marks of the yearly conflagration with which the cowmen prepare the pasture for their cattle. The jungle in this place was still too green to burn; but we saw some smoke rising in different places before us, and Mr. Boulderson observed that it was fortunate that the fires were apparently on the leeward side of the road. The last time he passed the forest, he and his brother had been in considerable danger from the flames, and were obliged to put their elephants to a full gallop, and cross a deep and difficult nullah to avoid them. The process, however, full as much as the cool season, by admitting a free current of air between the trees, contributes to make the forest healthy, and when the young grass has sprung up, and the scorched trees have recovered their leaves, many beautiful glades, Mr. Boulderson said, open on both sides, and the ride is both picturesque and pleasant. As it was, I own, I saw nothing appalling or menacing in the "valley of death." The grass was high and the jungle thick, so thick that it was sometimes with difficulty that, even on the raised causeway, we could force our way through it; but there was nothing of that dark, dank, deadly-looking vegetation which we had seen at Ruderpoor; and the majestic trees which from time to time towered over the underwood, the songs of the birds, and the noble hills to which we were approaching, made me think I had passed very many days in India more unpleasantly.

Tandah is a small place, from which the woods are cleared, now quite overgrown with long grass, with a little brook winding close to the road, and a hut for a police establishment, which I know not why, but at a great expense of human life, is kept up here. This

is the only place where water is to be found, till travellers are close on Bamoury. Half-way between the two, Government some years since endeavoured to sink a well. They expended a good deal of money, and a sad number of lives, both of natives and superintendents, and, after all, found no water; though if the workmen had had the wit to dig a small channel for the water from the hills, the object might have been answered cheaply and effectually. As it is, it is something strange that the high road to Almorah has been made, at a great expense, to run this way at all. It is, indeed, some little shorter than either of the other two, by Lohoo Ghât and Chilkeah, and the way over the hills is shorter and more easy. But then Chilkeah is free, in comparison, from malaria; and the belt of forest so narrow in that direction that a safe communication might be secured at all times of the year. For this and other reasons I made up my mind to return from Almorah that way.

At Tandah Mr. Boulderson had posted his gig, with a fresh horse, further on, about half-way through the forest. I accompanied him, and found the road better than I expected, though we had several delays from broken bridges, thick jungle, &c., and were often obliged to walk some little distance. The day was cloudy and the breeze cool, so that we did not in the least suffer from the heat; but it was curious to see how carefully my companion on such occasions kept his gun, loaded with ball, in his hand. This caution was particularly observable soon after a jackall had crossed our path. The jackall, Mr. Boulderson observed, is certainly not, as is said, the provider for large animals, who want no assistance in finding and killing their game. But wherever a tiger is, the jackall and the vultures usually follow him, and pick the bones which the lordly savage leaves behind. They do not, however, venture to do this till he has fairly left the place; and if hunters or travellers find the carcass of a bullock or deer with the vultures and jackalls feeding, they know that the tyrant has with-

drawn: while if the smaller animals are looking round and round, as if desiring, yet afraid to draw near, they prepare themselves immediately for flight, or to encounter a formidable enemy. We, however, saw nothing of the kind, but had a peaceable and pleasant journey till we came to a tract where the fires had already been active, where little huts and herds of diminutive cattle were seen peeping out under the trees, and we overtook the rear-guard of our caravan, who told us we were near Bamoury.

The population which we saw were Khasya, or inhabitants of Kemaoon, who yearly come down, after the unwholesome time is over, to graze their cattle and cultivate the best and driest spots of the forest with barley and wheat, which they reap and carry back with them before April is far advanced, when they return to reap the similar, but somewhat later crops, which they had sown before they left their own country. At the same time they obtain an opportunity of disposing of their honey and other commodities of the hills, and buying different little luxuries with which the plains only, and the more civilized parts of Hindostan, can supply them. Many of them were close by the way-side, very dark and meagre people, but strongly and neatly made, and not so diminutive as the inhabitants of such mountains generally are. They were all wrapped up in the long black blankets of their marshland neighbours, but very few of them had arms. Mr. Boulderson said they merely carried them against tigers, for there was scarcely a more peaceable or honest race in the world.

We now passed a rapid and gravelly brook of beautiful water, overhung by shady trees, with Khasya tents all round it, by which the main body of our caravan had halted to repose and drink. We pushed on, however, and soon began to rise by a gentle ascent into the gorge of a delightful valley, with woody mountains on either side, and a considerable river running through it, dashing over a rocky bottom with great noise and violence.

A little above this beautiful stream

some miserable pukka sheds pointed out the Company's warehouses and police establishment; and a sentry in a green uniform, who presented arms as we came up, and a daroga who could hardly speak Hindoostanee, showed us that we were already in a new land, and within the limits of the Himalaya. There is a very small and uncomfortable room adjoining the warehouse, which is usually occupied by travellers. Here we took shelter till our tents were pitched, and the view was so beautiful as they rose, one after the other, in the green but stony meadow beneath, that I was some time in recollecting that I had many things to do, and that no time was to be lost in preparing for a journey under very different circumstances from those in which I had yet travelled. I found two chuprassees with letters from Mr. Traill and Mr. Adams at Almorah; the former saying that he had sent down his own pony for my use, together with twenty-one coolies, from Almorah, being convinced that I should want nearly that number for the conveyance of my own baggage and that of my people. He added that two new hill-tents, which he had ordered for himself, were now on their road upwards, and that he had halted them at Bamoury in the idea that they might be serviceable to me.

Mr. Adams spoke of his own bad health, which had obliged him to remove from Almorah to Havelbagh; and said that though he could not be present to receive me, I should find his house at the former place ready. While I was reading these letters, the daroga returned with a pretty little boy, his son; they brought two plates of beautiful pomegranates and lemons, with a pot of honey, and another of milk, as a present. For the three first of these the lower range of mountains is celebrated. The fourth is, as we afterwards found, a scarce article in this country, and therefore proportionably valued. I received them with thanks, as indeed they were all very acceptable, and took an opportunity, shortly after, of giving the little boy a rupee, as a civiler method of making a return, than giving it immediately to the fa-

ther. To my surprise, the child blushed exceedingly, and said he was ashamed to take it, and that the things were not worth so much. This was very unlike a young Bengalee; however, on my telling him it was not as payment, but out of good will, and for him to buy "metai" (sweetmeats), with, his countenance brightened up, he pressed it to his forehead, and packed it up carefully in the folds of his girdle. He spoke Hindoostanee hesitatingly, and like a foreign language, but I understood him very well. On going down to the tents I got packed up the things which I was most likely to want for my journey, in the bullock-trunks and the square petarrahs, to be carried by three mules; another mule was required for the kitchen furniture, and three more were necessary, that the servants whom I took with me might ride in turns. Our seven mules, the remaining five not being heard of, were thus accounted for. My bed was found not too heavy for six of the hill-coolies (bearers from the plain being ascertained to be nearly useless). One man carried my writing-desk, another two chairs and the physic-chest; two had each a basket of provisions and crockery; two carried a leaf of the folding-table; six the baggage of the Sepoys; and the remainder were employed as muleteers, &c. Sepoys were not absolutely necessary, but as I had them, I thought I might as well take some, and I directed the soubahdar to inquire what men would volunteer for this service, on which ten privates, a havildar and a naick, two officers answering to our serjeant and corporal, very readily came forward. The rest of the party I had intended to leave at Bamoury till my return. It appeared, however, that there was no forage for the elephants or camels, the trees which grew in the neighbourhood being all of a kind which they will not eat. This, with the circumstances which I have already mentioned, and the desire to see something more of Kemaoon, determined me to send them to Chilkeah, and I gave directions accordingly. Here, however, a new difficulty arose. The mules which had been described to me

as furnished with every requisite for a journey, had neither bridles nor saddles of a proper kind for travelling in a string or bearing considerable weights. Nor had anybody, except Abdullah, ever seen the sort of pannel which was necessary. He lost no time, but sat down with a large packing-needle and twine, and, in less than an hour, made out of some of the camel furniture a serviceable saddle and bridle, such as are used in Persia. The camel-drivers set to work in imitation, and by night all the seven mules were equipped and ready to be loaded next morning. While these things were going on, the daroga's little boy, who had been watching us attentively, came up, and, with joined hands, asked me to take him with me as my servant. I told him I was going a long, long journey, over mountains, and through jungles, and beyond the sea, and that he would be sadly tired; on which he blushed and said "he was sure he should not;" I was pleased with his intelligent countenance and manner, and wish that I could have taken him with me, and brought him up a Christian. But these people are Rajpoots of very high caste, so that his father would, certainly, have stipulated that his caste should be respected: and, above all, I had really no means, without great inconvenience, of carrying a child of that age in such a journey as I was engaged in. I therefore told him, in as good-natured a way as I could, that he had better stay with his father; and the little fellow went away very gravely, and apparently disappointed. Mr. Boulderson, meantime, had taken his fishing-rod down to the river, and now returned with some, not large, but very beautiful trout, in all respects like those of our own country. These formed an agreeable accession to our dinner; and the cool mountain breeze, the rustling of the forest, and the incessant roar of the rapid stream, made me feel as if I were in Europe again; and I again longed exceedingly for her, who, of all others of my acquaintance, would most have enjoyed our present situation. Mr. Boulderson made me here a present of two sheep, one of

which I gave to the Sepoys for a feast after their long march. The other was required for the mountains, where, except game, meat of any kind is seldom to be obtained. With soldiers of all countries these little attentions go a great way, but with Sepoys I think more than with any others. General Vanrenen told me that by harshness they were immediately discouraged, but that by speaking to them kindly, and showing a regard to their comforts, there was no exertion which they might not be induced to make with cheerfulness. I, certainly, have not given them extraordinary trouble in general, but a twenty-one mile march in this climate is enough to try a soldier's temper; and the cheerfulness with which they all answered my inquiries as I overtook them on the road, the readiness with which they turned out to go up the hills with me, and other little circumstances, have made me hope that I am by no means an unpopular person with them.

November 23.—This morning I mounted Mr. Traill's pony, a stout shaggy little white animal, whose birth-place might have been in Wales, instead of the Himalaya. Mr. Boulderson was on a similar one, which he had brought from the hills some years before. He was equipped for the journey with a long spear, had his gun, a double-barrelled one, loaded with ball and shot, carried close to him, and two men with matchlocks, who seemed his usual attendants. By his advice I had my pistols, and he also lent me a double-barrelled gun, saying we might see tigers. After a good deal of trouble in getting the mules and coolies started, we proceeded on our journey as it began to dawn, a night march being not very safe amid these mountains, and the beauty of the scenery being of itself a sufficient motive to see all which was to be seen. The road was, certainly, sufficiently steep and rugged, and particularly when intersected by torrents, I do not think it was passable by horses accustomed only to the plain. I was myself surprised to see how dexterously our ponies picked their way over large rolling pebbles and broken fragments

of rock, how firmly they planted their feet, and with how little distress they conquered some of the steepest ascents I ever climbed. The country as we advanced became exceedingly beautiful and romantic. It reminded me most of Norway, but had the advantage of round-topped trees, instead of the unwearied spear-like outline of the pine. It would have been like some parts of Wales, had not the hills and precipices been much higher, and the valleys, or rather dells, narrower and more savage. We could seldom, from the range on which the road ran, see to the bottom of any of them, and only heard the roar and rush of the river which we had left, and which the torrents which foamed across our path were hastening to join.

We saw several interesting plants and animals; Mr. Boulderson shot two black and purple pheasants, and a jungle hen; we saw some beautiful little white monkeys, called by the people "Gounee," gambolling on the trees; and heard, which, perhaps, pleased me most of all, the notes of an English thrush. The bird, however, though Mr. Boulderson said it is of the thrush kind, is black. For a short distance the vegetation did not differ materially from that of the plains. The first peculiarities I saw were some nettles of very great size, and some magnificent creepers which hung their wild cordage, as thick as a ship's cable and covered with broad bright leaves, from tree to tree over our heads. After about an hour and a half's ascent, Mr. Boulderson pointed out to me some dog-rose trees, and a number of raspberry bushes, with here and there a small but not very thriving evergreen oak. We soon after saw a good many cherry-trees, of the common wild English sort, in full blossom, and, as we turned down a steep descent to Beemthâl, we passed under some pear-trees, with the fruit already set, and a wild thicket, I will not call it jungle, of raspberry and bilberry bushes on either side of our path. We had sufficient proof during our ride that the country, wild as it is, is not uninhabited. We met two or three companies of Khasya peasantry

going down to their annual cultivation in the forest. The men were all middle-sized, slender, and active, of not dark complexions, but very poorly and scantily dressed. All were unarmed, except with large sticks. The women might have been good-looking if they had been less sun-burnt and toil-worn, or if their noses and ears had not been so much enlarged by the weight of the metal rings with which they were ornamented. Their dress was a coarse cloth wrapped round their waist, with a black blanket over the head and shoulders. All had silver bracelets and anklets, apparently of silver also, a circumstance which, to an European eye, contrasted singularly with the exceeding poverty of their general appearance.

Their industry seems very great. In every part where the declivity was less steep, so as to admit a plough or a spade, we found little plots of ground, sometimes only four feet wide, and ten or twelve long, in careful and neat cultivation. Some of these were ranged in little terraces, one above the other, supported by walls of loose stones; and these evidences of industry and population were the more striking, because we literally did not pass a single habitation; and even at Beemthâl, besides the Company's guard-room and warehouses, only one miserable hut was visible. Beemthâl is, however, a very beautiful place. It is a little mountain-valley, surrounded on three sides by woody hills, and on the fourth by a tract of green meadow, with a fine lake of clear water. A small and very rude pagoda of grey stone, with a coarse slate roof, under some fine peepul-trees, looked like a little church; and the whole scene, except that the hills were higher, so strongly reminded me of Wales, that I felt my heart beat as I entered it. As we alighted, a man came up with another basket of fine trout; and after a good deal of brushing and patching, we succeeded (no very easy task) in making the ruinous apartment, appropriated for travellers, look reasonably decent and comfortable. It was in the first instance more like "lonesome lodge," in the old ballad of "The Heir of Lynne,"

than anything which I have seen. It was a single small room, with a clay floor, two windows without glass, the shutters broken to pieces, and a roof of unhewn rafters of fir, with the bark laid between them. There was a fireplace, however, and some remains of a grate, a prospect the more agreeable, inasmuch as even now, though nearly the hottest part of the day, we found the sun by no means unpleasant, and walked up and down in our cloth coats and worsted stockings, as if we had been in England. Beemthâl is, indeed, 3200 feet above the level of the sea, and 2700 above the plain of Rohilcund. Yet even now, Mount Gaughur, which closed our present prospect, was 5400 feet higher than we were; and if we had been on Mount Gaughur we should have seen peaks of 16,000 feet above us still!

We passed a very cheerful and pleasing evening round our blazing hearth; and, by help of blankets and great-coats, found our beds extremely comfortable.

November 24.—Mr. Boulderson left me this morning, and I believe we parted with mutual regret; his pursuits and amusements were certainly very different from mine, but I found in him a fine temper and an active mind, full of information respecting the country, animals, and people among whom he had passed several years; and on the whole I do not think I have acquired so much of this kind of knowledge in so short a time from any person whom I have met with in India. I myself remained at Beemthâl this day, partly to rest my people after their two severe marches, partly to see another lake or "thâl," at a short distance, which was said to be finer than that before me.

I set off as soon as Mr. Boulderson had left me, about six o'clock in the morning, on the white pony, with a Khasya guide, Mr. Traill's saees, and two Sepoys, who had for some time shown on all occasions a great zeal to accompany me. One of these is the man who got leave to see his brother. The other is a Brahmin, a very decent middle-aged man, one of the number who was sick in Oude. He is fond of telling me stories of his campaigns,

which he says have many of them been among mountains in Malwah and Bundelcund. He owns, however, that the mountains here are larger than any which he has yet visited; even respecting these I found him not ill-informed, both as to the holy places situated among them, Bhadrinâth, Gungootree, &c., the situation of the source of the Ganges, which he correctly stated, in answer to a question which I put to try him, to be on this side of the snowy mountains, and the scenes where battles were fought during the Ghorkhali war. The other soldier had not much to say, but was exceedingly civil and willing to oblige, and had a pair of the longest and most nimble legs, and the strongest arms I have seen. The latter were of some use to me this morning, our stupid guide having led me along a path so narrow, that Mr. Traill's pony had neither room to turn nor to advance with me on his back, nor could I conveniently dismount, having one knee pressed against a steep bank, and the opposite foot hanging over the rocky edge of a brook some ten feet high. I had nothing for it but to climb the bank, and in so doing I found a most valuable support in this man's arm, while nothing could exceed his zeal in the cause. The pony still could not advance till his holsters were taken off, and to avoid such risks in future, I told the long-legged Sepoy to go on next to the guide, and give warning if we were coming to a place which the horse could not pass. The path lay along a very elevated valley, nearly bare of trees, but cultivated with a most persevering industry almost to the mountain's top. The bleak appearance of the place, its general features, its strong soil, and the extent of agriculture, a good deal reminded me of that part of Llanarmon which is near the "Tavern Dwreck." I passed no village, nor more than one house. This last, however, was very interesting, being a water-mill, with an overshot wheel, which is supplied by the brook where I so narrowly missed a tumble. The mill, though exceedingly rude, was of the same sort as in other countries, but was the tiniest specimen which I ever saw. The stones were not

larger than would serve a reasonable hand-mill; the building so small that nobody could enter but on their hands and knees; and the sacks of corn and flour disposed about the door were all on the same Lilliputian scale. The lake which I went to see, the name of which is Nongungee, disappointed me. It is a very pretty secluded mountain tarn, with some rock and wood around it, and its surface covered with fine water-lilies, but neither so large nor so beautiful as Beemthäl. I was glad, however, that I had come, and returning a different way, had a very fine view of the other side of this secluded valley, which is more rugged and woody than that on which I had been hitherto looking.

The Khasya nation pretend to be all Rajpoots of the highest caste, and very scrupulous in their eating and drinking. They will not even sell one of their little mountain cows to a stranger, unless he will swear that he neither will kill it himself, nor transfer it to anybody else in order to be killed: and as these cows give very little milk, and as their abhorrence of feathers leads the cottagers to keep no poultry, a stranger passing through their country, who cannot kill his own game, or who has not such a friend as Mr. Boulderson to do it for him, stands a bad chance of obtaining any supplies, except very coarse black bread and water, with perhaps a little honey. They are a modest, gentle, respectful people, honest in their dealings, and as remarkable for their love of truth as the Puharrees of Rajmahal and Bogliipoor. As their language is different from that of Hindostan, I was anxious to know whether it resembled that of these other mountaineers, but found that a party who, on one occasion, accompanied Mr. Traill to Bengal, were unintelligible to the southern Puharree. Indeed, their real or pretended Rajpoot descent would, of itself, prove them to be a different race. Those who went with Mr. Traill, I learned from Mr. Boulderson, who was also of the party, took no notice whatever of the Rajmahal hills, even when passing over them. Mr. Boulderson said, "Are you not pleased to

see mountains again?" "What mountains?" was their reply. "These mountains, to be sure," returned he. "They are not mountains, they are playthings," was their answer. In comparison with their own they might, indeed, say so without affectation.

November 25.—This morning we began to pack by four o'clock, but owing to the restiveness of the mules and the clumsiness of the people, divers accidents occurred, the most serious of which was the bursting of one of the petarrahs. At length we got off, and after coasting the lake for one mile, went for about thirteen more by a most steep and rugged road, over the neck of Mount Gaughur, through a succession of glens, forests, and views of the most sublime and beautiful description. I never saw such prospects before, and had formed no adequate idea of such. My attention was completely strained, and my eyes filled with tears, everything around was so wild and magnificent that man appeared as nothing, and I felt myself as if climbing the steps of the altar of God's great temple. The trees, as we advanced, were in a large proportion fir and cedar, but many were ilex, and to my surprise I still saw, even in these Alpine tracts, many venerable peepul-trees, on which the white monkeys were playing their gambols. A monkey is also found in these hills as large as a large dog, if my guides are to be believed. Tigers used to be very common and mischievous, but since the English have frequented the country are scarce, and in comparison very shy. There are also many wolves and bears, and some chamois, two of which passed near us. My Sepoys wanted me to shoot one, and offered, with my leave, to do so themselves, if I did not like the walk which would be necessary. But my people would not have eaten them. I myself was well supplied with provisions, and I did not wish to destroy an innocent animal merely for the sake of looking at it a little closer; I therefore told them it was not my custom to kill anything which was not mischievous, and asked if they would stand by me if we saw a tiger or a bear. They promised eagerly not to fail me,

and I do not think they would have broken their words.

After winding up

- A wild romantic chasm that slanted
Down the steep hill, athwart a cedar cover,
A savage place, as holy and enchanted
As e'er beneath the waning moon was
haunted
By woman wailing for her demon lover,"

we arrived at the gorge of the pass, in an indent between the two principal summits of Mount Gaughur, near 8600 feet above the sea. And now the snowy mountains, which had been so long eclipsed, opened on us in full magnificence.

Nundidevi was immediately opposite: Kedar Nâth was not visible from our present situation, and Meru only seen as a very distant single peak. The eastern mountains, however, for which I have obtained no name, rose into great consequence, and were very glorious objects as we wound down the hill on the other side. The guides could only tell me that "they were a great way off, and bordered on the Chinese empire." They are, I suppose, in Thibet.

Bhadrinâth is a famous place of pilgrimage for the Hindoos. The Khasya guide, however, said, that the temple was considerably on this side the snow, which last none but the deotas had visited before the "Sahib Log" (Europeans) came into the country. Mr. Traill has ascended a considerable way up it. Almorah, I was told, might be seen from hence; the hill on which it stands they made me see, I believe, but I could not distinguish any houses. On Mount Gaughur I found the first ice which I have come in contact with. The little streams on the northern side of the hill had all a thin crust on them: and the hoar-frost, in one or two places, made the path so slippery, that I thought it best to dismount from the pony. Indeed, though the sun was already high, and I was warmly dressed, a walk down the hill to our halting-place at Ramghur was by no means unpleasant.

Ramghur is a very small and poor village, the first which I had seen in Kemaon, seated by a fine rapid stream in a narrow winding valley, the sides

of which, to a very great height, are cultivated in narrow terraces, with persevering and obstinate industry, though the soil is so stony that many of the little fields more resemble the deposit of a torrent than an arable piece of ground. The Company's warehouse and guard-house stand at a little height above the village; and the head man of the place came to meet me with some small trout, and, what to me were a great rarity, some young potatoes. The view much reminded me of Driostuen, in Norway; and though the snowy mountains were not visible, and though, except on Mount Gaughur, there was not much wood, the picture formed was exceedingly striking.

There was a castle at Ramghur during the time of the Ghorkha power, now dismantled and gone to decay. A good deal of iron ore is also found in the neighbourhood, which the inhabitants of the small village were employed in washing from its grosser impurities, and fitting it to be transported to Almorah for smelting. Why they do not smelt it on the spot I could not learn, since there is wood enough on Mount Gaughur.

I walked to the village in the afternoon, and found Mr. Traill's chuprassee putting all the milch goats which the poor people possessed in requisition, to obtain some milk for my tea. The goats were very reluctant, but a little was at length obtained, which, much against the chuprassee's will, I paid for, and also gave a few pice to some of the children, which soon drew a crowd after me. The houses, people, children, and animals showed marks of poverty. Almost all the children were naked, and the grown persons, except their black blankets, had scarcely a rag to cover them. The houses were ranged in a line with a row of still smaller huts opposite, which seemed to be for their cattle, though in England they might have passed for very poor pig-sties. The houses, indeed, were little better, none of them high enough to stand up in, the largest not more than ten feet square, and the door, the only aperture, a square hole of about four

feet every way. The people were little and slender, but apparently muscular and active; their countenances intelligent and remarkably mild, and one or two of their women were not very far removed from pretty. This tribe of the Khasya nation, the chuprassee told me, are decidedly of migratory habits, dividing their time between the hills and the forest, according to the seasons, and it was thus that he accounted for the miserable state of their habitations. They very cheerfully and civilly showed me the manner in which they wash the ore, which is done by enclosing it in large wicker baskets, like those made to catch eels in England, surrounded partially by a goat-skin, but with a hole at the smaller extremity. This is placed under a stream of water conveyed in the same manner, and within an almost similar hut as the corn-mill which I had seen the day before, and the earth is thus washed away, leaving the iron behind.

Even here are numerous traces of the superstition of India. We passed some rudely-carved stones, with symbols of Brahminical idolatry; and three miserable-looking beggars, two Brahmins, and a viragee, came to ask alms, in a strange mixture between Khasya and Hindoostanee. A traveller, wrapped in long cotton cloths, with a long matchlock on his shoulder, a shield and sword on his left side, on a pretty good horse, and attended by a ragged saees carrying two petarrahs, passed us and went on to the village. Abdullah said that he knew him by his dress to be a Sikh, and that he had probably been in search of employment as a soldier, either from the Rajah of Kemaon, the Ghorkhas, or, perhaps, the Chinese. He was a very picturesque figure, and curious as a specimen of the irregular mercenary troops of India.

My own Sepoys had a grievous quarrel with the "Goomashta," or agent of the Company's warehouse, and I was appealed to loudly by both parties; the soldiers calling on me as "Ghureeb purwar,"—the goomashta, not to be outdone, exclaiming, "Donai Lord

Sahib! Donai! Rajah." I found that good flour, which sold at Ruderpoor at thirty-eight seer for the rupee, was here at fifteen seer only, and that the mixture which the man offered to the soldiers was really so full of bran, and even chaff, as to be fit for nothing but an elephant. The man said, in reply, that he went by the Company's measure, and the regulation price; that all flour, except such as we saw, was scarce and dear in this part of Kemaon; that he was allowed, in consequence of his situation, to charge more; and that the people and soldiery of the country desired no better than that which he furnished. I terminated the quarrel at last by paying the difference in price, amounting to no more than one rupee, between the good and the bad, and all sides were satisfied and thankful.

November 26.—This morning we proceeded along a narrow valley to a broken bridge over the torrent, so like in scenery and circumstances to that called Alarm Brug, in Dovre in Norway, that I could have almost fancied myself there. We forded the stream without difficulty, though over a very rugged bed; but, during the rains, one of the chuprassees told me, a rope which I saw hanging loosely across the ruined arch was to transport the postman or any other passenger. He was seated in a basket hung by a loop on this rope, and drawn over, backwards and forwards, by two smaller ones fastened to the basket on each side. This is an ingenious though simple method of conveyance, which is practised also by the catchers of sea-fowl on many parts of the coast of Norway; it was the only way formerly in use of passing torrents or chasms in these countries; and the stone bridges which the English have erected are very ill able to resist the floods of the rainy season, which rush down these deep descents with great violence and rapidity. Bridges on Mr. Shakespear's plan are best calculated for this country.

The snowy peaks had been concealed ever since we descended Gaughur, but the country is still very sublime; less

woody, less luxuriant than the southern side of that mountain, but still moulded in the most majestic forms, and such as I hardly knew whether to prefer or no to the splendid scenery which I had passed. The road is yet more rugged and steep than that over the Gaughur, and the precipices higher; or rather, perhaps, their height is more seen because the trees are fewer and more stunted, and there is nothing to break the view from the brow to the very bottom, with its roaring stream, and narrow shingly meadows. I know not what is the reason or instinct which induces all animals accustomed to mountain travelling, such as mules, sheep, black cattle, and such ponies as I was now riding, to go by preference as near the edge as possible. I have often observed, and have been puzzled to account for it. The road is, indeed, smoother and most beaten there, but it has been this predilection of theirs, which has, in the first instance, made it so. My present pony had this preference very decidedly, and I often found him picking his way along, what I should have thought, the extreme verge of safety. I was satisfied, however, that he knew best, and therefore let him take his own course, though my constant attendants, the two Sepoys, often called out to him, "Ah, Pearl (his name), go in the middle, do not go on the brink." The fact is, that though there is some fatigue, there is no danger in any part of the road, if a person is properly mounted and not nervous.

The long-legged Sepoy, who is I find a Brahmin as well as his comrade, is certainly an excellent walker; when I stopped, as I made a point of doing from time to time, for my party and my horse to take breath, he always said he was not tired: and he fairly beat the Kemaon chuprassies, though natives of the country. Both he and the elder man professed to like their journey exceedingly, and the latter was greatly delighted this morning, when, on climbing a second mountain, we had a more extensive and panoramic view of the icy range than we had seen before, and the guides pointed out

Meru! "That, my Lord (he cried out), is the greatest of all mountains! out of that Gunga flows!" The younger, who is not a man of many words, merely muttered "Ram! Ram! Ram!"

I had expected, from this hill, to see something like a table-land or elevated plain, but found, instead, nothing but one range of mountains after the other, quite as rugged, and, generally speaking, more bare than those which we had left, till the horizon was terminated by a vast range of ice and snow, extending its battalion of white shining spears from east to west, as far as the eye could follow it; the principal points rising like towers in the glittering rampart, but all connected by a chain of humbler glaciers. On one of the middle range of mountains before us, a little lower than the rest, some white buildings appeared, and a few trees, with a long zigzag road winding up the face of the hill.

This, I was told, was the city and fortress of Almorah. The other nearer features in the view were some extensive pine-forests, some scattered villages of rather better appearance than those which we had left, and the same marks of industry in the successive terraces by which all the lower parts of the hills are intersected. These have by no means a bad effect in the landscape. The lines are too short and too irregular to have a formal appearance; the bushes and small trees which grow on their brinks look at a little distance exactly like hedges; and the low stone walls, so far as they are discernible at all, seem natural accompaniments to steeps so rugged and craggy.

The mountains which I passed in these stages were all, so far as I saw, of limestone. There are, indeed, vast detached masses of granite lying everywhere on the side of the hills, in the valleys and the torrents; and the peaks of the mountains, if I had climbed up to them, would doubtless have proved of the same substance. But limestone and coarse slate are the materials of which the road and walls are made; and the few cottages which I have seen

of a better appearance than the rest (I passed two more villages in this day's march) are built and roofed with the same materials, as are also the Government warehouses. I saw many European plants to-day. Cherry-trees were numerous. I observed a good deal of honeysuckle and some hips and haws, and one of the guides brought me a large handful of bilberries. I saw, however, no ice; and indeed I had many opportunities of observing, that high as we had climbed in the course of the day, we were not so high as when on the top of Gaughur. Nothing could be finer than the climate. Though the sun was hot before we got to our station, the distance being seven coss, it was not unpleasant at any time of the day; nor, though in the shade it was certainly cold and chilly, was it more so than is usually felt in England in the finest part of October.

My Sepoys, who, as all water-drinkers are, are critics in the beverage, praised exceedingly the purity and lightness of the little streams which gushed across the road. Mr. Boulderson, indeed, had told me that the Khasyas pride themselves much on their springs, and have been known to refuse advantageous situations in the plain, saying, "How can we get good water there?" This, however, does not seem to militate against their annual emigration. All the villages which we passed were empty, the people having gone to Barmoury for the winter. One or two cottages, however, were still inhabited round the Company's post, the master of one of which, who, though dressed like a common Khasya peasant, said he was the Zemindar of the district, brought me some beautiful lemons and some young potatoes, both the produce of his garden. Potatoes are much liked by the mountaineers, and are becoming very common. They are, perhaps, among the most valuable presents which they are likely to receive from their new masters.

My attention here, as elsewhere, is never quite withdrawn from missionary inquiries, but in these annual emigrations I see a great hindrance to their reception of the Gospel or the educa-

tion of their children. At Almorah, however, and in the other towns, the case is, in some respects, different.

The Company's post is a small bungalow, with a still smaller guard-room, which latter could only accommodate the Naitch and his party whom we found in possession, while the stony soil all around would not admit of our pitching the tents. The soldiers and servants were, therefore, obliged to sleep in the open air.

During the afternoon, and soon after I had finished my early dinner, a very fine cheerful old man, with staff and wallet, walked up and took his place by one of the fires. He announced himself as a pilgrim to Bhadrinâth, and said he had previously visited a holy place in Lahore, whose name I could not make out, and was last returned from Juggernâth and Calcutta, whence he had intended to visit the Burman territories, but was prevented by the war. He was a native of Oude, but hoped, he said, before he fixed himself again at home, to see Bombay and Poonah. I asked him what made him undertake such long journeys? He said he had had a good and affectionate son, a havildar in the Company's service, who always sent him money, and had once or twice come to see him. Two years back he died, and left him sixteen gold mohurs, but since that time, he said, he could settle to nothing, and at length he had determined to go to all the most holy spots he had heard of, and travel over the world till his melancholy legacy was exhausted. I told him I would pay the goomashta for his dinner that day, on which he thanked me, and said "so many great men had shown him the same kindness, that he was not yet in want, and had never been obliged to ask for anything." He was very curious to know who I was, with so many guards and servants in such a place; and the name of "Lord Padre" was, as usual, a great puzzle to him. He gave a very copious account of his travels, the greater part of which I understood pretty well, and he was much pleased by the interest which I took in his adventures. He remarked that Hindostan was the finest

country and the most plentiful which he had seen. Next to that he spoke well of Sinde, where he said things were still cheaper, but the water not so good. Lahore, Bengal, and Orissa, none of them were favourites, nor did he speak well of Kemaoon. It might for all he knew, he said, be healthy, but what was that to him, who was never ill anywhere, so he could get bread and water? There was something flighty in his

manner, but on the whole he was a fine old pilgrim, and one well suited to

"Repay with many a tale the nightly bed."

A nightly bed, indeed, I had not to offer him, but he had as comfortable a berth by the fire as the Sepoys could make him, and I heard his loud cheerful voice telling stories after his mess of rice and ghee, till I myself dropped asleep.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ALMORAH TO MEERUT.

Trees used as Gallows—Bhooteahs—Kemaon subject to Earthquakes—Havelbagh—Vegetation in Kemaon—Animals and Birds—Wild Dogs—Visits from Vakeel and Pundit—Cold at Pruny—Poverty of Ghurwali—Kosilla River—Description of Okul Doonga—Pillibheet Rice—Emetic Property of Wild Tea—Ghorkha Boy—Manner of catching Fish—Cashipoor—Women Spinning—White Buffalo—Sugar Mill—Imperial Tree—Moradabad—Making Ice—Yogis and Tigers—Canes set on fire by Friction—Party of supposed Bheels—Thugs.

NOVEMBER 27.—As we had to climb the eastern side of so steep a hill as that on which Almorah stands, I conceived that the sun might possibly be troublesome, and started a little earlier than I had done the two preceding days; we descended into a valley with a very rapid river, the Kosilla, running through it, over a rugged and stony bottom. The abutments of a bridge which had, as usual, lost its arch, and had only its slack rope, pointed out the place where we were to cross by rather a difficult ford. One of my followers, a poor Pariah dog, who had come with us all the way from Bareilly for the sake of the scraps which I had ordered the cook to give him, and, by the sort of instinct which most dogs possess, always attached himself to me as the head of the party, was so alarmed at the blackness and roaring of the water, that he sat down on the brink and howled pitifully when he saw me going over. When he found it was a hopeless case, however, he mustered courage and followed. But, on reaching the other side, a new distress awaited him. One of my faithful Sepoys had lagged behind as well as himself; and when he found the usual number of my party not complete, he ran back to the brow of the hill and howled, then hurried after me as if afraid of being himself left behind, then back again to summon the loiterer, till the man came up, and he apprehended that all was going on in its usual rou-

tine. It struck me forcibly to find the same dog-like and amiable qualities in these neglected animals, as in their more fortunate brethren of Europe. The dog had, before this, been rather a favourite with my party, and this will, I think, establish him in their good graces.

We had two more toilsome ascents, and another deep and black ford to pass before we reached the foot of the hill of Almorah. The town is approached by a very long and steep zig-zag road, which a few resolute men might defend against an army. On seeing the impenetrable nature of this whole country, one cannot help wondering how it ever should have been conquered. Its first subjection, however, by the Ghorkhas was in consequence of a disputed succession, and forwarded by the dissensions of the people themselves. Its recent conquest by the British was aided by the goodwill of all the natives, whom the cruelty of their masters had disposed to take part with any invader. The Khasyas in every village lent their help, not only as guides, but in dragging our guns up the hills, and giving every other assistance which they could supply.

I was met by Mr. Traill about half a mile from the town, mounted on a little pony like that which he had sent me. We rode together under a spreading toon-tree, so like an ash that I at first mistook it for one. There are four

of these trees in the four approaches to the town, one or other of which is the usual gallows, when, which happens rarely, a capital execution takes place. Under the Ghorkhas all four were kept in almost constant employment. I have, indeed, had reason to find, from the conversation of my guides with Abdullah, that this province is one of the parts of our Eastern empire where the British Government is most popular, and where we are still really regarded as the deliverers of the people from an intolerable tyranny. I mentioned this to Mr. Traill during our ride. He said that the Ghorkha government had, certainly, been very tyrannical, less from the commands or inclination of the Court of Catmandu, than from its want of power to keep in order the military chiefs, by whom the conquest of the province had been effected, and who not only had divided the lands among themselves, without regard to the rights of the ancient proprietors, but, on any arrears of rent, sold the wives and children of the peasants into slavery, to an amount which was almost incredible; punishing, at the same time, with barbarous severity, every appearance of mutiny or discontent which these horrible proceedings excited. He said that, at the present moment, hardly any young persons were to be found through the country, who, during the Ghorkha government, had been of a marketable age. Children there were in plenty, but only such as had been born shortly before, or since the transfer of the dominion to the British. The Court of Catmandu sent repeated edicts against the practice, which was in a fair way to extirpate their new subjects. But all which they did, or thought it necessary to do, was of no avail, and the country was at the very lowest ebb of misery, when, happily for its surviving inhabitants, the Ghorkhas took it into their heads to quarrel with the English.

Nundidevi, the highest peak in the world, is stated to be no less than 25,689 feet above the sea, and 4000 feet and upwards higher than Chimborazo. Bhadrinâth and Kedarnâth are merely two ends of the same mountain; its

height is 22,300 feet. The peak which the chuprassees called Meru is properly Sumeru, as distinguished by the modern Pundits at least, from the celestial and fabulous one. It is really, however, pretty near the sources of the Ganges, and about 23,000 feet high, though the three great peaks of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, whence the Ganges really flows, are from this point obscured by the intervening ridge of Kedarnâth. Kedarnâth, Gungootree, Sumeru, and Nundidevi, are all within the British territory, and Mr. Traill has been to the northward of them, though the peaks themselves have never been scaled. Nundidevi is, as the crow flies, forty miles from Almorah; but following the winding of the only accessible road, it is eight or nine days' march. Between it and the Chinese frontier two remarkable races of men are found: the first the Bhooteahs, a Mongolian tribe, worshippers of the Delai Lama, who are said to be the descendants of one of the hordes who crossed the snowy mountains with Tamerlane; the other a savage race, who neither plough nor dig, but live by the chase and on wild fruits only. They call themselves the original inhabitants of the soil, and appear to be the same people with the Puharees of Rajmahâl. I saw some Bhooteahs during my stay at Almorah, who had come down with a cargo of "chowries," tails of the "yâk," or mountain-ox. They are a short square-built people, with the true Calmuk countenance and eye, and with the same remarkable cheerfulness of character and expression by which the Calmuk tribes are in general distinguished. Their dress was also completely Tartar, large boots with their trousers stuffed into them, caftans girded round the waist, and little bonnets edged with black sheep's skin.

Beyond them is the Chinese frontier, strictly guarded by the jealous care of that government. Mr. Moorcroft did, indeed, pass it some years ago, and was kindly received by one of the provincial governors; but the poor man was thrown into prison, and died there, as a punishment for his hospitality, and, since, nobody has been allowed to go

beyond the frontier village. When Mr. Traill visited it they showed him great respect and attention; brought him firewood, milk, eggs, earthen vessels, and would receive no payment, but, on his mounting his horse to push on a little further, he was immediately surrounded and brought back, though in the civillest manner, by the Tartar horsemen, who pleaded the positive orders of the emperor. To the north, however, the small independent Tartar kingdom of Ladak has shown itself exceedingly hospitable and friendly. Mr. Moorcroft, when he was there, was treated with unbounded kindness and confidence, and their khân has since sent a formal offer, which I am sorry was declined, of his allegiance to the British Government.

To return from this digression. I found Almorah a small but very curious and interesting town. It chiefly consists of one long street, running along the ridge of the mountain from the fort westward to a smaller block-house eastward, with scattered bungalows, chiefly inhabited by Europeans, to the right and left hand on the descent of the hill. The main street has a gate at each end, and, on a small scale, put me in mind of Chester. The houses all stand on a lower story of stone, open to the street, with strong square pillars, where the shops are, looking like some of the rows. Above the buildings are of timber, exactly like those of Chester, in one, or sometimes two very low stories, and surmounted by a sloping roof of heavy grey slate, on which many of the inhabitants pile up their hay in small stacks for winter consumption. The town is very neat; the street has a natural pavement of slaty rock, which is kept beautifully clean: the stone part of the houses is well whitewashed, and adorned with queer little paintings; and the tradesmen are not only a fairer but a much more respectable-looking race than I had expected to see, from the filth and poverty of the agricultural Khasyas.

We passed two or three little old pagodas and tanks, as well as a Mussulman burial-ground. The Mussulmans were treated with great rigour here

during the Ghorkha government. They are now fully tolerated and protected, but their numbers are very small. Government, on the conquest of Almorah, very liberally built a number of small bungalows in airy situations round it, for the accommodation, gratis, of any of their civil or military servants, who might come to reside here for their health. They are small low cottages of stone, with slated roofs, and look extremely like the sea-bathing cottages on the Welsh coast, having thick walls, small windows, low rooms, and all the other peculiarities (most different from the generality of Anglo-Indian houses) which suit a boisterous and cold climate. Yet, in summer, the heat is considerable, and the valleys very far from wholesome, being, some of them indeed, only a shade better than Tandah, and the rest of the Terrai. On the hill-tops, however, there is always a fine breeze, and, even in May and June, the nights are chilly.

There is another reason why the bungalows of this country are built low. Kemaon is extremely subject to earthquakes; scarcely a year passes without a shake or two, and though all have been slight since the English came, it would not be wise to build upper-roomed houses, unless, like the natives, they made the superstructure of timber. In the best of these bungalows I found Mr. Adams, who received me most hospitably. He introduced me to Sir Robert Colquhoun, the commandant of the local troops of Kemaon, who invited me to accompany Mr. Adams and himself, on Monday, to his house at Havelbagh, where the native lines are, and where Mr. Adams is residing at present, as being a milder climate than that of Almorah. Mr. Adams had a party to dine in the evening, and I found that almost all the civil and military officers here were Scotch.

Sunday, November 28.—This day I enjoyed the gratification of being the first Protestant minister who had preached and administered the Sacraments in so remote, yet so celebrated a region. I had a very respectable congregation of, I believe, all the Christian

inhabitants of Almorah and Havelbagh. Mr. Adams allowed me to make use of the two principal rooms in his house, which, by the help of the folding-doors between them, accommodated thirty or thirty-five persons with ease. I was, after service, introduced to Lady Colquhoun, who is celebrated in the province as a bold rider along the mountain paths. I was also introduced to Captain Herbert, who has the situation of geologist in this province, and who seems a very well-informed, as he is a very pleasing and unassuming man. He and Sir Robert Colquhoun were just returned from a scientific expedition to the eastern frontier, and gave an interesting account of the Ghorkha troops there, whom they described, as they have been generally represented, as among the smartest and most European-like soldiery of India. We had family prayers.

I forgot to mention that, during this day, I walked up to the fort of Almorah, a very paltry thing, so ill-contrived as to be liable to an escalade from any daring enemy, and so ill-situated as to be commanded from two points of land on opposite sides, and not to have a drop of water within its walls. It is out of repair already, and certainly not worth mending.

November 29.—I went down this morning to breakfast, and to remain, during the rest of my stay in Kemaon, at Sir Robert Colquhoun's, at Havelbagh, by a steep and winding, but firm and safe road carried down the northern side of the mountain of Almorah, into a larger valley than I had yet seen in Kemaon, where are lines for the provincial troops, and several bungalows for the civil officers. The situation is very pretty, and indeed fine. At a considerable depth below the houses, through a narrow rocky glen, the deep black Koosilla runs with much violence, crossed by one of those suspension-bridges of branches and ropes made of grass, which have been, from considerable antiquity, common in these mountains, and appear to have given the original hint both to the chain-bridges of Europe, and those which Mr. Shakespear has invented. The

situation is striking, and the picturesque effect extremely good; but the bridge at present so much out of repair (a great many of the branches which compose its road-way being broken or decayed), that I did not care to trust myself on it, particularly as I could not stand or cling so securely as the bare-footed natives of the country, on broken and detached pieces of wood. I saw, however, one of the Khasyas pass it, but with some apparent difficulty; and Mr. Traill talked of having it taken down to prevent accidents. During the dry season the river is fordable, and by persons on foot passed easily enough. On horseback, as I had occasion to find some days after, it is by no means a good ford, and none but mountain ponies could keep their legs on a bottom so uneven and rocky.

Havelbagh is probably two thousand five hundred feet lower than Almorah, and in summer many of the vegetables of hot climates flourish here extremely well. The sugar-cane, however, does not thrive sufficiently to yield sugar, but plantains and mangoes come to some perfection. It is remarkable, that though the summer is much hotter, there is, in winter, more and harder frost here than at Almorah. In the neighbourhood of the snowy mountains the vegetation, as much of it as exists, is nearly approaching to that of Europe. Raspberries, blackberries, cranberries, and bilberries are found in considerable numbers. The birch and willow here, as in Norway, are the latest trees which show themselves to persons ascending the hills; but the sides and lower ravines at their feet are covered with noble silver-fir. But few cedars are now found in the province; tradition describes them as having been once very numerous, and as having been destroyed owing to their value as building materials, a fact which seems attested by the circumstance that all the beams in the old raja's palace at Almorah, when that was taken down to make room for the fort, were found to be of cedar. In the present forests fir is the prevailing timber, but, except the silver-firs already spoken of, of a very bad and worthless, though tall and stately kind.

Great devastations are generally made in these woods, partly by the increase of population, building, and agriculture, partly by the wasteful habits of travellers, who cut down multitudes of young trees to make temporary huts, and for fuel, while the cattle and goats which browse on the mountains prevent a great part of the seedlings from rising. Unless some precautions are taken the inhabited parts of Kemaon will soon be wretchedly bare of wood, and the country, already too arid, will not only lose its beauty, but its small space of fertility. Of the inhabitants everybody seems to speak well. They are, indeed, dirty to a degree which I never saw among Hindoos, and extremely averse to any improvement in their rude and inefficient agriculture, but they are honest, peaceable, and cheerful, and, in the species of labour to which they are accustomed, extremely diligent. There are hardly twelve convicts now in the gaol of Almorah; and the great majority of cases which come before Mr. Traill are trifling affrays, arising from disputed boundaries, trespass, and quarrels at fair and market. The only serious public cases which are at all prevalent are adultery, and, sometimes, carrying off women to marry them forcibly. They use their women ill, and employ them in the most laborious tasks, in which, indeed, a wife is regarded by the Khasya peasant as one of the most laborious and valuable of his domestic animals. These people, though rigid Hindoos, are not so inhospitable as their brethren of the plain. Even Europeans travelling through the country, who will put up with such accommodations as the peasantry have to offer, are almost sure of being well received, and have no need of carrying tents with them, provided their journey is made at a time when the peasantry are at home to receive them, and not during the annual emigration to the plains. The population of Kemaon amounts to about 300,000; that of Ghurwal, on the other side of the Alacananda, is yet more considerable, and the people in a higher state of civilization and intelligence. Of this latter province only a small part constitutes

the "reserved dominion of the Raja of Kemaon." The capital of his little territory is called Derea. He is described as a mild-tempered man, but a careless governor, and too fond of money.

There are larks in Kemaon of a sort not very different from the English, as well as quails, partridges, and pheasants. The thrush is, as I have mentioned, black. A little bird, whose note nearly resembles that of a robin, is black and red; and there is no singing-bird here exactly answering to any in Europe, except the goldfinch, which is found at the foot of the snowy mountains. Eagles are numerous and very large and formidable, and, as their nests are high up in inaccessible crags, and amid the glaciers, it is not easy to abate the nuisance. They do much injury to the shepherds and goatherds, and sometimes carry away the poor naked children of the peasants.

Of wild quadrupeds, besides those which I have mentioned in my journal of the way up the hills, there are hares, much larger and finer than in Hindostan or Bengal, and not inferior to those of Europe. The chamois is not uncommon in the snowy mountains, but scarce elsewhere. There are also lynxes; and bears are common and mischievous throughout the province. Though they do not, except when pressed by hunger, eat flesh, preferring roots, berries, and honey, they, as if out of capricious cruelty, often worry and destroy a passenger. They are said particularly to attack women, a peculiarity which has been remarked in the bear in other countries, and which is one of the many presumptions that they belong to the same class of animals with the baboon and oran-outang. The musk-deer is only found in the highest and coldest parts of the province, and the neighbouring countries of Thibet and Tartary. It cannot bear even the heat of Almorah. The same observation applies to the yâk: it droops as soon as it leaves the neighbourhood of the ice. The shawl-goat will live, but its wool soon degenerates, a very unfavourable presumption as to the event of the experiment of colonizing

them in Europe, which has been tried in France on so large a scale. On the other hand, the animals of the south seem to do very well among the snow. English dogs, impaired by the climate of the plains, improve in strength, size, and sagacity, among the Bhooteahs; and, what is very remarkable, in a winter or two they acquire the same fine, short shawl-wool, mixed up with their own hair, which distinguishes the indigenous animals of the country. The same is, in a considerable degree, the case with horses: those which the Bhooteahs bring down for sale are very beautiful, though rather shaggy little creatures, resembling extremely the Siberian ponies which I saw in Petersburg. The tiger is found quite up to the glaciers, of size and ferocity undiminished, but I could not learn whether he had shawl-wool or no. The fact of his hardness, however, proves sufficiently that he, the lion, and the hyæna (which is also common here) may have lived in England and France without any such change of climate as my friend Mr. Buckland supposes to have taken place. Another instance fell under my knowledge of how much the poor hyæna is wronged when he is described as untameable. Mr. Traill had one several years, which followed him about like a dog, and fawned on those with whom he was acquainted in almost the same manner. Mr. Adams and Lady Colquhoun had each of them beautiful flying squirrels, which, they told me, are not uncommon in the colder and higher parts of these woods. They were as tame as squirrels usually are, and had all the habits of the European animal. They were, however, a little larger, or perhaps appeared so from the large folds of loose skin covered with beautiful soft and thick fur, which, when they pleased, they extended by stretching out their hind and fore feet. Mr. Traill had several skins of chamois in his possession. The animal seems nearly of the same size and colour with those which I saw, and with the pictures of the European one. It is, however, I think, more shaggy, and better protected against the cold; more like, in fact, a common goat, and its horns seem larger.

Small marmots of the alpine kind abound in the neighbourhood of the snow, but none of the "Leming" or Lapland species, that I could hear of. If they existed, their numbers and annual incursions into the cultivated districts would, probably, soon make them well known.

The rats of this country are the same with those of India, and are very numerous and troublesome. One of the most curious animals I saw or heard of was a wild dog belonging to Mr. Adams. These animals are considerably larger and stronger than a fox, which, in the circumstances of form and fur, they much resemble. They hunt, however, in packs, give tongue like dogs, and possess a very fine scent. They make, of course, tremendous havoc among the game in these hills; but that mischief they are said amply to repay by destroying wild beasts, and even tigers. This assertion was at first made, at least in print, in Captain Williamson's 'Field Sports of India,' but obtained very little credit. None of my Kemaon friends, however, doubted the fact, which, they said, was the universal belief of the Khasya peasants, and was corroborated by the fact of tigers having been found lately killed and torn in pieces, which could be ascribed to no other enemy. Mr. Traill did not, indeed, suppose that they would actually chase a tiger by preference, but that if in the pursuit of other game they fall in with either tiger or lion, they had both the power and the will, from their numbers, swiftness, courage, and ferocity, to rush in on him and tear him in pieces, before he would have time to strike more than one or two blows with his tremendous paws. Each of these would no doubt kill a dog, but in the mean time, a hundred others would be at his throat, his back, and sides, and he would sink under the multitude of his comparatively feeble enemies. Mr. Adams's dog was exceedingly wild and fierce; he was brought for me to see him, led by two men, who held him between them in a long chain, and he struggled desperately all the time to recover his liberty. He has begun to endure, with somewhat more placability

the presence of the man who feeds him, but is at present wilder, I think, than any fox I ever saw who had been so much as two months in captivity. If he were domesticated, I could conceive his being a fine and valuable animal. Of dogs he bears the strongest resemblance to those of the Esquimaux and Kamtschadales, as represented in Bewick's engravings.

I had two native visitors during my stay at Havelbagh: one was a vakeel from the Ghorkhali government, who is now residing in Kemaon, and begged to pay his respects. He was a little, stout, square-built man, with a true Calmuk countenance, figure, and complexion, the latter being considerably fairer than those of Hindostan. He had an intelligent eye and frank lively manner, but my conversation with him was necessarily very limited. He brought some musk, in its form when first taken from the animal, as a present; and I invested him with a shawl, with which the kindness of Mr. Traill supplied me, as usual on such occasions, from the government storehouse. I had the satisfaction to learn that he was much pleased with his visit and the little I was able to say to him. My second visitant was the pundit of the Criminal Court of Kemaon, a learned Brahmin, and a great astrologer. He had professed to Mr. Traill a desire to see me, and asked if I were as well informed in the Vedas, Puranas, and other sacred books of the Hindoos, as another European pundit whom he had heard preach some years before at the great fair of Hurdwar? He evidently meant the Baptist missionary Mr. Chamberlayne; and it pleased me to find that this good and able, though bigoted man, had left a favourable impression behind him among his auditors. Mr. Traill told him that I had been only a short time in the country; but he was still anxious to see me, and I regretted much to find when we met, that his utterance was so rapid and indistinct that I could understand less of his conversation than of most Hindoos whom I have met with. He explained to me, however, that three or four years before the British conquered Kemaon he had, through

his acquaintance with the stars, foretold the event, and that his calculation, signed and dated, was lodged with the raja at Dereah. He said he had now discovered three new stars, in the shape of a triangle, south-east of the Great Bear, which, by their position, assured the north an ascendancy over the east, and implied that we should triumph in our present struggle with the Birman empire. I asked him some questions about the form of the earth, the source of the Ganges, the situation of Mount Meru, and received better answers than I expected. He said that, in old times, the Ganges was supposed to rise from Mount Meru, but that modern Hindoos, at least the enlightened, gave the name of Meru to the North Pole, and were aware that Gunga rose from the peaks, one of which I had seen above Gungotree, and south of the great snowy range which he called, not Himalaya, but Himmachund. He laughed at the fancy of the elephant and tortoise, whom the pundits of Benares placed as supporters to the earth, and said it was a part of the same system with that which made the earth flat, and girded in by six other worlds, each having its own ocean. I drew a diagram of the world with its circles, &c., and he recognized them with great delight, showing me the sun's path along the ecliptic. He expressed a great desire to learn more of the European discoveries in astronomy and geography, and listened with much attention to my account (in which I frequently had recourse to Mr. Traill as interpreter) of the Copernican system, and the relative situations of England, Russia, Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and India. He asked if we had yet discovered the shorter way to India through the ice of the North Pole, of which, he said, he had heard from a Brahmin of Benares, who had his account from Colonel Wilford: and he knew America under the name of "the New World," and as one of the proofs that the earth was round. He was very anxious to obtain any Hindoo books containing the improved system of astronomy and geography; and complained that Dr. H——— when in Kemaon had promised to send him some,

but had forgotten it. He is evidently a man of considerable talent, and extremely desirous to improve whatever opportunities of knowledge fall in his way; and, like all these mountaineers, he is of a lively, cheerful turn, without any of the crouching manner and flattering address which is apparent in most of the Hindoos of Calcutta and Benares.

It is pleasing to see on how apparent good terms Mr. Traill is with all these people. Their manner in talking to him is erect, open, and cheerful, like persons who are addressing a superior whom they love, and with whom they are in habits of easy, though respectful intercourse. He says he loves the country and people where he has been thrown, and has declined, as Sir Robert Colquhoun told me, several situations of much greater emolument for the sake of remaining with them. He has probably, indeed, chosen wisely, since, though he may not return home so rich a man, he is far more likely to take with him the power of enjoying life and property. Almost the whole of the dry season he is travelling about in the discharge of his official duty, and it was a mere chance which gave me the advantage of meeting him now at Almorah.

December 2.—I set out early this morning in company with Sir Robert and Lady Colquhoun for Chilkeah. Mr. Traill had lent me a couple of tents for this journey, which, with a good deal of my heavier baggage, had been sent on the day before. A still greater number of coolies were necessary than in my ascent from Bamoury, partly on account of some presents of honey, &c., which I had received, and which required to be carried, like the rest, on men's heads; partly because, from the wild and uninhabited character of some part of the country which we were to traverse, I was obliged to give up two mules for the transport of the provisions and necessaries of the coolies themselves. We had a good deal of plague and trouble in dividing the loads to be carried by each man, and were harassed by pitiful complaints, from almost all, of their inability to go through

such an expedition, and by their entreaties to be left behind. It seems singular that, among so poor a people, with whom a job of work might at first seem no trifling object, this reluctance should exist, since the rate at which, according to the regulations of Government, their labour is repaid on these occasions, being arranged at two annas for each march, with a similar sum for their return home, exceeds the average rate of agricultural labour through India, and is much above anything which they were likely to have earned at home. Yet so it is, that they are always pressed to this service; that they almost always endeavour to excuse themselves; that they are apt to desert the first opportunity, even to the forfeiture of their legal hire; and which tells well for their honesty at least, that, when any suspicion exists that they feel peculiar reluctance, no way is found so efficacious to keep them, as to pay them their money in advance. I can understand their aversion to this employment during the rainy season, when it is really at the risk of life that people descend into the Terrai, or the lower valleys of this province. But at present, though they may encounter hardship and fatigue, there is, literally, no danger; and I can only account for their reluctance, by supposing that as yet there exists in Kemaon no sufficient occupation for coolies to induce any number of men to addict themselves to this pursuit alone, and that other peasants feel unwilling to separate from their families, and desert their usual routine of industry, for an uncertain and fatiguing, though profitable employment.

From this cause, or from carelessness or corruption on the part of Mr. Traill's chuprassies, many of the men whom they had levied were found quite unfit for the journey now before us. Three were sent back as being poor old creatures who could hardly carry themselves, without any additional burthen, and four were boys whom I should have also rejected, if it had not appeared that they, of all the party, were almost the only willing recruits; that there were necessarily some light

packages which a boy might easily carry; and if I had not apprehended that, if we lost these coolies, we might possibly find much difficulty in getting others in their room. As it was, the party set out so late that they soon found it impossible for loaded mules to travel such roads by such scanty light, and we overtook them little more than half-way, under some rocks, where they had been obliged to lodge for the night. In the midst of these movements one of our party was left behind, for whom I was sincerely sorry. I mean the poor Pariah dog. He had been taking a lively interest, like the rest of his species, in the packing up the day before; and I found him in the morning in his usual post, as if ready to attend me. I missed him when we had gone on about a coss, but even then made no doubt of his following with the servants. He did not come, however, and I suspect that his courage failed him at the first ford which lay in our way, near the suspension-bridge, and which was, indeed, a formidable one.

Our road was very wild and rugged, by the sides and over the ridges of craggy mountains, covered with Scotch firs, and by paths in which none but mountain ponies, who go almost anywhere that a dog can go, would have been able to keep their legs. I observed that our little coursers, on arriving at a difficult place, always looked round to see if there were any easier track, and if there were, pulled hard to get at it; that if this were not the case, they often, particularly in case of a deep descent, stood pawing with their fore-feet some time, as if to satisfy themselves of its practicability, and if they had doubts, usually stood stock still and refused to go any further, under which circumstances it was always wise to dismount. These places, however, did not occur very often, though there were more than one which they went up and down without hesitation, which I could compare to nothing but the broken staircase of a ruined castle.

We encamped near a village named Pruny, on a beautiful piece of rocky

pasture-ground, situated between the two peaks of a lofty mountain, and surrounded on every side by a forest of fir and cedar trees. At a little distance from our tents, some people who had been sent on by Mr. Traill to prepare the Zemindars to afford the necessary supplies, had constructed a sort of bower or wigwam of pine branches for the use of our followers. Nothing could be ruder than these leafy screens; but with plenty of straw, a blazing fire, and sheltered situation, they seemed to satisfy our people; nor could I help noticing that, though we were now six thousand feet above the level of the sea, and it was freezing in the shade almost all day, the Sepoys, soon after their arrival, stripped off all their cloths but their waist-clothes, went to wash themselves as usual in the brook, and remained naked all day till the sun was actually setting, so little reason have we for accusing these people of effeminacy or softness, even in circumstances most at variance with their general habits and sensations. I myself, though I had a good blanket, quilt, and cloak, was so cold at night that I could hardly sleep. My tent, indeed, was small and thin, and scarcely afforded more shelter than the pine-boughs, with the disadvantage of having no fire and no neighbours to keep me warm. The water in the bason was frozen as hard and thick as it might have been, under similar circumstances, in England, to the great astonishment and delight of my Calcutta servant, who had never seen such a cake of ice before, and, I believe, sincerely regretted that he could not carry it back to Calcutta as a curiosity.

The reflexion of the setting sun on the snowy mountains was extremely beautiful. One of the peaks of Nundidevi was, for a considerable time together, a perfect rose-colour. We had also a magnificent echo near our encampment, which answered with remarkable distinctness, and great power and mellowness, all the different light infantry signals on the bugle of Sir Robert Colquhoun's rangers, which he had brought with him.

December 3.—The name of this day's

encampment I have forgotten. It was also near a mountain-top, on the skirt of a fine fir-wood and near a village, in which we found, what is not always found at this season, a considerable number of inhabitants yet remaining. Their houses were all of two stories, the lowest was just high enough to allow their diminutive cows and goats to shelter there, and the upper one, which was of timber, with a sloping slate roof, was about as high and in the same shape as an ordinary cottage garret. In front of each cottage were some small stacks of straw, while others were perched on the roof, to be more effectually out of the reach of the cattle; and all the neighbouring hill-side was built up in narrow terraces, and the subject of assiduous cultivation. The inside of their houses, so well as I could distinguish from the door, was not so dirty as the appearance of the people would have led me to suppose; and the whole had that sort of faint likeness of a Shropshire cottage which, faint as it was, was interesting to me. We passed two fords in this day's march, the first so bad and stony that it was necessary to unload the mules, and carry the baggage over on men's heads. There were also more places than one where to dismount from our ponies was a matter of absolute necessity.

This is, however, the most frequented road into Kemaon, as leading from Cashipoor and Chilkeah, the two best-attended marts on its frontier; and we passed every day, I think, above a hundred Khasyas, all with burthens on their heads, toiling along these rugged paths. In Kemaon the head and neck seem the constant vehicles; but the Ghurwali, or inhabitants of the western district of our mountain provinces, who are said to be a more intelligent race than their brethren, carry their burthens on the back, with a truss like that of an English porter. They thus do more work with more ease to themselves. But the adherence to "dustoor," or some other cause, it can hardly be poverty, has as yet kept the Khasyas from imitating them. Of the poverty of these people, however, I had no idea till I this day saw the bread

they eat. It is the grain of a kind of holcus, and looks like clover-seed: the flour, bran, husk and all, is made into thick coarse cakes, like those for elephants, and these are not baked as the elephants' bread is, but laid on the fire and scorched or toasted there, so that part is raw dough, part ashes. To such a people potatoes must, indeed, be an exceeding and obvious blessing. I had a singular instance this evening of the fact how mere children all soldiers, and I think particularly Sepoys, are when put a little out of their usual way. On going to the place where my escort was halted, I found that there was not room for them all under its shelter, and that four were preparing to sleep on the open field. Within a hundred yards stood another similar hut unoccupied, a little out of repair, but tolerably tenantable. "Why do you not go thither?" was my question. "We like to sleep all together," was their answer. "But why not bring the branches here, and make your own hut larger? see, I will show you the way." They started up immediately, in great apparent delight, every man brought a bough, and the work was done in five minutes, being only interrupted every now and then by exclamations of "Good, good, poor man's provider!"

The night was again cold, though not so severe as the last. I was surprised to find so little game, and so few wild animals of any kind, in a country of this nature. Sir R. Colquhoun told me that he had, in his preceding journeys, generally both heard and seen more than we had met with, and which were confined to a small flock or covey of jungle-fowl, which Lady Colquhoun saw, but which I only heard crowing and cackling. My companions were not able to tell me whether the jungle poultry had ever been tamed. The common domestic fowl of the country, for the inhabitants, rigid Hindoos as they are in other respects, do not object to the touch of feathers, are almost exactly like those of the wood. Both resemble bantams in every respect, except that their legs are not feathered. Bears, Sir R. Colquhoun and all the

Khasyas said, are numerous in these woods. We, however, saw none. Tigers are not very abundant, and the appearance of one excites a sort of alarm and outcry in a neighbourhood, like that of a mad dog in Europe. It is not, however, thought desirable to wander far from the usual track, particularly unarmed or alone. I once took a little stroll, though with Mr. Boulderson's double-barrelled gun in my hand; and found that my disappearance had occasioned a sort of sensation in the camp, and that my two faithful Sepoys were posting after me.

This occurred the next day, the 4th, when, for the sake of the prospect, we breakfasted, half-way in our intended march, on Choumoka Devi, the highest mountain which I ever actually climbed (for I did not go to the peak of the Gaughur), and barely inferior in height to this last-named hill. The Gaughur, Sir R. Colquhoun tells me, is about 8000 feet high; Choumoka Devi is 7800. At the summit, which, like that of Mount Gaughur, is ornamented with noble trees, cypress, toon, and fir, is a small temple of not inelegant structure, in the verandah of which we sat during the heat of the day, and again proceeded in the afternoon. The view was very magnificent; nothing which I ever saw equals the majesty of some parts of the mountain scenery which I have passed through in this province. There is, indeed, a want of water, and I could not help thinking how beautifully these hills would have been reflected in the noble lakes of Norway. But over Norway they have the advantages of a more brilliant sky, a warmer and more luxuriant vegetation, a still greater ruggedness and variety of outline, than is found in Dovre or Fille-Fial; and above all, the icy mountains are such a diadem and centre to the view, as not even Switzerland can show. I thought them particularly grand when seen in the grey of the morning, while their cold distinct outline was visible along the dark sky, with no refraction to puzzle, or vapours to conceal it. At other times their forms vary according to the shifting lights and shadows, and if it were not

for the identity of situation, I could sometimes have doubted whether the peaks which I saw in the haze of noon were the same with those which in the crimson light of the setting, or the amber brilliancy of the rising sun, had delighted me in so different a manner. Seen, however, as they may be, they are always beautiful and wonderful; and I looked on them from Choumoka Devi with the more admiration, because I knew that I was then to bid them adieu.

We descended thence by a long and rugged declivity of about seven miles, at first through pine woods, then over ground partially cultivated, then through a beautiful and awful dell, surrounded by high crags, in which limestone again took place of slate and granite, overhung by beautiful trees and underwood, of almost every kind which I have met with in Europe or India, and swarming with the pretty white monkeys, of which I have already taken notice. At the bottom of this dell was a torrent, now containing but little water, but by the width of its bed, and the huge granite blocks which it contained by way of pebbles, sufficiently showing what sort of stream it must be in the rainy season. We followed this about half a mile farther, and found our tents pitched in an angle of the overhanging rocks, with a fine old peepul-tree in front of them, and a little lower the torrent, which had been our guide, joining the Koosilla, itself a torrent no less rapid and noisy, but wider and deeper than its tributary. The peepul which I have noticed is a sacred tree, and gives name to the place, having been planted by a devout Brahmin saint, and therefore called "puntka-peepul," the peepul of the caste. We should all of us have liked to have halted here for Sunday; but it could not be done without endangering my arrival at Moradabad on the following Saturday, and we therefore sent on our breakfast-tent as usual. It was much warmer here than in the high grounds; and the noise of the rustling leaves was so like rain, that I more than once during the night pitied my poor people under their scanty sheds of

fir branches, and was surprised at length when, on calling out to know if it rained, I was told that the night was beautiful.

December 5.—This morning we had a very tiresome march to a village named Okul-doonga. Besides divers rocky ascents and descents, and without taking into consideration that what little level ground we met with was on the side of a torrent, and so paved with large loose stones as to be worse than most beaches of the sea, we forded the Koosilla no less than twelve times, through a rapid stream, frequently as high as the middle of our saddles, and over a bottom the most rocky and uneven I ever passed. The mules were necessarily unloaded no less than three times; it was with the greatest difficulty the ponies could keep their legs, and we were all wet and dry three or four times over, to our knees and higher. Nothing could be clearer than the water, or more beautiful than the swarms of trout which we saw playing round us; but under such circumstances we had no great leisure for speculation; and several complaints were heard, though fewest I think from Lady Colquhoun, that the water was colder than ice. Our Sepoys prayed, with chattering teeth, that we might soon get into a sunny place, the mountains having, for the greater part of the march, completely kept us in the shade. They were, however, so fortunate as to find the expiring embers of three fires in different places, the remnants of encampments made by travellers the night before, on which they heaped dry sticks, and soon got into good-humour again.

Okul-doonga is a village of about ten families, situated on a small plain elevated above the river, and surrounded on two sides by deep woody ravines, and on the other by as wild and woody mountains. Though stony, it seemed fertile, and was in a state of rich cultivation, uniting, like Oude, most of the productions of temperate and tropical climates. We all exclaimed, on first seeing the spot where our tents were pitched, by a clear stream of water, on a green slope, and backed with ma-

jestic trees, "What a place for a house, and how such a spot would be admired in England!" Our admiration was not diminished, when, on taking our evening's stroll, we heard the braying of deer, and the crowing of pheasants and jungle-hens in the woods; or when a basket of bilberries, and a fine dish of trout just caught, were brought to us by a little boy. But a few inquiries at the village damped these pleasurable feelings. The place was described as little less unhealthy than the Terrai. It was, indeed, inhabited by some of its people throughout the year; but they said they had all sad fevers during the rains; and that when it was hot the hills shut out the breezes. Their cottages, however, though small, were tolerably neat and comfortable. The people seemed better fed and clothed than most of the Khasyas, and, if not so healthy, though of this I saw no visible signs, were apparently wealthier and more intelligent than the generality of their mountain neighbours.

The huts which they had put up for our people were of a very superior description in point of comfort, and ingeniously calculated to save time and trouble, as well as the waste of pine-branches and straw. They were made of frames of bamboo, each something like a hurdle in shape and size, well thatched, but light, and easily carried from place to place, which they supported on props when they were wanted, and took away again and laid up in store, so soon as the travellers, for whom they were produced, had left them. Among the Ghurwali, Sir R. Colquhoun said, this was the usual method, but in Kemaon he had never seen it before. Indeed the style of cultivation, and many other circumstances, implied that the people of this district, or their Zemindars, were far better managers than those near Almorah. The rice grown in this neighbourhood, and from hence down as low as Dikka-lee, is of a very superior quality, and celebrated all over India for its whiteness and firmness. It is generally called Philibheet rice, from a town of that name in Rohilcund, where is a

considerable fair, at which it is sold, and where it first attracted European notice. It is, however, the product not of Rohileund, but of this valley, and is to be purchased in most perfection at Chilkeah. The district is also celebrated for its bamboos, which, though small, are remarkably tough, and seem to gain consistency and soundness from a certain degree of frost. The same is said to be the case with plantains. The tea-plant grows wild all through Kemaon, but cannot be made use of, from an emetic quality which it possesses. This might, perhaps, be removed by cultivation, but the experiment has never been tried. For the cultivation of tea, I should apprehend both the soil, hilly surface, and climate of Kemaon, in all which it resembles the tea provinces of China, extremely favourable.

The history of the poor lad who brought the fish was not without interest: he was the son of an officer of the Ghorkhas, who, during their occupation of the country, had been Jemautdar of Havelbagh, and had been killed fighting against the English. This boy had been since maintained, as he himself said, chiefly by snaring birds, catching fish, and gathering berries, being indebted for his clothes only, which were decent though coarse, to his mother, and the charity of different neighbours who had pity on him as a sort of gentleman in distress. He had his forehead marked with chalk and vermilion to prove his high caste, had a little Ghorkha knife, a silver clasp and chain, and a silver bracelet on his arm, with a resolute and independent, though grave demeanour, not ill suited to this character. His tools of trade and livelihood were a bow and a fishing-rod, both of the rudest kind. He seemed about sixteen, but was broad set, and short of his age. His ambition was now to be a Sepoy, and he was very earnest with Sir R. Colquhoun to admit him into his corps. He said he should like much to do it, but doubted his height. He, however, told him to meet him at Havelbagh on his return, and he would see what could be done for him. Meantime we paid him liberally

for his fish, and encouraged him to bring us another basket next day at Dikkalee. He said, at first, he feared the fishermen of that place would beat him, but, after a moment's recollection, added—"Let them do it if they dare; if I have your orders I will tell them so!" He was no uninteresting specimen of a forester born and bred—one who from his tenderest years had depended on his "woodcraft" for a dinner, and had been used to hear the stags bray and the tigers growl round the fires of his bivouac.

We had prayers to-day in our camp, as well as, which indeed we had never omitted, family prayers in the evening.

I have often noticed among the Hindoos that many of the decenter sort pay a kind of regard to Sunday. The Sepoys, such of them at least as were Brahmins, were more than usually busy to-day with their bells, beads, and ashes; and my long-legged follower had decked himself out in all his glory, having powdered his face entirely with chalk and cow-dung, and marked his naked body all over with white broad lines, which, on his dusky skin, had the strangest effect imaginable; and, he being a very tall, and, though strong and muscular, a very thin, large-boned man, made him, at a little distance, look exactly like a skeleton. Had he taken his stand, as he now was, in any churchyard, few children, women, or men in the parish, would have doubted his unearthly nature. The others were similarly decorated, but with less care and less dismally.

December 6.—Salvator Rosa never painted glens more wild and romantic than we threaded to-day in our path to Dikkalee, nor did mules or ponies often pass a worse road. We emerged at length again on the valley of the Kossilla, now considerably increased in size, though fortunately not in depth or rapidity; I say fortunately, because we had again to ford it, and if it had been a few inches deeper than where we passed it last, it would have been necessary to swim our horses. The banks are exceedingly beautiful: high rocks crowned with woods, and broken into all the capricious forms which lime-

stone in a rainy climate assumes. The valley is broader and more stony, and the features in general are in a grander and more savage style. I had, indeed, been strongly impressed during the last three days with the conviction that this is by far the most beautiful passage into or out of the Kemaoon; and that, except the gorge of Mount Gaughur, which is without a rival, nothing is seen on the Beemthāl road which equals the valley of the Koosilla. I only hope that if, three years hence, I have the pleasure of taking my wife through this part of India, something like a road will have been made by this passage. It is, decidedly, the most advantageous line, and one in which a track for loaded mules and oxen might be constructed at a very moderate expense. On the other side of the river we found ourselves on more level ground, and rode under a shade of walnuts, toon, and ilex, to Dikkalee, a station of grass huts, occupied during the dry season by a small detachment of Sir R. Colquhoun's mountain-rangers, but, like Tandah and places of the same kind, deadly at other times.

Of Tandah, however, as well as the rest of this forest, Sir Robert spoke in a less alarming manner than those with whom I had previously conversed. He said that they were all, unquestionably, very unwholesome and dangerous places at particular seasons, but in the present or the past month they were not worse than many of the low valleys of Kemaoon, which were yet often necessarily traversed by the officers of Government. He ascribed much of the unhealthiness both of the forest and the Terrai to the sudden changes of temperature, the burning sun, and the chilling blasts which often come from the hills. This seemed the only reason why April and May were so pestilential as they were allowed to be.

The Ghorkha boy came with his fish, as he promised; but his offering was eclipsed by a large basketfull which some fishermen brought. Sir Robert Colquhoun said it was well worth while to see their manner of catching the fish, and we all three went in the evening to the spot where

they had laid their nets. It was a small rapid in the river, more shallow than usual, above and below which was a long net, from the space between which they scooped out all the fish which they could find, having, as I understood, drawn their nets in opposite directions up and down the stream, till they had enclosed a considerable number in a comparatively narrow space. To catch them, however, they had neither casting nor scoop nets, nor anything but their hands, which, as well as their teeth, they used with much dexterity, hunting the fish among the large stones in a very amusing manner. A splendid haul was taken, from which, after choosing one or two of the best for ourselves, and two basketsfull for the servants and Sepoys, we told the people who had assisted in the sport, and who were chiefly our own Khasya bearers, that they might take the rest themselves. A scramble, but in much good-humour, followed; and this addition to their pay seemed, as often happens, to please them more than the pay itself.

While this was going on, the Ghorkha boy stood by idle. "Why do not you try your luck?" Lady Colquhoun asked him. "I can catch fish for myself," was his answer, "and what use to jostle with fools?" He is evidently a singular character. I wish he may get honourable employment in our army; for, if not, he has about him many of the elements of an excellent Pindarree.

All the fish, except the trout, in these rivers have leather mouths, with a stronger power of suction than is usually observable. The common opinion is, that they fasten themselves by this means to stones and rocks in order to be secure against the violence of the stream. There are others also like those of England, but some of them of lighter colour. I this evening took leave of my kind friends, who intended to remain here another day, and then to march by the foot of the hills to Bamoury.

December 7.—The way from Dikkalee to Chilkeah is all forest, but by no means level like the track between Bamoury and Ruderpoor. It is a collec-

tion of rocky and woody hills, with a very good road winding through them. The grass is long and the jungle in several places thick; but the trees, many of them very fine ones, stand a good way apart. At length a steep pitch of rugged road brought us out on the plain, and we saw a wretched village before us, with my tents, white and shining in the morning sun, beside it. The first appearance of the inhabitants of Chilkeah was not prepossessing. They had the same yellow skins, the same dull yet fierce look, the same ragged and scanty clothing, the same swords and shields, as those in the other parts of these inhospitable plains. Their cottages were half-buried in tall grass, and the place had not a more auspicious look than the most unhealthy of the eastern villages.

From the mohout, however, of my elephant which was sent to meet me, I had the satisfaction of learning that all the people were well; and in the apparent, and I believe sincere, cordiality which both Sepoys and servants displayed on receiving me after this absence, in returning to my own "accustomed tent" and furniture, in revisiting Cábul and Nedjeed, and in hearing again the "*talam*" of the two little children of the mohout, I felt for a moment something like the pleasure of home, till I recollected how far I still was, and how long I was likely to be, separated from those who only make home agreeable to me. The old Soubahdar, who received me at the head of his company with presented arms, drum, and fife, gave a short and favourable account of the progress of his party. They had come straight through the forest from Tandah to Casherpoor, remained there a few days, and thence advanced to Chilkeah; all were well, both men and animals, except one poor elephant, which had been grievously bruised several years ago in helping to carry a field-piece to Almorah, and whose hurts, strange to say, broke out again as soon as she approached the hills! The loss of her services was at present very inconvenient, but it was fortunate that we had not sent the mules away.

Chilkeah, though a poor place to look at, is by no means an unimportant one at certain seasons of the year, being one of the principal marts of trade both into Kemaon, and through that country into Thibet and Tartary. A great number of temporary huts, ranged in the form of a regular town, were already built, and many more were building, for the accommodation of the traders who meet in this emporium, and I was surprised to find English cloths and Eastern shawls of good appearance, with many other apparently serviceable and valuable commodities, exposed for sale in huts which scarcely equalled a cottage cow-house in Shropshire. When the unhealthy weather returns, all these huts are abandoned, and, during the rains, fall into nearly total ruin. Yet the Jemautdar of Chilkeah said their water was good, in which all my people agreed, and considered the place as healthy, that is, for one in the Terrai. Such, however, is the horror with which even this most favoured tract of the lowlands is regarded by the Khasya mountaineers, that Sir R. Colquhoun told me he knew an instance in which six invalid Sepoys rather preferred to give up their pensions than go to Meerut through Chilkeah during the bad season; and another in which a robbery and murder were not prosecuted, because none of the witnesses could be prevailed on by any possible inducement to go to Moradabad, the circuit court. Under these circumstances, it is evident that Kemaon ought to have a separate jurisdiction, and that her military officers should have such power as to enable them to act, in some cases, independently of their superior officers in the plains. This would, however, be difficult, and the only remedy which seems practicable, is to give a latitude in such cases as I have mentioned. The separate judicature seems absolutely necessary, for it is a grievous thing to say, "you shall not obtain justice unless at the great risk of a putrid fever!" The view of the mountains from Chilkeah is very good, but I was satiated with fine scenery, and was only bent on pushing on.

December 8.—Next morning, accord-

ingly, we proceeded ten coss to Casherpoor. I went on horseback over a very wild, marshy, and jungly plain, overgrown with grass far higher than my head, and scattered with trees and bushes. I have never seen a more feverish or *tigerly* country, nor was Casherpoor, when I reached it, a bit better looking than Ruderpoor. Surely, if these places are really healthier than those on the other road, and they are certainly more populous, there must be more in the difference of the water than Europeans are willing to allow.

Casherpoor is a famous place of Hindoo pilgrimage, has divers temples, and a very holy and dirty tank, where the pilgrims bathe in their way to the temples at the foot of Bhadrinâth. None of them, however, are particularly worthy of notice, and the most remarkable thing which I saw was a quack-doctor, a Mussulman, educated, he said, at Lucknow, and well stocked, not indeed with medicines, for he had only a very little satchel, but with all the usual grimace of a merry Andrew, and a good stock of confidence, with some little English and Persian.

In walking to a ruinous fort at a short distance from the town, I passed, however, after I had written this, some noble mangoe-trees, overshadowing the tombs and temples, of which I have spoken, and two walled orchards, planted, as the village Jemautdar told me, by wealthy merchants resident in the place. He said a great trade passed through this channel, and the town, from its superior healthiness, was much preferred to Chilkeah by the rich traders. I asked him if the fever never came here. He shook his head, but said that it was chiefly confined to the poor, and those who had scanty clothing and slept on the ground; a description, however, which comprises nine-tenths of all who ever come into this neighbourhood. He said that Casherpoor was built by a divinity, as I understood him, named Cashi, five thousand years ago; that it was a great place in all the wars formerly carried on on this frontier, and that this was the best and nearest way to China. Abdullah, who followed us, listened with great atten-

tion to his narrative, but interposed a doubt as to the antiquity of the place being so great as he supposed, on the ground that, according to the Persian Chronicles, Jumsheed Jum, who only lived four thousand seven hundred years ago, was the first who built either in brick or stone, adding, in English to me, that "it was he who built the tower of Babel." I was a little afraid of war between the rival Titans, Cashi and Jumsheed, when the long-legged Sepoy, who had also followed, cried out "There is Nundidevi!" and all eyes were turned either to see the hill of which such wonders had doubtless been told, or, as in my own case, to take a last leave of one of the noblest inanimate works of Providence. Of the white hills Nundidevi alone was visible, but he was very distinctly so. I forget whether I mentioned in its proper place, that all the natives of the country assert, a smoke is often seen to rise from the lower of its highest peaks. This is, they say, the kitchen of the god Nundi; but if it is true, for no European has yet seen it, it is a very curious instance of a volcano situated so far from the sea, the waters of which are, by most chemists, supposed to be necessary to the production of those terrible phenomena. The frequency of earthquakes in these regions might countenance the idea of subterraneous fire, but I have not been able to learn that any volcanic remains, whether scorix or basalt, have been as yet discovered. It is possible that a fleecy cloud may have been mistaken for smoke; but the labours of Captain Herbert, the mineralogist employed by Government, who is described as enterprising and indefatigable, may probably soon throw some light on the question. If there is a volcano on Nundidevi, it must, however, be very inert and almost extinct, or it would have placed itself ere this beyond doubt.

December 9.—We proceeded to Belagary, a poor little village, whither we were obliged to take provisions from Casherpoor, as it neither contained bazar nor tradesman. The road was good, and the country improving in fertility and cultivation, though still inferior to the average of India. One

of the camel-drivers here complained of illness, and seemed very feverish; I gave him medicine, and finding he had no tent or other shelter, I made his companions, a brutish set, and extremely careless of each other, contrive a little shed for him of camel furniture and sacks, and also ordered one of them to sit by him and give him "congee" (rice-gruel), as often as he complained of thirst. I cannot say that I at all liked either his pulse or his looks; but though I felt again perplexed, I thought that the path which I was treading was at least a safe one. In fact, he found himself better in the evening; and I hoped that I had provided against a relapse by giving him a berth in the servants' tent.

I walked round the village in the evening, merely for the sake of a walk, not anticipating that I should see anything curious. I was pleased, however, with the appearance of the houses, which, though very humble, were all in good repair, showed abundance of buffaloes in their little court-yards, and were kept with a degree of cleanliness and smartness, which, though not inseparable from a state of moderate comfort and plenty (since there are peasants, like the Dutch colonists of the Cape and the North American farmers, who are at once affluent and dirty), is at least never seen where some degree of comfort and plenty is not found. I saw also the women spinning cotton on small and odd-shaped wheels.

The young women seemed more shy than most Hindoos of their sex are. One poor girl, with red trousers, a saffron veil, and larger silver anklets than her neighbours, ran away as hard as she could when we approached, but by ill-luck turning down a wrong lane, fell a second time into the jaws of her enemy. I thought for a moment that her alarm was counterfeited, and merely a *fuga ad salices*, but it was evident that such a suspicion did her injustice. All the people, both here and at Casherpoor, are Hindoos, which, indeed, except the descendants of the Patan conquerors, seems the case with almost all the inhabitants of Rohilcund.

December 10.—This morning we

went to a small town named Boitpoor, or some such name, through a fertile level country, with some groves of very large mangoes and tara-palms. The mango-tree grows to a greater size in the north-east of this province than in any other part of India I have yet traversed. Several which I passed to-day equalled those at Ruderpoor. It is certainly, I conceive, the largest fruit-tree in the world.

Boitpoor has a small bazar, and a very minute mosque. It is partly inhabited by Mussulmans, who, I thought at first, received us less civilly than the people of most Indian villages. It turned out, however, that the Zemindar, who had also been Jemautdar, was dead, and that his family were not yet visible, consequently the place was without a "malik," or master; and everybody did what he thought right, which, in the present case, was to do nothing. As this would not answer my purpose, I sent a message to the brother of the deceased, stating that I should not trouble him to come to me, but only to order his tenants to furnish the usual supplies, at the usual rate. He came, however, a grey-headed man, apparently in grief, and made many apologies, which I could not persuade him were needless. While we were talking, a man came up, throwing dust in the air, and crying out pitifully for "Justice! justice!" He at first said that "my people had taken his fish, his straw, his bread—that he was plundered, ruined, and must starve, he and his children!" At length I asked him if he had been paid for his fish? He hesitated; but two or three of the people ran up to say that he had had seven anas, which I knew was quite sufficient for the whole basket. I then asked the Zemindar the probable value of the straw which had been taken, who answered "a pice." I gave him two pice, but still he was not satisfied, though he had now confessed he had lost nothing more; I therefore sent him away, marvelling at the habit which seems to prevail in all these countries, of demanding justice with bitter outcries, and, even when the affair is a trifle, assuming the air and desperation of a ruined man.

The poor camel-driver was better, but by no means well, and I had a Sepoy complaining to-day. In the evening I took my usual walk, accompanied by the old Soubahdar and the late Zemindar's brother, a very stupid old man, who merely knew that Boitpoor had once been a flourishing place, but had been ruined in the wars. I saw, however, some things worth notice: first, a white buffalo, a thing which Abdullah, who also followed me, as did my two inseparable Sepoys, and nearly half the village, pointed out as a great curiosity, such as he, at least, had never seen before. The second was the manner of weaving and dyeing a coarse kind of chintz, of which there seemed to be a considerable manufactory in the place. The weaving was like other weaving, but the dyeing was done very simply and well, with small types, if I may call them so, made to represent different parts of the pattern, and laid on in succession, after being dipped in different colours. All the colours were vegetable, and I noticed madder, indigo, and a strong good yellow, which they said was extracted from the toon-tree. The fabric of the stuff was bad, but the patterns neat and showy. A caftan of this stuff, lined with red or white, and quilted with cotton, is called a "lebada," from "libd," a quilt, in Arabic and Hebrew, and is the common winter-dress of the people in all these provinces. The third particular was a sugar-mill at work, a machine of the simplest construction, but which seemed to answer its purpose tolerably. It consisted of a large vat under ground, covered by a stout platform, in the centre of which was a wooden cylinder, apparently the hollowed stump of a tree. In this was a stout piece of timber fixed as in a socket, which was turned round and round like the stick used in milling chocolate, by a beam fastened to it, to which two oxen were yoked. A man sate on the beam behind the oxen and kept thrusting in, betwixt the upright timber and its socket, pieces of sugar-cane of about a foot long, which were necessarily crushed by the timber as it turned round, so that their juice ran down into the vat beneath. They said that stones,

on the principle of a common mill, were far better where they could be procured; but here they were very poor, and stones were dear. Fourth, as I returned home, I passed a fine tree of the mimosa, with leaves at a little distance so much resembling those of the mountain-ash, that I was for a moment deceived, and asked if it did not bring fruit? They answered no; but it was a very noble tree, being called "the Imperial tree," for its excellent properties,—that it slept all night, and wakened and was alive all day, withdrawing its leaves if any one attempted to touch them. Above all, however, it was useful as a preservative against magic; a sprig worn in the turban or suspended over the bed was a perfect security against all spells, evil eye, &c., inasmuch that the most formidable wizard would not, if he could help it, approach its shade. One, indeed, they said, who was very renowned for his power (like Lorrinite in Kehama) of killing plants, and drying up their sap with a look, had come to this very tree and gazed on it intently; "but," said the old man who told me this, with an air of triumph, "look as he might, he could do the tree no harm!" a fact of which I make no question. I was amused and surprised to find the superstition which, in England and Scotland, attaches to the rowan-tree, here applied to a tree of nearly similar form. Which nation has been, in this case, the imitator, or from what common centre are all these common notions derived?

I had met several men, within these few days, riding on oxen, a custom which I had not remarked elsewhere. The oxen seemed very tolerable nags, little inferior to the common tattoos of the country.

December 11.—This morning we went six coss to Moradabad. It is a moderate-sized town, with a handsome garden or two, and some remains of former splendour, standing on a sluggish river, the Ramgunga, as wide nearly in this place as the Severn at Shrewsbury, but shallow and fordable apparently in several places. I was on my elephant, but it might, without the least difficulty, have been passed on

horseback. I found that Mr. Halhed and Mr. Parry Okeden were absent from home on duty, the whole station being rendered on the alert by the alarm of a body of armed plunderers having assembled on the skirts of the forest, north of this place, between Chilkeah and Hurdwar. I received, however, very great kindness and hospitality from Mr. Ford, the collector of the whole district (the northern and southern parts of which are divided between Mr. Halhed and Mr. Boulderson), who, together with Mr. Scott, the judge and magistrate, called on me early in the forenoon. I had also a visit from Mr. Simms, the junior station surgeon (who is brother-in-law to our friend Dr. Bliss, of St. John's), and I was glad to consult him about my two sick men. I was grieved to find that he considered their complaint as likely to turn out the jungle fever! His view of the unwholesomeness of the Terrai corresponded entirely with what I had heard at Bareilly, and from Mr. Boulderson. He said that there were many places along the border which were at all seasons dangerous; that Mr. Halhed's party had already sent in several sick since their pursuit of the freebooters commenced; and though less dangerous at some times than others, he did not conceive either the Terrai or the forest to be ever wholesome places to linger in.

Under these circumstances I felt extremely sorry that I had detained my men even a few days at Chilkeah, though in so doing I acted from the best information in my power. Mr. Simms thought that it would turn out a mild case with both of them; but it was necessary that they should be immediately removed to the military hospital. The poor Sepoy was very unwilling to go, but there was no remedy. The camel-driver was really so ill this morning that he was hardly able to express any choice in the affair. Mr. Simms good-naturedly procured dhoolies to carry them, and promised me to pay them all the attention in his power.

December 12, Sunday.—I read prayers, preached, and administered the Sacrament to-day, in one of the rooms of the

collector's cutcherry, to about twenty persons; a more numerous congregation than I expected, considering that so many of the residents were away. Indeed, Mr. Okeden and Mr. Williams, the assistant registrar, actually, on purpose to be present, returned from the camp, about forty miles off.

The cutcherry is a large and handsome house, which was built by Mr. Leycester when he was judge and magistrate here. It is on the same sort of scale with our house in Calcutta, with the addition of a very splendid gateway as lodge, which would serve for the gate of a city, and an extent of at least twenty acres of land, formerly laid out in garden, but now totally neglected, except as a field for making bricks out of. The most curious part, however, of the place to an English eye, is that this fine house (for it really is a very fine one) is surrounded by a mud rampart, with a deep moat, and four small circular bastions, all now much out of repair. On expressing some surprise at this, I was told that when Mr. Leycester built the house, such a precaution was, in this part of India, not undesirable, though it was rather unusual.

After service I had three christenings, and an interesting visit from a fine grey-bearded old man, who said he had been converted by Mr. Corrie to Christianity when at Agra, and that his name was "Noor Musseeh," Light of the Messiah. He came to ask for books, if I had any to spare him; to introduce his son, a tall, strapping, but not auspicious-looking young man, who was a catechumen, and wished to be baptized; and, lastly, to beg me to speak to the collector and Mr. Halhed, that he might not be turned out of a small office which he held, and which, he said, he was in danger of losing on account of his Christianity! This, indeed, was not the reason given, but he said that his comrades in office, fierce Mussulmans, left no stone unturned to misrepresent and ruin him, and that, if he had no protector, he must sink. Abdullah said he knew from his own experience, and from all he had heard from Fyze Musseeh and Abdul Musseeh, that this was very likely to be true, and I therefore

did give the poor man a few lines, stating his case, to both Mr. Ford and Mr. Halhed. I also furnished him with a Hindoostanee Prayer-book (he had already the four Gospels), and with regard to his son, whom he said he had instructed carefully to the best of his knowledge, I told him I could not myself examine him sufficiently to judge of his acquirements in Christianity, which, indeed, did not seem very extensive, but if he would go with me to Meerut, he might put his bed under the connats of the tent, and I would give him his provisions, and that there Mr. Fisher should examine and instruct him more fully. The old man was very grateful, and wanted to kiss my knees and feet; the young one bowed very low, and asked my blessing, but did not seem to participate in an equal degree in his father's zeal. This is the third or fourth Christian I have heard of scattered up and down in these mountain provinces, and it is likely that, as Mr. Corrie thinks, there are many more believers in Christ, who dare not, by owning themselves, incur the ill-will of their neighbours.

I went in the afternoon to the hospital to see the Sepoy and camel-driver. The former I found in much distress and depression of spirits, from being in a strange place and without a nurse. Being a Brahmin he could only receive nourishment, and particularly water, from one of his own caste, and there was no such person attached to the hospital. He was quite sensible, but very feverish, and seemed to think himself left to die. I encouraged him as well as I could, and wrote a note to Mr. Simms, begging him to get a Brahmin for him, which he might easily do from the regiment quartered in the place. The poor camel-driver thought himself better, his fever having intermitted. The hospital is a very comfortable one for this climate, a large thatched bungalow, all in one room like a barn, with sufficient air, and very well verandahed round. The beds were clean and comfortable, and there seemed no want of anything but that peculiar attendance which the prejudices of the Hindoos require, and which, I was given to

understand, would on my application be immediately supplied.

Mr. Parry Okeden called on me in the course of the day. He considered the banditti, whom they had been pursuing, as completely dispersed. They followed them a day or two, and once were very near surprising them in their bivouac, where they found the embers still hot, and the pitchers for cooking not all empty. They had issued promises of reward for the apprehension of the ringleaders, but did not expect much result from the measure.

I had an opportunity here of seeing the way in which ice is made all over Upper India. A number of broad and very shallow earthen pans are placed on a layer of dry straw, and filled with water. In the night, even the small degree of frost which is felt here is sufficient to cover these with a thin coat of ice, which is carefully collected and packed up. The quantity produced must be, however, very small, and the process an expensive one. Vines seem to thrive well here, but they do not prune them close enough. They are very beautiful objects; but a vine to be productive should be trimmed till it is downright ugly. Here the climate might answer very well. In Kemaon it does not; the rains setting in so early that the fruit has not time to ripen. On the whole I am rather struck with the apparent similarity in many points of productions, scenery, &c. of Rohilcund with Bengal. The climate is certainly different, yet in other respects they resemble each other more than any parts of India which I have yet visited. Rohilcund, however, in everything but rivers has much the advantage.

I saw frequently, during the last week, the nest of the tree-wasp, about the size of, and nearly similar in shape to those of the English, but hanging like large withered fruit from the branches of trees. I have not seen any of the insects themselves, at least to distinguish them, nor have I been able to learn whether, and in what respects, they differ from their brethren who hive in banks and hollow places.

Like almost all the nobility of India, the Nawâb of Rampoor is a mere drunk-

ard and voluptuary. He had lately a very clever managing steward, under whom his little territory prospered greatly. But, like the King of Oude, he has now got rid of him, and his jaghire is pretty much administered according to the ancient Indian maxim—

“The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can!”

Rampoor is described as a large town, chiefly remarkable for the sort of fortification which surrounds it. This is a high thick hedge, or rather plantation, of bamboos, set as close to each other as possible, and faced on the outside by a formidable underwood of cactus and bâbool. The only places of entrance are narrow paths defended by strong wooden barriers, and the defence is one which, against irregular troops, is said to be extremely efficient, since neither cavalry nor infantry can be brought up to act against an enemy whom they cannot see, but who fire at them from between the stem of the bamboos, under cover of the thorny and almost impenetrable bushes without.

December 13.—This morning we left Moradabad and marched ten short coss, about sixteen miles, to Tyleepoor, a paltry little village, at a considerable distance from the necessary supplies, but which was the best halting-place within our reach; that laid down in Paton's route being above twenty miles, a distance too great to march without some real necessity. There is a good deal of waste land between Moradabad and Tyleepoor, and the soil seems poor and barren. There are also some marshy pools, and we forded a small river.

I had another Sepoy very feverish to-day, and suspect that he had been ill some time, and had concealed it for fear of the hospital. I know not whether fortunately or otherwise, they have acquired a marvellous opinion of my medical skill. This renders them very willing to take my remedies, but it may lead them to trust to me too far. I gave this man a dose of calomel and jalap, being afraid of James's powder, as it was near night, and he had to march next day.

I read Hindoostanee prayers this evening with Abdullah and the new catechumen, Jaffier Beg, who has rather risen in my favourable opinion. He has evidently taken a good deal of pains in studying the four Gospels, the only Christian books which he has yet seen; and his questions were very numerous. He joined in the Lord's Prayer with much seeming devotion, and said he understood the other prayers which I read. I am, however, vexed more and more at the little ground which I gain in the language, and at the little time which I have for improving myself. Yet the one is the consequence of the other; and for the last I have no remedy, now that I have neither secretary nor assistant, and have so much of my day taken up by travelling and the necessary preparations for travelling. Lushington and Archdeacon Corrie were considerable helps to me in writing, &c., but I do not know that their presence at all forwarded my progress in Hindoostanee.

December 14.—This day's march was ten coss, to a small and poor village named Muhaisna, where we had some difficulty in obtaining supplies, and found the ryuts disposed to grumble and be uncivil. One of the men, who was fiercest and loudest, was a remarkably tall and fine-looking young man, with a silver bracelet of a singular form on his arm, which struck me from its classical character, being two serpents twined together. They complained that hay had been taken without paying for it, which did not appear to have been the case; and at last the principal farmer of the village owned that their outcries were from fear of what would be taken, rather than from and mischief which my people had already done.

In our way we passed through the outskirts of Amroah, a considerable town, with some neat mosques and extensive gardens, with walls and summer-houses, and surrounded with large plantations of sugar and cotton. The generality of the country, however, is poor, sterile, and ill-inhabited, with more waste land than is usual in India. The sown land, too, appeared suffering

exceedingly from drought, which, indeed, is the case with all Rohilcund.

This station of Muhaisna was a bad one in another respect. The only grove of trees was on a broken piece of ground intersected with gullies, and so overgrown with weeds that the tents could not be pitched there; and I was obliged to encamp on the plain near two fine peepul-trees, which, however, were by no means sufficient for the comfort of the people, and the numerous animals of our cofila. The groves of fruit-trees are the surest marks, I think, of prosperity about an Indian village, and in this part of Rohilcund their rarity and, generally speaking, their insignificant size show that the land is either naturally almost irreclaimable, or that, lying near the Ganges, and the frontier exposed to the usual stream of invasion, the country has not recovered the horrors of that time, when the Maharatta was their near and triumphant neighbour. A strong proof of the recollection which the calamities of that time has left behind is, that when the people of Bareilly were informed not long since that the money raised by internal duties was to be laid out for the improvement of their town, they expressed a general wish that their walls might be repaired. On asking "what enemies they feared?" they replied that all was quiet at the moment, but they could not tell but the Maharattas might one day return.

I had more applications to-day for medicine, and putting worrying in place of beating, found I was in as fair a way to be forced into considering myself an able physician as Sagnagnarelle, in the *Médecin malgré lui*. The Sepoy declared himself quite well, which emboldened one of his comrades to complain of being feverish; and a ryut, hearing the application, came forward also to beg something for sore eyes. He was not, however, content with my medical aid, for immediately afterwards he said in a low tone that a man had been killed in the village of which he was Thannadar, and he should get into trouble unless I stood his friend!

The weather was so cool and cloudy that I hoped rain was coming; I did not indeed wish for a decided fall be-

fore I got into Meerut, yet even this I would have gladly borne to see the poor dry clods moist and hopeful.

December 15.—This morning we came, a march of eight coss, to a village named Tighree. Half-way we passed another village named Gujrowlie, with a tolerable serai, where one of my horses had been sent on before to give me the advantage of a change, as usual in Indian travelling. The country thus far was cultivated, not well, nor fully, but still there were marks of cultivation, though everything was grievously parched for want of rain. The remainder of the distance lay through a desolate tract, once evidently well inhabited, as was apparent by the few palm-trees scattered up and down, but now, and probably for many years, waste and overgrown with high jungle-grass.

Tighree itself is a poor place, a small village, with a few patches of corn round it, in the midst of the wilderness, without any tree, except one or two scattered palms, and scarcely space enough between the young wheat and the jungle to admit of our encampment. The day was hot, and the people and animals suffered a good deal for want of shade, added to which, all our supplies were to come from Gurmukteser, a distance of three coss, so that it was almost noon before either grass for the horses or fuel or food for the men arrived, and much later before the poor camels and elephants got their boughs. The Jemautdar, however, and Tussildar of Gurmukteser were civil, and at length furnished us with everything, except that the kid which they sent had the rot and was uneatable. There was no firewood in the neighbourhood, but the tussildar sent a cartload of dung-cakes, and would take no repayment, saying it was no more than dustoor. There was little to tempt me out here, and it was more from dustoor, than anything else, that I walked in the evening to see the village, which I found neat, though small and poor. The cottages in Upper India have generally the mud walls of their front whitewashed, and a rude painting of flowers or some figures of men, animals, or divinities, painted on each side of their doors, a circum-

stance which I never remarked in Bengal or Bahar, and which has a lively and agreeable effect. They have also, generally, on one side of this door, a small platform of clay beaten hard, raised about a foot, and swept very clean, on which the family usually sit in the cool of the day, and where, at such times, their spinning and other household works are carried on.

The Jemautdar of Gurmukteser, who accompanied me in this walk, said that the Ganges, at present, was distant about two coss; but that during the rains it came up close to this village. He said that Tighee and the jungles round it were celebrated as hunting-ground all over this part of India: that there was great abundance of wild hogs, deer, and all other animals, except elephants. These require a deeper forest and large trees, both for shelter and nourishment. I asked if there were many tigers? He said plenty; but that there was a very wonderful thing in the neighbourhood; that there were two Hindoo yogis, who lived in different cells in the wilderness, about two coss from the village, in opposite directions; of whom the one was never hurt by the tigers, though living in the neighbourhood where they most abounded, and where no other man would pass a night for half Rohilcund, while, to the other, a tiger actually came every night and licked his hands, and fondled and lay by him for hours. At first, from my imperfect knowledge of the language, I fancied it was the same sort of story which I had heard concerning the saint's tomb at Sieligully; but on asking if it was where the yogi was buried, he explained himself very clearly, that the saint was still alive,—that he was very old, and went quite naked, with a long white beard and hair,—that his dwelling was a little hut among the long grass, not far from the road-side, in the way to Gurmukteser, and that there were people who had been there at night, and seen him and his tiger together. He added, that he lived by charity, but never asked for anything except he was actually hungry, which was seldom the case, as from his high reputation he was generally supplied.

I asked the Jemautdar if he had seen the tiger? He answered "No, because he had never been there at night, but that there was no doubt of the fact." I asked, "If I were to go there now (it was growing dusk), should I see him?" He answered that I might have done so, if the holy man had been at home, but that he had gone the day before to Amroah, and that I must have passed him on the road. In fact, the saees, who had been sent on to Gujrowlie, said that he had seen a very remarkable old man, answering to the description given, seated in a corner of the serai at that place. The Jemautdar was a Mussulman, and had no motive for swelling the praises of a Hindoo saint, so that I have little doubt that he himself believed what he told me, nor, indeed, do I think the fact impossible, or even improbable. Similar stories are told of hermits in Syria, whose cells have been frequented by lions; and a lion I should conceive to be as formidable a chum as a tiger; and it certainly is not unlikely that a man, with no other occupation or amusement, might very thoroughly tame a tiger's whelp, so as to retain a hold on its affections, and to restrain it, while in his presence, from hurting others, even after it had arrived at its full growth and fierceness. Every animal is, *cæteris paribus*, fiercer when tied up or confined; yet the great tiger at Barrackpoor would, I have no doubt, allow his keeper to sleep in the same den with him. In a wilderness abounding with hogs and deer, there would be little risk of the tiger's coming home so hungry as to be tempted to attack his friend; and the principal danger of the devotee would be from the rough fondling of his pet when he was two-thirds grown. As to the supposed safety of the rival saint, that I conceive to be merely luck, added to the fact that, except a tiger be provoked, or much pressed by hunger, or have once tasted human flesh, it seems pretty certain that he seldom attacks a man.

The poor Sepoy to whom I had given medicine the day before, and who was this morning reported much better, was again attacked with fever at night.

I gave him a rather stronger dose than before, but by no means felt easy about him.

I am not sure whether I mentioned in their proper places two curious facts which were told me in Kemaon respecting the forests and their productions. The one is, that fires often take place in the jungles during the dry season, by the mere friction of the cane stalks against each other in high winds. This was first told me by the Raja Gourman Singh, and it was confirmed, at least as being the usual opinion of the people, by Mr. Traill and Sir R. Colquhoun. A scene of this sort, and arising from this cause, is described in Leyden's *Scenes of Infancy*, but I had always, till now, supposed that the poet's fancy, rather than his reading, had been his prompter here. The other is that the boa constrictor is frequently found, particularly in the wood between Bamoury and Dikkalee, under the immediate feet of the hills. These snakes are of enormous size, but not much feared by the natives, since though they have, in their opinion, sufficient strength to master a buffalo, they are proportionably unwieldy. Many stories are told here as in Surinam, of persons stepping on them by mistake for fallen trees, and being terrified on finding them alive.

December 16.—From Tighree to the ferry of the Ganges is about three coss, all wild jungle. Half-way we passed the hermitage of the tiger-saint, a little cottage almost buried in long grass, but both larger and more apparently comfortable than, from the Jemautdar's description, I had expected. We now took leave of the noble Ganges, not again to see it till our return by sea to Saugor Island. Even here, at this distance from the sea, and in almost the driest season of the year, it is a great and mighty river, not far short, as I think, of the Thames at Westminster Bridge. During the rains, it must, judging from its traces on both sides, be nearly four miles across. I had frequently asked military men whether the Ganges was in any way fordable after it left the hills, and had, as usual in India, received contradictory and

unsatisfactory answers, but the impression left on my mind was, that it was fordable both at Gurmukteser and Anopshehr. On asking the Jemautdar and ferrymen, however, they all agreed that there was no ford in its whole course. Here there certainly was not; since, as the boats could not receive our elephants, and they tried to wade through, even they were, in the middle of the stream, compelled to swim, a sight which I was not at all sorry to have an opportunity of seeing. All three could swim, which was fortunate, as this is not always the case with them. I did not think that the one which I remarked sank so deep in the water as had been described to me, or as the elephant is represented as doing in Captain Williamson's print.

In the course of this day's march, a circumstance occurred which proves, I think, how much the people of this country look up to the English for help and counsel in all emergencies. I was going along a jungly piece of road, for all this day, as march as well as yesterday's was more or less jungly, when I saw a little cluster of travellers of the lower class surrounding somebody on the ground. As soon as they saw me they immediately ran up, saying that one of their friends was sick, and they begged me to look at him and give him medicine. The man, as it turned out, had only a little colic, which was well before my physic chest arrived to enable me to give him medicine. But what struck me, was the immediate impulse which led these men to suppose, on seeing an European riding along the road, that he was likely to help and advise them! Surely, if this opinion is general, it must be one of the best holds we have on our Indian empire.

Shahjehanpoor, a common name in India, is a large and picturesque town, with a ruined castle, several mosques, and some large and fine groves and pools of water. I saw, however, but little of it, for I had a good deal of business during the day, getting ready my letters to be despatched from Meerut, and in the evening having patients again. The Sepoys indeed were

well, but two ponies, one belonging to Mr. Forde's chuprassee, the other, a very pretty one, to Cashiram the goomashta, were taken exceedingly ill. The causes of their attack were variously stated, but I believe that the saees had given them too much and too acid gram immediately after their journey. They had both the appearance of palsy or staggers, had lost the use of their loins, reeled to and fro, and at length fell. Before I heard of it they had given them brandy, pepper, and I know not what, and when I saw them they had every symptom of violent inflammation of the bowels. I advised bleeding immediately; nobody could do this but Abdullah, and there was no proper instrument but my pen-knife; while I was hunting for this, one of the horses died, and the other was evidently in extremity. Abdullah opened the usual vein, but very little blood would run; in fact, they had given it arrack enough to kill an elephant. It died in the course of the night, and all which gave me pleasure in the business, was the exceeding attachment of the poor saees to it. He wrung his hands over it, as if it had been his brother, sate by it, supporting its head, and rubbing its ears and neck, till life was actually gone, and, as it appeared, it was his ignorant good-will in giving too large a feed of corn which had done the mischief. Cashiram bore his loss very well, and said not a single cross word to his servant the whole time. I wish all Christians might have behaved with as much propriety.

December 17.—To-day we went six coss to Mow, a poor village without trees, where, however, by the advantage of a firmân from the collector of Meerut, and of a very civil Tussildar, we got supplies in abundance, and were allowed to pay for nothing. In the afternoon a large troop of gipseys, as I and all my people thought they were, though they themselves disowned the term, came to the camp. They said they came from Ahmedabad in Guzerât, were going on pilgrimage to the Ganges, and had been eight months on their road. They pretended at first to be Brahmins, to the great scandal and indig-

nation of Cashiram, who is a Brahmin, and reproved them with much austerity for their presumption. I asked them to show their "strings," on which they confessed they had none, but still persisted that they were Rajpoots. "Tell me the truth," said I, "are you Bheels?" the name of the wild mountaineers near Ahmedabad. My people laughed at this question, and said they certainly were Bheels and nothing else. They, however, stiffly denied it. They were very merry, but very poor wretches, nearly naked, and the leanest specimens of human life I have ever seen; so wretched, indeed, was their poverty, that I immediately sent for a supply of pice to distribute among them, pending the arrival of which, a man and woman, who seemed the Tramezzani and Catalani of the party, came forwards, and sung two or three songs, the man accompanying them on a vina, a small guitar like the Russian balalaika. Their voices were really good, and though they sung in the vile cracked tone which street-singers have all the world over, the effect was not unpleasant; but it was a strange and melancholy thing to hear a love-song, expressive, so far as I could catch the words, of rapture and mutual admiration, trilled out by two ragged wretches, weather-beaten, lean, and smoke-dried. The poor little children, though quite naked, seemed the best fed, and I thought they seemed kind to them, though one old man, who was the head of a party, and had an infant slung in a dirty cloth, like a hammock, to a stick, which he carried in his hand, held it carelessly enough; insomuch that, till I asked him what he had in his bundle, and he opened his cloth to show me, I did not suppose it was a child. I gave them an ana each, children and all, with which they went to buy ghee and flour in the village, and soon after made a fire under a neighbouring peepul-tree. I saw them in the course of the evening at their meal, and one of the collector's suwaris said he heard them pray for me before they sate down. I should have fancied them very harmless poor creatures, or at worst, only formidable to hen-roosts,

and in such petty thefts as gipseys practise in England. But I find these rambling parties of self-called pilgrims bear a very bad character in Hindostan. They are often described as "Thugs," the name given to the practice of which they are accused, that, namely, of attaching themselves, on different pretences, to single travellers or small parties, and watching their opportunity to fling a rope with a slip-knot over the heads of their victims, with which they drag them from their

horses, and strangle them. So nimbly and with such fatal aim are they said to do this, they seldom miss, and leave no time to the traveller to draw a sword, use a gun, or in any way defend or disentangle himself. The wretches who practise this are very numerous in Guzerât and Malwah, but when they occur in Hindostan are generally from the south-eastern provinces. My poor gipseys, I hope, as they appeared at least grateful, were not monsters of this atrocious description.

CHAPTER XIX.

MEERUT TO DELHI.

Situation of Meerut—Church—Consecration—Valley of the Dhoon—Condor—Anecdote of Begum Sumroo—School—Hospital—Confirmation—Surgeon appointed—Skinner's Horse—Heavy Rain—Delhi—Tomb of Humaiûn—Aqueduct—Firoze's Walking-stick—Immense extent of Ruins—Shawl Manufactory—Jumna Musjeed—Presentation to the Emperor—Palace—Koottab-sahib—Present from the Begum—Late and present Emperors of Delhi.

DECEMBER 18.—This morning I proceeded to Meerut, and was met at a little distance from the town by Mr. Fisher, the chaplain (whom I had once, many years ago, heard preach at Knaresborough), and two of his sons, one a chaplain on the Company's establishment, the other a lieutenant in the same service, and some officers of the troops in garrison; an accession of society which put Cabul into such high spirits, that I almost thought he would have *shamed* me, as he neighed like a trumpeter, lashed out all ways, reared, jumped with all four feet from the ground, and did every other coltish trick which could show his surprise, and tend to discompose the gravity of his rider. He has, however, no real vice, and his transports gradually subsided.

I pitched my tent, by Mr. Fisher's invitation, in his compound, which is an unusually large one. Two other Sepoys were this day added to the sick-list, and, with my former patient, removed to the hospital, whither I sent with them a recommendation to the good offices of the surgeon, and directed, since I was myself to stay some time in the place, that one of their comrades should go every day to see that they wanted nothing.

Meerut is a very extensive cantonment, but less widely scattered than Cawnpoor. The native town, too, on which it is engrafted, is much less considerable. It stands advantageously on a wide and dry plain, all in pasture,

which would afford delightful riding-ground, if it were not, like the steppes of Russia, which it much resembles, very full of holes made by the small marmot, which is common there, and called "suslik." Its Hindoostanee name I have not learned. A small nullah, with a handsome bridge over it, runs through the town. When I saw it, it was quite dry, and the bridge seemed absurd; but Mr. Fisher said that, during the rainy months, it was not a bit longer than was necessary. The church is much the largest which I have seen in India. It is 150 feet long, 84 wide, and, being galleried all round, may hold at least 3000 people. It has a high and handsome spire, and is altogether a striking building, too good for the materials of which it is composed, which, like the rest of the public buildings of this country, are only bad brick covered with stucco and whitewash. It is the work of Captain Hutchinson.

December 19.—The church, which I have described, was consecrated this day with the usual forms. The congregation was very numerous and attentive, the singing considerably better than at Calcutta and the appearance of everything highly honourable both to the chaplain and military officers of this important station. I had the gratification of hearing my own hymns, "Brightest and best," and that for St. Stephen's day, sung better than I ever heard them in a church before. It is a remarkable thing that one of the earliest, the largest, and handsomest

churches in India, as well as one of the best organs, should be found in so remote a situation, and in sight of the Himalaya mountains. The evening service was very well attended; and this is the more creditable, inasmuch, as I have elsewhere observed, all who then come are volunteers, whereas attendance in the morning is a part of military parade.

I had heard Meerut praised for its comparative freedom from hot winds, but do not find that the residents confirm this statement: they complain of them quite as much as the people of Cawnpore, and acknowledge the inferiority of their climate in this respect to that of Rohilkund. The beautiful valley of the Dhoon, since its conquest by the British, affords a retreat to their sick, which they seem to value highly; and it has the advantage of being accessible without danger at all times; but, except during the dry months, even this lovely valley is not wholesome. Mr. Fisher had some drawings of different parts of the Dhoon, which represented scenery of very great beauty and luxuriance, on a smaller and less awful scale than Kemaon. The animals seem much the same; but Lieutenant Fisher gave me a fuller account than I had yet received of the eagle, or as, from his statement, it rather seems to be, the condor, of these mountains. It appears to belong to this latter tribe from the bareness of its neck, which resembles that of the vulture, and the character of its beak, which is longer and less hooked than the eagle's, and perhaps, too, from its size, which exceeds that of any eagle of which I have heard. Lieutenant Fisher shot one very lately at Degra, which measured thirteen feet between the tips of its extended wings, and had talons eight inches long. He was of a deep black colour, with a bald head and neck, and appears strongly to resemble the noble bird described by Bruce as common among the mountains of Abyssinia, under the name of "Nisser." This is, no doubt, the bird which carries away the children from the streets of Almorah. The one which Mr. Fisher shot could, he was sure, have carried up a very

well-grown boy. Nor have I any doubt that it is the "rok" of the Arabians. In Sindbad's way of telling a story, so formidable an animal might be easily magnified into all which that ingenious voyager has handed down to us concerning his giant bird.

December 20.—I observed this morning, at the gate of Mr. Fisher's compound, a sentry in the strict Oriental costume, of turban and long caftan, but armed with musket and bayonet, like our own Sepoys. He said he was one of the Begum Sumroo's regiment, out of which she is bound to furnish a certain number for the police of Meerut and its neighbourhood. Her residence is in the centre of her own jaghire at Sirdhana, about twelve coss from Meerut; but she has a house in this place where she frequently passes a considerable time together. She is a very little, queer-looking old woman, with brilliant but wicked eyes, and the remains of beauty in her features. She is possessed of considerable talent and readiness in conversation, but only speaks Hindoostanee. Her soldiers and people, and the generality of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood, pay her much respect, on account both of her supposed wisdom and her courage; she having, during the Maharatta wars, led, after her husband's death, his regiment very gallantly into action, herself riding at their head into a heavy fire of the enemy. She is, however, a sad tyranness; and, having the power of life and death within her own little territory, several stories are told of her cruelty, and the noses and ears which she orders to be cut off. One relation of this kind, according to native reports, on which reliance, however, can rarely be placed, is very horrid. One of her dancing-girls had offended her—how I have not heard. The Begum ordered the poor creature to be immured alive in a small vault prepared for the purpose, under the pavement of the saloon where the natch was then celebrating, and being aware that her fate excited much sympathy and horror in the minds of the servants and soldiers of her palace, and apprehensive that they would open the tomb and res-

cue the victim as soon as her back was turned, she saw the vault bricked up before her own eyes, then ordered her bed to be placed directly over it, and lay there for several nights, till the last faint moans had ceased to be heard, and she was convinced that hunger and despair had done their work. This woman calls herself a Christian, of the Roman Catholic faith, which was that of her husband Summers. ("Sumroo" is the Hindoostanee pronunciation of the German surname.) She has a Roman Catholic priest as her chaplain, and has lately begun to build a very large and handsome church at Sirdhana, which will rival, if not excel, that of Meerut in size and architectural beauty.

I dined this day with General Reynell. His aide-de-camp, Captain Meade, is a very accomplished artist, and showed me a portfolio of splendid drawings; some of them were from views in the Dhoon, and the mountains near Sabathoo. These last bear some resemblance to those of Kemaon, which they nearly equal in height; but the snowy range of Himalaya is removed to a much greater distance, and only visible from the tops of the highest hills. The lower parts of the Dhoon seem as like Wales as possible.

December 21.—I went with Mr. Fisher to-day to a school which he has established in the old city of Meerut; I had previously seen this very imperfectly, but I now found it larger than I expected, with a ruined wall and fort, and some good architectural remains of mosques and pagodas. The school is well managed, and numerous attended. The boys are taught reading and writing in Hindoostanee and Persian, and receive, such of them as desire it, which they all do, instruction in the Gospels. They read fluently, and construed Persian very well. Their master is a Christian convert of Mr. Fisher's. I also went to the native hospital to see the three sick Sepoys, two of whom I found much better, the third still ill. They seemed very grateful for the visit, and said that they were well treated, and wanted nothing. Mr. Lowther, the judge and

magistrate of Bundishehr, with his wife, passed the evening at Mr. Fisher's. They pressed me, which I should have liked much, to take their station in my way from Delhi to Agra. But Muttra is too important a place to be passed by, and this would be the necessary consequence of my accepting their invitation.

December 22.—I went with Mr. Fisher to a small congregation of native Christians, to whom, not being able to give them a service on Sunday, he reads prayers and preaches on this day. About twenty people were present; one the "naick," or corporal, whom, in consequence of his embracing Christianity, Government very absurdly, not to say wickedly, disgraced by removing him from his regiment, though they still allow him his pay. He is a tall, stout, plain-looking man, with every appearance of a respectable and well-behaved soldier. Another was Anund Musseeh, a convert of Mr. Corrie's, who has a good deal distinguished himself as a catechist at Delhi, and on whom Mr. Fisher wants me to confer ordination. He is a tall, coarse-looking man, without much intellect in his countenance, but is said to be very eloquent and well-informed, so far as a knowledge of Hindoostanee and Persian enables him. I had, afterwards, repeated conversations with him, and was pleased by his unassuming and plain manner.

December 23.—This morning I breakfasted with General Reynell. In the evening Mr. Fisher read prayers and preached to a tolerably numerous congregation, it being his custom to have service of this kind every Wednesday and Friday.

December 24.—This day I confirmed about two hundred and fifty people, young and old, of whom between forty and fifty were natives converted to Christianity by Mr. Fisher. Surely all this is what we could hardly expect in so remote a part of India, and where no Englishman had set his foot till the conquests made by Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley. The rest of the day I was busy writing letters. The Sepoy whom I had left sick at Moradabad re-

joined me; but the camel-driver, he said, was still very dangerously ill. The men who were in the hospital at Meerut were declared convalescent.

December 25.—Christmas-day. A very large congregation, and above two hundred communicants.

December 26.—I preached, and after evening service confirmed twelve persons who had not been able to attend on the Friday.

December 27.—I received a present of fruit from the Begum Sumroo, together with a civil message, expressing a hope to see me at Sirdhana, to which I returned an answer in an English letter. Though she herself does not understand the language, she has many people about her who do, particularly Colonel Bryce, who acts as a sort of resident at her court. My tents and servants set off this evening.

I received a very kind offer from General Reynell to assign me a medical attendant in my march to Bombay, there being a Dr. Smith at the time in Meerut, who had just come with a detachment of troops from Mhow, and was not attached to any specific service there; he was highly recommended as an able man, and one who, by his local knowledge, would be very useful to me in my journey. I had suffered so much during my residence at Dacca, and subsequently in my own illness, and when my escort and servants were attacked with the fever in Kemaon, for want of a medical attendant, that I felt extremely glad of such an offer. Indeed, with upwards of a hundred people in my train, and on the point of commencing a journey through countries of the wildest character, where no medical assistance could be obtained in marches of, in one instance, twenty-four, and in another of twenty-three days, such a precaution is most necessary and reasonable.

December 28.—I set off from Meerut by Dāk, as far as Begumabad, a large village forming a part of the jaghire of a Maharatta princess, under the protection of the English Government. Here I mounted Nedjeed—did I ever tell you the name of my little Arab horse before?—and pursued my jour-

ney, escorted by five of Colonel Skinner's irregular cavalry, the most showy and picturesque cavaliers I have seen since I was in the south of Russia. They had turbans of dark red shawl, long yellow caftans with dark red cummerbunds, and trousers of the same colour. The commander of the party had a long spear with a small yellow pennon; the others had each a long matchlock-gun which they carried on the right shoulder with the match ready lighted. They had all, likewise, pistols, swords, and shields, and their caftans and turbans so strongly quilted, as to secure them against most sabrecuts. Their horses were very tolerable in size and appearance, but hot and vicious, and the whole cavalcade had an appearance remarkably wild and Oriental. They are reckoned, by all the English in this part of the country, the most useful and trusty, as well as the boldest body of men in India, and during the wars both of Lord Lake and Lord Hastings their services and those of their chief were most distinguished. Colonel Alexander Skinner is a good and modest, as well as a brave man. He had just devoted 20,000 sicca rupees to build a church at Delhi. Unfortunately I shall not meet him there, as he is now on the frontier with most of his men, fighting the rebellious clans of Seiks and Mewatties. The Hindoostanees, who respect him very highly, call him by a whimsical, but not ill-applied corruption of his name, "Secunder Sahib," Lord Alexander.

My tents had gone on to the next station, Furrucknuggur; but I was met on the road thither by Mr. Charles Elliott, son of the resident at Delhi, and assistant collector of Meerut, a clever young man whom I had met at Mr Fisher's, who pressed me to come and pass the day with him in his tent at Gaziodeen-nuggur, a small ruinous walled town; we did not reach his encampment till near twelve o'clock at noon. But the sun here, though hot, is at this season not mischievous, and I passed a pleasant day. After dinner I had a moonlight ride over a very rough and broken country, and through a river to my tent. The ford was not

deep, but so wide that if I had not had people with me who knew the country, I should have hesitated to essay it by such a light. I had no sooner got into my tent than it began to rain, and during the night fell with a violence not very much less than that which preceded my arrival at Cawnpoor; a great and providential blessing to this miserable country, the most miserable which I had yet seen in India. All the way from Meerut hither is scattered with ruins; the groves of fruit-trees are few, small, and neglected; the villages very mean, the people looking half-starved, and quite heart-broken, and the cultivation always apparently of the most slovenly kind, now quite interrupted by the long drought. This rain it was hoped would yet save the poor surviving cattle, and keep the wheat from an entire failure. They have had not above three slight showers during the last twelve months! This, of course, will account for the greater part of their present distress, but I have been sorry to think that the English taxes are really exorbitant here, and the mode of collection short-sighted and oppressive. Certainly the people are more inferior in apparent comfort to those of Rohilcund, Bahar, and even Oude, than a long drought will of itself account for.

December 29.—The morning was clear and pleasant, and the air and soil delightfully refreshed by the rain. I rode Cābul, and arrived by about eight o'clock on the banks of the Jumna, on the other side of which I had a noble view of Delhi, which is a larger and finer city than I expected to see. The inhabited part of it (for the ruins extend over a surface as large as London, Westminster, and Southwark) is about seven miles in circuit, seated on a rocky range of hills, and surrounded by an embattled wall, which the English Government have put into repair, and are now engaged in strengthening with bastions, a moat, and a regular glacis. The houses within are many of them large and high. There are a great number of mosques, with high minarets and gilded domes, and above all are seen the palace, a very high and extensive cluster of

Gothic towers and battlements, and the Jumna Musjeed, the largest and handsomest place of Mussulman worship in India. The chief material of all these fine buildings is red granite, of a very agreeable though solemn colour, inlaid in some of the ornamental parts with white marble, and the general style of building is of a simple and impressive character, which reminded me, in many respects, of Carnarvon. It far exceeds anything at Moscow.

The Jumna, like the other great rivers of this country, overflows, during the rains, a wide extent; but, unlike the Ganges, does not confer fertility. In this part of its course it is so strongly impregnated with natron, extensive beds of which abound in all the neighbourhood, that its waters destroy, instead of promoting vegetation, and the whole space between the high banks and the river, in its present low state, is a loose and perfectly barren sand, like that of the sea-shore. I found the ferry-boat in readiness, and was received on the other side by Mr. Elliott, who had come to meet me with an elephant and a very numerous suwarree of spears and matchlocks. We went together towards the city, over a similar bed of arid sand with that which I had just passed, forded a smaller branch of the Jumna, which runs close under the walls, and, leaving the palace to our left, went along a tolerably wide street to the Residency, which is a large straggling building, consisting of two or three entertaining rooms added by Sir David Ochterlony, when resident, to an old Mussulman palace. Lushington, whom I found just arrived, had his bedroom in this palace, a very singular and interesting little room, with a vaulted roof, richly ornamented with mosaic painting. Behind is a large garden, laid out in the usual formal Eastern manner, but with some good trees and straight walks, and the whole has more the appearance of a college than anything else.

Mr. Williams, one of Mr. Elliott's secretaries, is an enterprising traveller, who has penetrated beyond the snowy mountains, several days' journey into Ladak, and even beyond the Chinese frontier. He showed me several draw-

ings of the people of these countries, who seem, in most respects of religion, dress, and countenance, to resemble my old friends the Calmuks. They carry on a tolerably regular intercourse with Russia, and sheets of gilt leather, stamped with the imperial eagle, were among the presents which the King of Ladak sent down when he offered his allegiance to the British Government. Their written character, however, to my surprise, I found different from the Mongolian; to my surprise I found it so, and to my disappointment too, for I had counted on the New Testaments printed by the Russian Bible Society, for the use of the Calmuk tribes, being legible by these mountaineers. However, the project of doing them good need not be abandoned, though its execution may be more tedious than I anticipated.

Soon after my arrival in Delhi the rain returned with still greater violence, and continued all that day and night to the great joy of the people, some of whom told Mrs. Elliott, in the usual style of Eastern notions, that "the Lord Sahib's coming was a happy thing for Delhi, since now they should have bread to eat." I found, indeed, that the servants had by no means forgotten the rain which preceded my arrival at Cawnpoor, and that they had taken care to publish here how very lucky, or "mobarak" a person I was, an opinion in which I believe they themselves are now quite confirmed.

December 30.—This morning Lushington and I rode to the tomb of the Emperor Humaiöon, six miles from the city, S.W. We passed, in our way to the Agra-gate, along a very broad but irregular street, with a channel of water, cased with stone, conducted along its middle. This is a part of the celebrated aqueduct constructed, in the first instance, by Ali Merdan Khân, a Persian nobleman, in the service of the Emperor Shahjehan, then long neglected during the troubles of India, and the decay of the Mogul power, and within these few years repaired by the English Government. It is conducted from the Jumna, immediately on leaving its mountains, and while its stream is yet pure and

wholesome, for a distance of about one hundred and twenty miles; and is a noble work, giving fertility to a very large extent of country near its banks, and absolutely the sole source of vegetation to the gardens of Delhi, besides furnishing its inhabitants with almost the only drinkable water within their reach. When it was first re-opened by Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1820, the whole population of the city went out in jubilee to meet its stream, throwing flowers, ghee, &c. into the water, and calling down all manner of blessings on the British Government, who have indeed gone far, by this measure, to redeem themselves from the weight of, I fear, a good deal of impolicy.

It most unfortunately happened that, during the present year, and amid all the other misfortunes of drought and scarcity which this poor country has undergone, the Jumna changed its course, and the canal became dry! The engineer officer who superintends its works was at the time labouring under the remains of a jungle fever; his serjeant was in the same condition, and consequently there was no one who, when the mischief was discovered, could go up to the hills to remedy it. The suffering of the people was very dismal; since the restoration of the canal, they had neglected the wells which formerly had, in some degree, supplied their wants. The water which they drank was to be brought from a distance and sold at a considerable rate, and their gardens were quite ruined. That of the Residency had not, at the moment when I saw it, a green thing in it, and those of the poor were in a yet worse condition, if worse were possible. It was not till the middle of November that the canal could be again restored, when it was hailed with similar expressions of joy to those which had greeted its former reappearance.

Half-way along the street which I have been describing, and nearly opposite another great street with a similar branch of the canal, which runs at right angles to the former, stands the imperial palace, built by the Emperor Shahjehan, surrounded on this side by a wall of, I should think, sixty feet high, em-

battled and machicolated, with small round towers and two noble gateways, each defended by an outer barbican of the same construction, though of less height. The whole is of red granite, and surrounded by a wide moat. It is a place of no strength, the walls being only calculated for bows and arrows or musketry, but as a kingly residence it is one of the noblest that I have seen. It far surpasses the Kremlin, but I do not think that, except in the durability of its materials, it equals Windsor.

Sentries in red coats (Sepoys of the Company's regular army) appear at its exterior, but the internal duties, and indeed most of the police duties of Delhi, are performed by the two provincial battalions raised in the emperor's name, and nominally under his orders. These are disciplined pretty much like Europeans, but have matchlock guns and the Oriental dress, and their commanding officer, Captain Grant of the Company's service, is considered as one of the domestics of the Mogul, and has apartments in the palace.

From the gate of Agra to Humaiûn's tomb is a very awful scene of desolation, ruins after ruins, tombs after tombs, fragments of brick-work, free-stone, granite, and marble, scattered everywhere over a soil naturally rocky and barren, without cultivation, except in one or two small spots, and without a single tree. I was reminded of Caffa in the Crimea, but this was Caffa on the scale of London, with the wretched fragments of a magnificence such as London itself cannot boast. The ruins really extended as far as the eye could reach, and our track wound among them all the way. This was the seat of old Delhi, as founded by the Patan kings, on the ruins of the still larger Hindoo city of Indraput, which lay chiefly in a western direction. When the present city, which is certainly in a more advantageous situation, was founded by the Emperor Shahjehan, he removed many of its inhabitants thither; most of the rest followed, to be near the palace and the principal markets; and as during the Maharatta government there was no sleeping in a safe skin without the walls, old Delhi

was soon entirely abandoned. The official name of the present city is Shahjehanpoor, "city of the king of the world!" but the name of Delhi is always used in conversation and in every writing but those which are immediately offered to the emperor's eye.

In our way, one mass of ruins larger than the rest was pointed out to us as the old Patan palace. It has been a large and solid fortress, in a plain and unornamented style of architecture, and would have been picturesque had it been in a country where trees grow, and ivy was green, but is here only ugly and melancholy. It is chiefly remarkable for a high black pillar of cast metal, called Firoze's walking-stick. This was originally a Hindoo work, the emblem, I apprehend, of Siva, which stood in a temple on the same spot, and concerning which there was a tradition, like that attached to the coronation stone of the Scots, that while it stood the children of Brahma were to rule in Indraput. On the conquest of the country by the Mussulmans the vanity of the prediction was shown, and Firoze enclosed it within the court of his palace, as a trophy of the victory of Islam over idolatry. It is covered with inscriptions, mostly Persian and Arabic, but that which is evidently the original, and, probably, contains the prophecy, is in a character now obsolete and unknown, though apparently akin to the Nagree.

About a mile and a half further, still through ruins, is Humaiûn's tomb, a noble building of grauite inlaid with marble, and in a very chaste and simple style of Gothic architecture. It is surrounded by a large garden with terraces and fountains, all now gone to decay except one of the latter, which enables the poor people who live in the outbuildings of the tomb to cultivate a little wheat. The garden itself is surrounded by an embattled wall, with towers, four gateways, and a cloister within all the way round. In the centre of the square is a platform of about twenty feet high, and I should apprehend two hundred feet square, supported also by cloisters, and ascended by four great flights of granite steps. Above

risers the tomb, also a square, with a great dome of white marble in its centre. The apartments within are a circular room, about as big as the Ratcliffe library, in the centre of which lies, under a small raised slab, the unfortunate prince to whose memory this fine building is raised. In the angles are smaller apartments, where other branches of his family are interred. From the top of the building I was surprised to see that we had still ruins on every side; and that, more particularly, to the westward and where old Indraput stood, the desolation apparently extended to a range of barren hills seven or eight miles off.

On coming down we were conducted about a mile westward to a burying-ground, or collection of tombs and small mosques, some of them very beautiful, among which the most remarkable was a little chapel in honour of a celebrated Mussulman saint, Nizam-ud-deen. Round his shrine most of the deceased members of the present imperial family lie buried, each in its own little enclosure, surrounded by very elegant lattice-work of white marble. Workmen were employed at this time in completing the tomb of the late prince Jehanguire, third and darling son of the emperor, who died lately at Allahabad, whither he had been banished by the British Government for his violent character (that of a thoroughly spoilt child), and his culpable intrigues against his eldest brother. The father is said to have been convinced at length of the necessity of this measure, but the old empress has never forgiven it, and now cannot be persuaded but that her darling boy, who died of drinking and all manner of vice, was poisoned by the English. The few remaining resources of the house of Timour are drawn on to do honour to his remains, and the tomb, though small, will certainly be very elegant. The flowers, &c., into which the marble is carved, are as delicate and in as good taste and execution as any of the ordinary Italian artists could produce. Another tomb, which interested me very much, was that of Jehanara, daughter of Shahjehan. It

has no size or importance, but she was one of the few amiable characters which the family of Timour can show. In the prime of youth and beauty, when her father was dethroned, imprisoned, and, I believe, blinded, by his wicked son Aurungzebe, she applied for leave to share his captivity, and continued to wait on him as a nurse and servant till the day of his death. Afterwards she was a bountiful benefactress to the poor and to religious men, and died with the reputation of a saint, better deserved than by many who have borne the name.

In one part of these ruins is a very deep tank, surrounded by buildings sixty or seventy feet above the surface of the water, from the top of which several boys and young men jumped down and swam to the steps, in order to obtain a trifling buckshish. It was a formidable sight to a stranger, but they seemed to feel no inconvenience except from cold, and were very thankful for a couple of rupees to be divided among their number.

After breakfast we went with Mr. and Mrs. Elliott to see a shawl manufactory carried on by Cashmerian weavers with wool brought from Himalaya, in the house of a wealthy Hindoo merchant, named Soobinchund. The house itself was very pretty and well worth seeing as a specimen of Eastern domestic architecture, comprising three small courts surrounded by stone cloisters, two of them planted with flowering shrubs and orange-trees, and the third ornamented with a beautiful marble fountain. I did not think the shawls which were shown very beautiful, and the prices of all were high. I was more struck with the specimens of jewellery which they produced, which I thought very splendid, and some of the smaller trinkets in good taste. I was persecuted to accept a splendid nuzzur of shawls, &c., to the value, perhaps, of 1000 s. rupees, which of course I did not choose to take. My pleading my religious profession did not satisfy my Hindoo host, who said that I might at least give it to my "Zennanah;" luckily, Mr. Elliott suggested to me to say that

I accepted it with gratitude, but that I was a traveller and begged him to keep it for me; to which I added, that "what was in the house of my friend I considered as in my own." He quite understood this, and bowed very low, being, I believe, well pleased to get his compliment over at so easy a rate. The son, however, a lad who spoke a very little English, followed me to the door with a Turkoman horse, which he begged me to accept as his nuzzur. The horse was a pretty one, but not very valuable. I, however, got rid of the matter as well as I could, by saying, that spirited horses were fittest for the young: that I accepted it cheerfully, but begged, as I had no other proper return to make, that he would do me the favour to take it back again!" He smiled and bowed, and we parted. In the narrow street where the house of Socbin-chund stands, we passed a little cluster of Cashmerian women, the wives, I suppose, of his workmen, distinguishable by their large and tall figures in comparison with the Hindoostanees, their fair complexions, and their peculiar head-dress, which consisted of a large roll of turban under the usual veil, the whole appearance more like the famous pictures of the Babylonian sibyl than anything which I recollect.

We afterwards went to the Jumna Musjeed, and the Kala Musjeed. The former is elevated very advantageously on a small rocky eminence, to full the height of the surrounding houses. In front it has a large square court surrounded by a cloister open on both sides, and commanding a view of the whole city, which is entered by three gates with a fine flight of steps to each. In the centre is a great marble reservoir of water, with some small fountains, supplied by machinery from the canal. The whole court is paved with granite inlaid with marble. On its west side, and rising up another flight of steps, is the mosque itself, which is entered by three noble Gothic arches, surmounted by three domes of white marble. It has at each end a very tall minaret. The ornaments are less florid, and the building less picturesque, than

the splendid group of the Imambara and its accompaniments at Lucknow; but the situation is far more commanding, and the size, the solidity, and rich materials of this building, impressed me more than anything of the sort which I have seen in India. It is in excellent repair, the British Government having made a grant for this purpose, a measure which was very popular in Delhi.

The Kala Musjeed is small, and has nothing worthy notice about it but its plainness, solidity, and great antiquity, being a work of the first Patan conquerors, and belonging to the times of primitive Mussulman simplicity. It is exactly on the plan of the original Arabian mosques, a square court, surrounded by a cloister, and roofed with many small domes of the plainest and most solid construction, like the rudest specimens of what we call the early Norman architecture. It has no minaret; the crier stands on the roof to proclaim the hour of prayer. Thus ended our first day's sight-seeing in Delhi.

The 31st *December* was fixed for my presentation to the emperor, which was appointed for half-past eight in the morning. Lushington and a Captain Wade also chose to take the same opportunity. At eight I went, accompanied by Mr. Elliott, with nearly the same formalities as at Lucknow, except that we were on elephants instead of in palanquins, and that the procession was, perhaps, less splendid, and the beggars both less numerous and far less vociferous and importunate. We were received with presented arms by the troops of the palace drawn up within the barbican, and proceeded, still on our elephants, through the noblest gateway and vestibule which I ever saw. It consists, not merely of a splendid Gothic arch in the centre of the great gate-tower,—but, after that, of a long vaulted aisle, like that of a Gothic cathedral, with a small, open, octagonal court in its centre, all of granite, and all finely carved with inscriptions from the Koran, and with flowers. This ended in a ruinous and exceedingly dirty stable-yard! where we were re-

ceived by Captain Grant, as the Mogul's officer on guard, and by a number of elderly men with large gold-headed canes, the usual ensign of office here, and one of which Mr. Elliott also carried. We were now told to dismount and proceed on foot, a task which the late rain made inconvenient to my gown and cassock, and thin shoes, and during which we were pestered by a fresh swarm of miserable beggars, the wives and children of the stable servants. After this we passed another richly-carved, but ruinous and dirty gateway, where our guides, withdrawing a canvas screen, called out, in a sort of harsh chaunt, "Lo, the ornament of the world! Lo, the asylum of the nations! King of Kings! The Emperor Achar Shah! Just, fortunate, victorious!" We saw, in fact, a very handsome and striking court, about as big as that at All Souls, with low, but richly-ornamented buildings. Opposite to us was a beautiful open pavilion of white marble, richly carved, flanked by rose-bushes and fountains, and some tapestry and striped curtains hanging in festoons about it, within which was a crowd of people, and the poor old descendant of Tamerlane seated in the midst of them. Mr. Elliott here bowed three times very low, in which we followed his example. This ceremony was repeated twice as we advanced up the steps of the pavilion, the heralds each time repeating the same expressions about their master's greatness. We then stood in a row on the right-hand side of the throne, which is a sort of marble bedstead richly ornamented with gilding, and raised on two or three steps. Mr. Elliott then stepped forwards, and, with joined hands, in the usual Eastern way, announced, in a low voice, to the emperor, who I was. I then advanced, bowed three times again, and offered a nuzzur of fifty-one gold mohurs in an embroidered purse, laid on my handkerchief, in the way practised by the Baboos in Calcutta. This was received and laid on one side, and I remained standing for a few minutes, while the usual court questions about my health, my travels, when I left

Calcutta, &c., were asked. I had thus an opportunity of seeing the old gentleman more plainly. He has a pale, thin, but handsome face, with an aquiline nose, and a long white beard. His complexion is little if at all darker than that of an European. His hands are very fair and delicate, and he had some valuable-looking rings on them. His hands and face were all I saw of him, for the morning being cold, he was so wrapped up in shawls, that he reminded me extremely of the Druid's head on a Welsh halfpenny. I then stepped back to my former place, and returned again with five more mohurs to make my offering to the heir apparent, who stood at his father's left hand, the right being occupied by the resident. Next, my two companions were introduced with nearly the same forms, except that their offerings were less, and that the emperor did not speak to them.

The emperor then beckoned to me to come forwards, and Mr. Elliott told me to take off my hat, which had till now remained on my head, on which the emperor tied a flimsy turban of brocade round my head with his own hands, for which, however, I paid four gold mohurs more. We were then directed to retire to receive the "Khelâts" (honorary dresses) which the bounty of "the Asylum of the World" had provided for us. I was accordingly taken into a small private room, adjoining the zennanah, where I found a handsome flowered caftan edged with fur, and a pair of common-looking shawls, which my servants, who had the delight of witnessing all this fine show, put on instead of my gown, my cassock remaining as before. In this strange dress I had to walk back again, having my name announced by the criers (something in the same way that Lord Marmion's was) as "Bahadur, Boozoony, Dowlut-mund," &c., to the presence, where I found my two companions, who had not been honoured by a private dressing-room, but had their khelâts put on them in the gateway of the court. They were, I apprehend, still queerer figures than I was, having their hats wrapped with scarfs

of flowered gauze, and a strange garment of gauze, tinsel, and faded ribbands flung over their shoulders above their coats. I now again came forward and offered my third present to the emperor, being a copy of the Arabic Bible and the Hindoostanee Common Prayer, handsomely bound in blue velvet laced with gold, and wrapped up in a piece of brocade. He then motioned to me to stoop, and put a string of pearls round my neck, and two glittering but not costly ornaments in the front of my turban, for which I again offered five gold mohurs. It was, lastly, announced that a horse was waiting for my acceptance, at which fresh instance of imperial munificence the heralds again made a proclamation of largesse, and I again paid five gold mohurs. It ended by my taking my leave with three times three salams, making up, I think, the sum of about threescore, and I retired with Mr. Elliott to my dressing-room, whence I sent to her Majesty the *Queen*, as she is generally called, though Empress would be the ancient and more proper title, a present of five mohurs more, and the emperor's chobdars came eagerly up to know when they should attend to receive their buckshish. It must not, however, be supposed that this interchange of civilities was very expensive either to his majesty or to me. All the presents which he gave, the horse included, though really the handsomest which had been seen at the court of Delhi for many years, and though the old gentleman evidently intended to be extremely civil, were not worth much more than 300 s. rupees, so that he and his family gained at least 800 s. rupees by the morning's work, besides what he received from my two companions, which was all clear gain, since the *khelâts* which they got in return were only fit for May-day, and made up, I fancy, from the cast-off finery of the Begum. On the other hand, since the Company have wisely ordered that all the presents given by native princes to Europeans should be disposed of on the Government account, they have liberally, at the same time, taken on themselves the expense of paying the usual

money nuzzurs made by public men on these occasions. In consequence none of my offerings were at my own charge, except the professional and private one of the two books, with which, as they were unexpected, the emperor, as I was told, was very much pleased. I had, of course, several buckshishes to give afterwards to his servants, but these fell considerably short of my expenses at Lucknow. To return to the hall of audience. While in the small apartment where I got rid of my shining garments, I was struck with its beautiful ornaments. It was entirely lined with white marble, inlaid with flowers and leaves of green serpentine, lapis lazuli, and blue and red porphyry; the flowers were of the best Italian style of workmanship, and evidently the labour of an artist of that country. All, however, was dirty, desolate, and forlorn. Half the flowers and leaves had been picked out or otherwise defaced, and the doors and windows were in a state of dilapidation, while a quantity of old furniture was piled in one corner, and a torn hanging of faded tapestry hung over an archway which led to the interior apartments. "Such," Mr. Elliott said, "is the general style in which this palace is kept up and furnished. It is not absolute poverty which produces this, but these people have no idea of cleaning or mending anything." For my own part I thought of the famous Persian line,

"The spider hangs her tapestry in the palace
of the Cæsars;"

and felt a melancholy interest in comparing the present state of this poor family with what it was 200 years ago, when Bernier visited Delhi, or as we read its palace described in the tale of Madame de Genlis.

After putting on my usual dress, we waited a little, till word was brought us that the "King of Kings," "Shah-in-Shah," had retired to his *zennanah*; we then went to the hall of audience, which I had previously seen but imperfectly, from the crowd of people and the necessity of attending to the forms which I had to go through. It is a very beautiful pavilion of white marble, open on one side to the court of the pa-

lace, and on the other to a large garden. Its pillars and arches are exquisitely carved and ornamented with gilt and inlaid flowers, and inscriptions in the most elaborate Persian character. Round the frieze is the motto, recorded, I believe, in "Lalla Rookh,"

"If there be an Elysium on earth,
It is this, it is this!"

The marble floor, where not covered by carpets, is all inlaid in the same beautiful manner with the little dressing-room, which I had quitted.

The gardens, which we next visited, are not large, but, in their way, must have been extremely rich and beautiful. They are full of very old orange and other fruit trees, with terraces and parterres, on which many rose-bushes were growing, and, even now, a few jonquils in flower. A channel of white marble for water, with little fountain-pipes of the same material, carved like roses, is carried here and there among these parterres, and at the end of the terrace is a beautiful octagonal pavilion, also of marble, lined with the same Mosaic flowers as in the room which I first saw, with a marble fountain in its centre, and a beautiful bath in a recess on one of its sides. The windows of this pavilion, which is raised to the height of the city wall, command a good view of Delhi and its neighbourhood. But all was, when we saw it, dirty, lonely, and wretched: the bath and fountain dry: the inlaid pavement hid with lumber and gardener's sweepings, and the walls stained with the dung of birds and bats.

We were then taken to the private mosque of the palace, an elegant little building, also of white marble, and exquisitely carved, but in the same state of neglect and dilapidation, with peepuls allowed to spring from its walls, the exterior gilding partially torn from its dome, and some of its doors coarsely blocked up with unplastered brick and mortar.

We went last to the "dewanee aûm," or hall of public audience, which is in the outer court, and where on certain occasions the Great Mogul sate in state, to receive the compliments or petitions of his subjects. This also is a splendid

pavilion of marble, not unlike the other hall of audience in form, but considerably larger and open on three sides only; on the fourth is a black wall, covered with the same Mosaic work of flowers and leaves as I have described, and in the centre a throne raised about ten feet from the ground, with a small platform of marble in front, where the vizier used to stand to hand up petitions to his master. Behind this throne are Mosaic paintings of birds, animals, and flowers; and in the centre, what decides the point of their being the work of Italian, or at least European artists, a small group of Orpheus playing to the beasts. This hall, when we saw it, was full of lumber of all descriptions, broken palanquins and empty boxes, and the throne so covered with pigeons' dung that its ornaments were hardly discernible. How little did Shahjehan, the founder of these fine buildings, foresee what would be the fate of his descendants, or what his own would be! "Vanity of vanities!" was surely never written in more legible characters than on the dilapidated arcades of Delhi!

After breakfast I had a numerous attendance of persons who either wished to be confirmed themselves, or to have my explanation of the nature and authority of the ceremony. In the afternoon I went with Mr. and Mrs. Elliott a drive round a part of the city. Its principal streets are really wide, handsome, and, for an Asiatic city, remarkably cleanly, and the shops in the bazars have a good appearance. The chief street down which we drove is called the "chandnee chokee," or silversmiths' street, but I did not see any great number of that trade resident there. It is about as wide as Pall-Mall, and has a branch of the aqueduct running along its centre. Half-way down its length is a pretty little mosque with three gilt domes, on the porch of which, it is said, Nader Shah sate from morning to evening to see the work of massacre which his army inflicted on the wretched citizens. A gate leading to a bazar near it retains the name of "coonia durwazu," slaughter-gate! The chandnee chokee conducted us to the gate of Lahore, and we went along the exte-

rior of the town to the gate of Cashmere, by which we returned to the Residency. The city wall is lofty and handsome; but, except ruins and sunburnt rocks, there is nothing to be seen without the ramparts of Delhi. The Shelimar Gardens, extolled in "Lalla Rookh," are completely gone to decay. Yet I am assured by everybody that the appearance of things in the province of Delhi is greatly improved since it came into our hands! To what a state must the Maharattas have reduced it!

January 1.—We went to see Koottabsahib, a small town about twelve miles south-west of Delhi, remarkable for its ruins, and, among the Mussulmans, for its sanctity. It was the scene of very hard fighting between the Hindoo sovereigns of Indraput and the original Patan invaders, and the Mussulmans say that 5000 martyrs to their religion lie interred in the neighbourhood. Its principal sanctity, however, arises from the tomb of a very celebrated saint, Cutteeb Sahib, in whose honour the buildings for which it is now remarkable were begun but never quite completed by Shumsedd, the third, I think, in succession of the Patan sovereigns. The emperor has a house there, and it is a favourite retreat of his during fine weather.

We went out at the Agra gate, and rode through the same dismal field of tombs as we had formerly traversed, escorted by three of Skinner's horse. Before we had cleared the ruins, another body of fifteen or twenty wild-looking horse, some with long spears, some with matchlocks and matches lighted, galloped up from behind a large tomb, and their leader, dropping the point of his lance, said that he was sent by the Raja of Bullumghur, "the fort of spears," to conduct me through his district. We had no need of this further escort; but, as it was civilly intended, I, of course, took it civilly, and we went on together to a beautiful mausoleum, about five miles further, raised in honour of Sufter Jung, an ancestor of the King of Oude, who still keeps up his tomb and the garden round it in good repair. We did not stop here, however, but proceeded on ele-

phants, which Mr. Elliott had stationed for us, leaving our horses under the care of the Bullumghur suwarra, of whom and their raja we were afterwards to see a good deal. Our route lay over a country still rocky and barren, and still sprinkled with tombs and ruins, till, on ascending a little eminence, we saw one of the most extensive and striking scenes of ruin which I have met with in any country. A very tolerable account of it is given in Hamilton's "India," and I will only observe that the Cuttab Minar, the object of principal attraction, is really the finest tower I have ever seen, and must, when its spire was complete, have been still more beautiful. The remaining great arches of the principal mosque, with their granite pillars, covered with inscriptions in the florid Cufic character, are as fine, in their way, as any of the details of York Minster. In front of the principal of these great arches is a metal pillar like that in Firoze Shah's castle, and several other remains of a Hindoo palace and temple, more ancient than the foundation of the Koottab, and which I should have thought striking, if they had not been in such a neighbourhood. A multitude of ruined mosques, tombs, serais, &c., are packed close round, mostly in the Patan style of architecture, and some of them very fine. One, more particularly, on a hill, and surrounded by a wall with battlements and towers, struck me as peculiarly suited, by its solid and simple architecture, to its blended character, in itself very appropriate to the religion of Islam, of fortress, tomb, and temple. These Patans built like giants, and finished their work like jewellers. Yet the ornaments, florid as they are in their proper places, are never thrown away, or allowed to interfere with the general severe and solemn character of their edifices. The palace of the present imperial family is at some little distance behind these remains. It is a large but paltry building, in a bad style of Italian architecture, and with a public road actually leading through its court-yard. A little beyond and amid some other small houses, near a

very fine tank, we alighted at rather a pretty little building belonging to Bukshi Mahmoud Khân, the treasurer of the palace, where a room and a good breakfast were prepared for us.

After breakfast, the day being cool and rather cloudy, we went to see the ruins, and remained clambering about and drawing till near two o'clock. The staircase within the great Minar is very good, except the uppermost story of all, which is ruinous and difficult of access. I went up, however, and was rewarded by the very extensive view, from a height of 240 feet, of Delhi, the course of the Jumna for many miles, and the ruins of Toghlikabad, another giantly Patan foundation, which lay to the south-west.

We returned in the evening to Delhi, stopping by the way to see Sufter Jung's tomb. It is very richly inlaid with different kinds of marble, but has too much of the colour of potted meat to please me, particularly after seeing buildings like those of Koottab-sahib. We were received here, to my surprise, by the son of Baboo Soobin-chund, who is, it seems, the agent of the King of Oude in Delhi, and, consequently, has the keeping of this place entrusted to him. He had actually brought a second and finer horse for my acceptance; and I had great difficulty in convincing him of two things: first, that I had no power to render him any service which could call for such presents; and, secondly, that my declining his presents was not likely to diminish my good-will towards him, supposing me to have such power. I succeeded at last, however, in silencing, if not convincing him, and we returned to the Residency, passing in our way by the Observatory, a pile of buildings much resembling those at Benares, and built by the same person, Jye Singh, Raja and founder of Jyepoor in Rajpootana.

At Mr. Elliott's we found his son, and the two Mr. Fishers, come to pass another Sunday with me. I also found two presents awaiting my acceptance: the one from the old Begum consisted of a garland of withered jonquils, intermixed with tinsel, which was, I believe, supposed to pass for pearls; for after

putting the said wreath round my neck, the chobdars who brought it hailed me with an acclamation of "Ue Motee-wala!" "O, thou pearly person!" I, however, had, of course, to receive the gift with many thanks, as a favour from the hand of a princess. The other present, from the king, was more useful to a traveller, consisting of a buck, with his best wishes for my journey. The common deer of this neighbourhood are, indeed, by no means good, and may be had for a rupee apiece; but this had had some little feeding bestowed on it, and we found it by no means bad eating in our march.

Of the present situation and character of this sovereign and his family, I had abundant opportunity of acquiring a knowledge; and I am glad to find that, with some exceptions, the conduct of our countrymen to the house of Timour has been honourable and kind. My dear wife is probably aware that the first direct connexion between the English and the Emperor of Delhi began under Lord Clive's government, when Shah Aulum, father of the present Acbar Shah, voluntarily, and without any stipulations, threw himself under our protection, as the only means of securing his personal liberty from the dissensions of his own subjects and the violence of the Maharattas. He was received and treated in all respects as a sovereign; had a residence assigned to him, with a very large revenue of twenty-six lacs a-year; and this was, in fact, the only part of his life which can be regarded as splendid or prosperous. In his anxiety to return to Delhi, however, he, after some years, forfeited all these advantages, and threw himself into the power of the Maharattas, who, about a twelvemonth before, had gained possession of that city, and who were our inveterate enemies. By these new friends he was made prisoner; and Ghoolam Khadir, the Rohilla, who a few years after captured Delhi, put out his eyes, threw him into a dungeon, and murdered all the members of his family who could be found. His own life would probably have soon sunk under his misery, had not Ghoolam Khadir been defeated and put to death by

Sindia (assisted by French officers and troops), who now, in his turn, obtained possession of his person. His condition was, however, very little improved. He was, indeed, suffered to live in his palace, and his surviving family re-assembled round him; but he and they were treated with exceeding neglect, and literally almost starved, by the avarice of Sindia and the rapacity of the French. It was during this period that most of the marble and inlaid ornaments of the palace were mutilated, since they were actually sold to buy bread for himself and his children.

In this miserable state he was found by Lord Lake, who restored him to the sort of decent dependance which his son now enjoys; addressing him on all public occasions in the style of a sovereign,—acknowledging the English Government his “fidoi,” or feudatory,—and placing him, in fact, in every respect but revenue, where Lord Clive had placed him before. His revenue was fixed at ten lacs a-year, which was afterwards increased to twelve, and by Lord Hastings to fifteen, a large sum, but which is said to be, either through mismanagement, or, as is greatly apprehended, the rapacity of the old queen, who is busy in making a purse for herself, barely sufficient for the wants of his very numerous family. By Lord Lake, Mr. Seton, and Sir David Ochterlony, he and his son, the present emperor, were treated with all the outward respect which even in their best days his ancestors had received from their subjects. Sir C. Metcalf, however, intrenched in many respects on these little outward marks of attention and deference, which soothed the poor old man in his inevitable dependance; and Acbar, the present emperor, is also said to have been deeply wounded by the demand of Lord Hastings to sit in his presence. He felt still more the insult of setting up his vizier, the Nawâb of Oude, as king, in opposition to him; and he was hurt by what he supposed to be a continuance of the same conduct on the part of Government, when Sir Edward Paget passed him without a visit. Under these circumstances I was glad to find that Mr. Elliott paid him

every respect, and showed him every kindness in his power. I was glad, also, that I did not omit to visit him, since, independently of the interest which I have felt in seeing the venerable ruin of a mighty stock, Mr. Elliott says that the emperor had frequently inquired whether the bishop also meant to pass him by? *

Acbar Shah has the appearance of a man of seventy-four or seventy-five; he is, however, not much turned of sixty-three, but, in this country, that is a great age. He is said to be a very good-tempered, mild old man, of moderate talents, but polished and pleasing manners. His favourite wife, the Begum, is a low-born, low-bred, and violent woman, who rules him completely, lays hold on all his money, and has often influenced him to very unwise conduct towards his children and the British Government. She hates her eldest son, who is, however, a respectable man, of more talents than native princes usually show, and, happily for himself, has a predilection for those literary pursuits which are almost the only laudable or innocent objects of ambition in his power. He is fond of poetry, and is himself a very tolerable Persian poet. He has taken some pains in the education of his children, and, what in this country is very unusual, even of his daughters. He too, however, though not more than thirty-five, is prematurely old, arising partly from the early excesses into which the wretched follies of an Eastern court usually plunge persons in his situation, and partly from his own subsequent indulgence in strong liquors. His face is bloated and pimpled, his eyes weak, and his hand tremulous. Yet, for an Eastern prince,

* In the course of his late progress through the upper provinces, Lord Amherst paid the emperor a visit; he was received by him in the hall of audience, which both parties entered at the same moment, and, after an embrace, the emperor ascended the peacock throne, and the governor-general sat down in a state chair on his right-hand. After an interchange of compliments, and the usual form of presenting attar had been gone through, Lord Amherst took leave, and was conducted by the emperor to the door of the hall. On a subsequent day the emperor returned the visit with similar ceremonies.—Ed.

as I have already observed, his character is good, and his abilities considered as above the common run.

There are, perhaps, few royal families which have displayed during their power so many vices and so few virtues as the house of Timour. Their power had been gradually declining ever since the time of Aurungzebe, and at present, Mr. Elliott once observed to me, that he could not perceive the least chance, that, supposing our empire in the East to be at an end, the King of Delhi could for a moment recover any share of authority. He did not even think that the greater princes of India, who would fight for our spoils, would any of them think it worth their while to make use of the emperor's name as a pageant to sanction their own ambitious views; and he observed that, all things considered, few captive and dethroned princes had ever experienced so much liberality and courtesy as they had from British hands, and that they could not reasonably hope to gain by any diminution of our influence in India. Yet their present circumstances are surely pitiable, as well as an awful instance of the instability of human greatness. The gigantic genius of Tamerlane, and the distinguished talents of Acbar, throw a sort of splendour over the crimes and follies of his descendants; and I heartily hope that Government will reverence the ruins of fallen greatness, and that, at least, no fresh degradation is reserved for the poor old man, whose idea was associated in my childhood with all imaginable wealth and splendour, under the name of "The Great Mogul!"

January 2.—This day, being Sunday, I confirmed about twenty persons, and I afterwards preached and administered the Sacrament, Mr. Fisher reading prayers; the congregation was numerous, and there were near forty com-

municants. In the evening also we had a good congregation. I was persecuted during a great part of the day with people who could not be persuaded that I had no interest with Government, and who, in spite of my reminding them that I knew nothing of them or their character, kept prostrating themselves before me to get recommendatory letters to this judge or that collector. Some of the better sort, such as Soobin-chund, were contented, indeed, with a sort of certificate under my seal, that they had associated with me. These I readily gratified, but this increased the clamours of the rest, till I was obliged to order the sentry at the door to turn them all away, and to admit no more natives to me on any pretence whatever. Such were the chief events of my last day in Delhi.

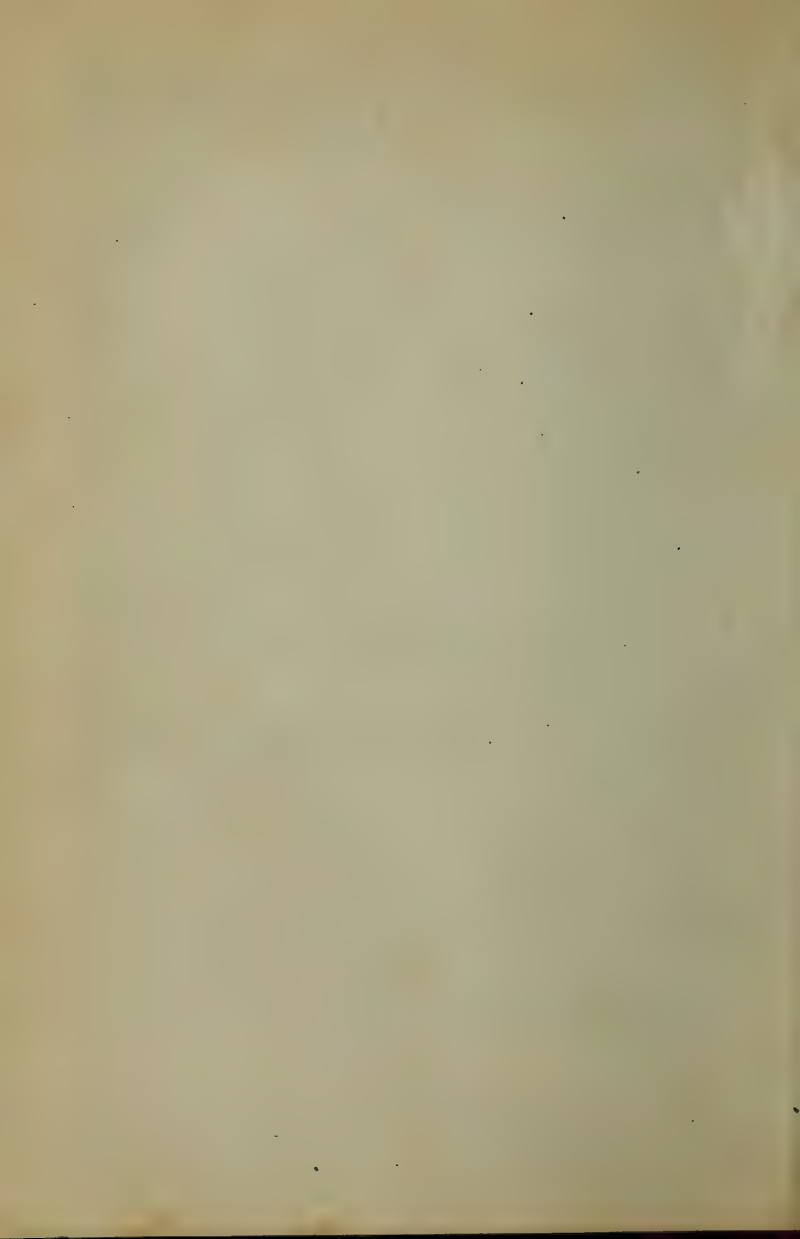
I forgot to mention in its proper place that the ornaments and shawls which I received from the emperor were valued to me at two hundred and eighty-four sicca rupees. The horse was reported to be barely worth thirty rupees, but as I declined redeeming him from the Company's hands, I never saw him.

Note.—The editor is indebted to Colonel Francklin for the following translation of the Persian inscription on Mr. Cleveland's monument at Bhaugulpoor (see p. 124.)

"This monument is erected to the memory of Mr. Augustus Cleveland, collector of Bhaugulpoor and Rajmahal, who died the 3rd of January, 1784, answering to the 2nd of the Hindoo month Poos, and 9th of the Moham-medan month Sefur, year of the Hegira 1191.

"The Zemindars of the district, and the Amleh, or native officers, of the court, in memory of the kindness and beneficence exhibited towards them by the late Mr. Cleveland, have, at their own expense, finished this monument in the month of Phagun, 1193, Tus-selle year, answering to A.D. 1786."

The dates are extracted by the operation of the numerical verse called *Abjud*.



NARRATIVE

OF

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE UPPER
PROVINCES OF INDIA,

FROM

CALCUTTA TO BOMBAY, 1824—1825,

(WITH NOTES UPON CEYLON.)

AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO

MADRAS AND THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES, 1826,

AND LETTERS WRITTEN IN INDIA.

BY THE LATE RIGHT REV.

REGINALD HEBER, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER XX.

DELHI TO AGRA.

Ruins of Toghlikabad—Visit to the Raja of Bullumghur—Dancing Girls—Nawáb of Sikre—Hindoo Pilgrimage to Bindrabund—Muttra—Sacred Monkeys—Death of one revenged—Lepers—Party of Fakirs—Escape of Trimbuk-jee—Tomb of Acbar—Public Buildings—Dewanny Aum—Tâge-Mahal—Abdul Musseeh—French in Central India.

JANUARY 3.—This morning early I sent off my tents and baggage to Furreedabad, a little town about fifteen miles from Delhi, and in the afternoon followed them on horseback, escorted by five of Skinner's horse, and accompanied by Mr. Lushington and Dr. Smith. We passed by Humaiöon's tomb, and thence through a dreary country full of ruins, along a stony and broken road marked out at equal distances of about a mile and a half, by solid circularstone obelisks, "coss-minars," erected during the prosperous times of the empire of Delhi. Half-way to Furreedabad we passed the gigantic ruins of Toghlikabad, on a hill about a coss to our right. I regretted that we could not see them nearer, but the stage was of sufficient length for our horses and the few remaining hours of daylight without this addition. Mr. Elliott described them as chiefly interesting from their vast dimensions, and the bulk and weight of the stones employed in them. They were the work of Toghloü Khân, one of the early Patan sovereigns.

Furreedabad offers nothing curious except a large tank with a ruined banquetting-house on its shore; it has a grove of tamarind and other trees round it, but no mangoes; few of these, indeed, grow in the province of Delhi, owing to the unusual multitude of white

ants, to whose increase the ruins and the dry sandy soil are favourable, and who attack the mangoes in preference to any other tree. The whole country, indeed, is barren and disagreeable, and the water bad. That of the Jumna acts on strangers like the Cheltenham waters, and the wells here are also extremely unpalatable. One might fancy oneself already approaching the confines of Persia and Arabia. Our camp is, however, plentifully supplied with all necessities and comforts, and a servant of the Raja of Bullumghur brought us some fine oranges, and at the same time told us, that his master would not suffer him to receive either payment or present for any of the supplies furnished, and only hoped that I would call at his house next morning in my way, which I readily promised to do.

The Raja of Bullumghur holds a considerable territory along this frontier as a feudatory of the British Government, on the service of maintaining two thousand men to do the ordinary police duties, and guard the road against the Mewattee and other predatory tribes. The family, and most of their people, are of the Jât race, and they have for many generations been linked by friendship and frequent intermarriages with the neighbouring Raja of Bhurtpoor, who is now our friend, but whose gallant and success-

ful defence of his castle against Lord Lake during the Maharatta war has raised the character of the Jâts, previously a very low caste, to considerable estimation for their valour in all this part of India. The present acting Raja of Bullumghur is only regent, being guardian to his nephew, a boy now educating at Delhi. I had heard the regent and his brother described as hospitable and high-spirited men, and was not sorry to have an opportunity of seeing a Hindoo court.

January 4.—A little before daybreak we set off as usual, through a country something, and but little, more fertile than that we had passed. It improved, however, gradually as we approached Bullumghur, which, by its extensive groves, gave evidence of its having been long the residence of a respectable native family. I was not, however, at all prepared for the splendour with which I was received. First, we saw some of the wild-looking horsemen, whom I have already described, posted as if on the look-out, who, on seeing us, fired their matchlocks and galloped off as fast as possible. As we drew nearer we saw a considerable body of cavalry, with several camels and elephants, all gaily caparisoned, drawn up under some trees, and were received by the raja himself, a fat and overgrown man, and his younger brother, a very handsome and manly figure, the former alighting from a palanquin, the other from a noble Persian horse, with trappings which swept the ground. I alighted from my horse also, and the usual compliments and civilities followed. The elder brother begged me to excuse his riding with me as he was ill, which, indeed, we had heard before, but the second went by my side, reining-in his magnificent steed, and showing off the animal's paces and his own horsemanship. Before and behind were camels, elephants, and horsemen, with a most strange and barbarous music of horns, trumpets, and kettle-drums, and such a wood of spears, that I could not but tell my companion that his castle deserved its name of "Fort of Spears." As we drew nearer we saw the fort itself, with high brick walls, strengthened with a

deep ditch and large mud bastions, from which we were complimented with a regular salute of cannon. Within we found a small and crowded, but not ill-built town, with narrow streets, tall houses, many temples, and a sufficient number of Brahminy bulls to show the pure Hindoo descent of the ruler. The population of the little capital was almost all assembled in the streets, on the walls, and on the house-tops, and salamed to us as we came in. We passed through two or three sharp turns, and at length stopped at the outer gate of a very neat little palace, built around a small court planted with jonquils and rose-bushes, with a marble fountain in the centre, and a small open arched hall, where chairs were placed for us. Sitrigees were laid, by way of carpet, on the floor, and the walls were ornamented with some paltry Hindoo portraits of the family, and some old fresco paintings of gods, goddesses, and heroes encountering lions and tigers.

After we had been here a few minutes a set of dancing-girls entered the room followed by two musicians. I felt a little uneasy at this apparition, but Dr. Smith, to whom I mentioned my apprehensions, assured me that nothing approaching to indecency was to be looked for in the dances or songs which a well-bred Hindoo exhibited to his visitors. I sat still, therefore, while these poor little girls, for they none of them seemed more than fourteen, went through the same monotonous evolutions which I had heard my wife describe, in which there is certainly very little grace or interest, and no perceptible approach to indecency. The chief part of the figure, if it can be called so, seemed to consist in drawing up and letting fall again the loose wide sleeves of their outer garments, so as to show the arm as high as the elbow, or a very little higher, while the arms were waved backwards and forwards in a stiff and constrained manner. Their dresses were rich, but there was such an enormous quantity of scarlet cloth petticoats and trousers, so many shawls wrapped round their waists, and such multifarious skirts peeping out below

each other, that their figures were quite hidden, and the whole effect was that of a number of Dutch dolls, though the faces of two or three out of the number were pretty. Two sung each a Persian and a Hindoostanee song, with very pleasing, though not powerful voices, after which, as the demands both of curiosity and civility were satisfied, I gave them a gratuity, as I understood was usual on such occasions, as a token of their dismissal.

After this, some cake and Persian grapes were brought in, and I took leave, having, in the civilest and most cordial way I could, declined the usual present of shawls, and accepted one of fruit and sweetmeats. On going away, I told the raja's jemautdar to come to the camp in the evening, and he and his fellow-servants should have the usual bukshish, but he answered that neither he nor any of the raja's people, except the dancing-girls, to whom it was an usual token of approbation, dared accept anything of the kind, the first instance which I had met with of a Hindoo refusing money. Soon after I had taken leave, and while we were still escorted by the Bullumghur cavalry, a message came from the raja to say that he had heard of my intended liberality to his people, but that it was his particular request that I would give nothing either to his servants or to the suwaris, whom he intended, with my leave, to send on with me as far as Muttra. Surely this is what in England would be called high and gentlemanly feeling.

On our approach to Sikre, where the tents were pitched, I found we had entered another little feudal territory, being received by about twenty horsemen, with a splendid old warrior at their head, who announced himself as the jaghiredar of the place, and holding a little barony, as it would be called in Europe, under the Company, intermixed with the larger territories of Bullumghur. Cassim Ali Khân, the Nawâb of Sikre, who thus introduced himself, was a figure which Wouwermans or Rubens would have delighted to paint, a tall, large, elderly man, with a fine countenance, and a thick and curly, but not long grey beard, on a large and

powerful white Persian horse, with a brocade turban, a saddle-cloth of tiger's skin with golden tassels which almost swept the ground, sword, shield, and pistols mounted with silver, and all the other picturesque insignia of a Mussulman cavalier of distinction. He said that he had been a tussildar in command of two hundred horse in Lord Lake's war, and had been recompensed at the end of the contest with a little territory of ten villages, rent and tax free. The raja, he said, who had two hundred and fifty villages, nearly enclosed him, but they were good friends. The raja, certainly, though his brother is a fine young man, had nothing in his whole cavalcade to equal the old nawâb's figure, which was perfect as a picture, from his bare muscular neck and his crisp grey mustachios, down to his yellow boots and the strong brown hand, with an emerald ring on it, the least turn of which on his silver bridle seemed to have complete mastery over his horse, without too much repressing its spirit. He afterwards showed me his certificates of service from Lord Lake and others, and it appeared that his character in all respects had corresponded with his manly and intelligent appearance.

At Sikre I found a letter from Mr. Cavendish, collector and magistrate of this district, saying that he was encamped in the neighbourhood, and intended to call on me next morning at our next station, at Brahminy Kerar.

January 5.—The country between Sikre and Brahminy Kerar is uninteresting enough, though rather more fertile than in the neighbourhood of Delhi. Half-way, near a village named Pulwul, we passed Mr. Cavendish's encampment, and were met by an escort of his suwaris. I had long since had my eyes pretty well accustomed to the sight of shields and spears, but I have not failed to observe that, along this frontier, which has not been till of late in a settled or peaceable state, and where hard blows are still of no unfrequent occurrence, even the police troopers sit their horses better, and have a more martial air by far than persons in the same situation in the Dooab or even in

Rohileund. I begin, indeed, to think better of the system on which the province of Delhi has been governed since its conquest, from all which I hear of its former state. This neighbourhood, for instance, is still but badly cultivated, but fifteen years ago it was as wild, I am assured, as the Terrai, as full of tigers, and with no human inhabitants but banditti. Cattle-stealing still prevails to a great extent, but the Mewattees are now most of them subject either to the British government or that of Bhurtpoor, and the security of life and property afforded them by the former has induced many of the tribes to abandon their fortresses, to seat themselves in the plain, and cultivate the ground like honest men and good subjects, while the tranquillity of the border, and the force maintained along it, prevents the Bhurtpoor marauders from renewing their depredations so often as they used to do. Highway robberies also sometimes occur, generally attended with murder; but on the whole the amendment has been great, and an European, under ordinary circumstances, may pass in safety through any part of the district. The lands are not now highly assessed, and Government has liberally given up half the year's rent in consideration of the drought. Still, however, something more is wanting, and every public man in these provinces appears to wish that a settlement for fourteen or even twenty years could be brought about, in order to give the zemindars an interest in the soil and an inducement to make improvements.

At Brahminy Kerar are a few ruins, but nothing worthy particular notice. The coss-minars still make their appearance, but at very uncertain distances, great numbers having been destroyed or gone to decay. Indeed the road does not always follow its ancient line.

January 6.—We went on eight coss to Horal. The country along the road-side is jungly, but cultivation seems rapidly gaining on it. The road-side is, in India, always the part last cultivated, the natives being exposed to many injuries and oppressions from Sepoys and travellers. I was told that for every bundle of grass or faggots

which the thannadar, or other public officer, brought to my camp, he demanded as much more from the poor peasants, which he appropriated to his own use; and that, even if I paid for what I got, it required much attention, and some knowledge of the language, to be sure that the money was not intercepted in its way to the right owner. But the common practice of the thannadar was, to charge nothing for what was furnished to the traveller, both from wishing to make a compliment to the latter (which costs him nothing), and also to take, without the means of detection, his own share of the plunder. The best way is to insist on a written bill, and request the collector afterwards to inquire of the ryots whether the money had been paid.

At Horal is a very pretty native house now uninhabited, but used as a court of justice, with a fine tank near it, both the work of a former Hindoo jemautdar, in memory of whom a small temple is raised in the neighbourhood. Within I saw the representation of four human feet, one pair larger than the other, on a little altar against the wall, and was told that it was the customary way of commemorating that the favourite wife had burnt herself with her husband. This horrible custom, I am glad to find, is by no means common in this part of India; indeed, I have not yet found it *common* anywhere except in Bengal, and some parts of Bahar.

January 7.—From Horal to Dhotana, in the province of Agra, is seven coss, a wild but more woody country than we had lately traversed. By woody, as distinct from jungle, I mean that a good many fine trees were seen. At Dhotana I saw the first instance of a custom which I am told I shall see a good deal of in my southern journey,—a number of women, about a dozen, who came with pitchers on their heads, dancing and singing, to meet me. There is, if I recollect right, an account of this sort of dance in "Kehama." They all professed to be "gaopiaree," or milk-maids, and are, in fact, as the thannadar assured me, the wives and daughters of the Gaowala caste. Their voices and style of singing were by no

means displeasing; they had all the appearance of extreme poverty, and I thought a rupee well bestowed upon them, for which they were very thankful. There are many indications, along all this route, of great distress and poverty arising from the long drought, but less, very far less, than to the north of Delhi; and what is remarkable, there are few professed beggars or fakirs. Those who have recently asked for charity have been poor women with young children, or men wandering, as they say, in search of work.

We were this day met by some swarms from the judge of Agra, and I therefore dismissed the horse of Bulumghur. To take with me more than enough was only burdening the people, and since I was not to pay them, I apprehended they were not sorry to receive their dismissal. I sent with them a letter of thanks to the raja.

January 8.—From Dhotana to Jeyt, the next stage, is a long sixteen miles, through a wild country. On our left, at a distance of two or three miles, we passed Bindrabund, a large town on the banks of the Jumna, celebrated among the Hindoos for its sanctity, and the wealth of its pagodas. I was sorry that I could not visit it, but I believe there was not really much to regret. The buildings are ancient, but all mean; and the peculiarities of the place are chiefly its amazing swarms of sacred monkeys, and the no less amazing crowd of filthy and profligate devotees, who crowd round every stranger, not so much asking as demanding alms. Through all this country, indeed, notwithstanding its vicinity to the capital of Islam in the East, Hindooism seems to predominate in a degree which I did not expect to find. Few or none of the people have Mussulman names; there are abundant pagodas, and scarcely one mosque, and I have seldom seen any peasantry with so many Brahminical or Rajpoot strings among them. The villages and jungles near them are all full of peacocks, another symptom of Hindooism, since the Mussulmans would soon make havoc among these beautiful but well-tasted birds. Most of the names which I have heard are followed

by the affix of "Singh," a lion: this ought to belong to the Rajpoots alone, but at present all the Jâts claim it, as well as the Seiks, who, as having relinquished Hindooism, have no apparent right to any distinction of the kind. I know not whether this may be regarded as additional grounds for the suspicion which I have some time entertained, that the distinction of caste weighs less on men's minds than it used to do.

But though I was easily reconciled to the omission of Bindrabund, all my party were not so, and five Sepoys applied for leave to go there, promising to rejoin me at Muttra, a permission which I readily gave them. This, however, was followed by a similar request from more than half my little army, with the venerable soubahdar at their head, besides the goomashta of the camels, and my sirdar-bearer. This was inconvenient, but it was not easily avoided. Some of them were Brahmins, some Rajpoots, some had vows on them, and all were so deeply impressed with the sanctity of Bindrabund, that they were extremely anxious not to pass it by. I gave, therefore, my acquiescence with a good grace, reminding them only that they must rejoin me on Sunday evening, as I meant to make no halt in Muttra.

January 9, Sunday.—From Jeyt to Muttra is about four coss, the country still wild, but apparently more fertile than most of what we had lately seen. Half-way are the ruins of a very large and handsome serai. At this place I was met by Colonel Penny, the commandant of Muttra, with several other officers, who rode with us through the town. Muttra is a large and remarkable city, much revered by the Hindoos for its antiquity and connection with many of their legends, more particularly as the birth-place of their fabulous Krishna, or Apollo. In consequence it swarms with paroquets, peacocks, Brahminy bulls, and monkeys, which last are seen sitting on the tops of the houses, and running along the walls and roofs like cats. They are very troublesome, and ad-

mitted to be so by the Hindoos themselves, but so much respected that a few years since, two young officers who shot at one near Bindrabund were driven into the Jumna, where they perished, by a mob of Brahmins and devotees. In other respects, also, Muttra is a striking town, and a good deal reminded me of Benares, the houses being very high, with the same sort of ornaments as in that city. There is a large ruinous castle on the shore of the Jumna, and a magnificent though dilapidated mosque, with four very tall minarets. In the centre, or nearly so, of the town, Colonel Penny took us into the court of a beautiful temple, or dwelling-house, for it seemed to be designed for both in one, lately built, and not yet quite finished, by Gokul Pattu Singh, Sindia's treasurer, and who has also a principal share in a great native banking-house, one branch of which is fixed at Muttra. The building is enclosed by a small but richly-carved gateway, with a flight of steps which leads from the street to a square court, cloistered round, and containing in the centre a building, also square, supported by a triple row of pillars, all which, as well as the ceiling, are richly carved, painted, and gilt. The effect internally is much like that of the Egyptian tomb, of which the model was exhibited in London by Belzoni; externally the carving is very beautiful. The cloisters round were represented to us as the intended habitation of the Brahmins attached to the fane; and in front, towards the street, were to be apartments for the founder in his occasional visits to Muttra.

The cantonments are separated from the rest of the town by a small interval of broken ground covered with ruins. The buildings are very extensive and scattered over a wide plain, but the greater part of them unoccupied, the forces now maintained here not being half so numerous as they used to be before the establishment of Nusseerabad and Neemuch, and the consequent removal of our advanced corps to a great distance westward. Still Muttra is an important station, from the vicinity of many wild and independent, though, at

present, friendly rajas, and from its forming a necessary link between Agra and the northern stations.

We breakfasted with Colonel Penny, who had provided an empty bungalow for Divine service. I had a congregation of about twenty-five persons, six of whom staid for the Sacrament, and I afterwards baptized some children. A miserable leper came soon after to ask alms, who said he had heard of my passing through the country, and had come two days' journey to beg from me. He was quite naked except a very small rag round his waist; his fingers had all nearly rotted off, and his legs and feet were in a wretched condition. I have seen, I think, fewer of these objects in Hindostan than in Bengal, but those I have seen are in every respect most pitiable. In addition to the horrors of the disease itself, the accursed religion of the Hindoos holds them out as objects of heaven's wrath, and, unless they expiate their sins by being buried alive, as doomed in a future life to Padalon! They are consequently deprived of caste, can possess no property, and share far less than most other mendicants in the alms which Hindoo bounty dispenses in general with a tolerably liberal hand.

About two o'clock the soubahdar and the other pilgrims returned in high spirits, having all bathed and gone through the necessary ceremonies. I completed their happiness for the day by an arrangement which I made, that a guard of honour, which Colonel Penny had assigned me, should stand sentry during my stay in Muttra, so that my escort should have the evening and night to themselves. There was no fear of this permission being abused; they were all tired,—they had eaten their meal,—and the only further thing they desired was to sleep the twelve hours round.

We dined with Colonel Penny and met a numerous party of officers. The chief subjects of conversation were Nusseerabad, whither I was going, and which several of the party had recently left, and the late attack and plunder on Calpee. Of Nusseerabad the most dismal account was given, as a barren

plain on the verge of the great salt desert, with very little water, and that little bad, and only one single tree in the whole cantonment. I know not from what singular fatality it has arisen, that almost all the principal establishments of the English in India have been fixed in bad situations. The reason which I have heard given is the unwillingness of Government to interfere with the comforts of their subjects, or to turn out people from their farms and villages, which has compelled them to fix on spots previously uninhabited and untilled, which of course, in an anciently-peopled country, have generally been neglected in consequence of some natural disadvantage. But it would be so easy, at a moderate rate, to recompense any zemindar or ryot whom a new cantonment inconvenienced, and the bad effects of an unwholesome, or otherwise ill-situated station, are so great, that this is a reason which, though it was gravely given, I could hardly hear with gravity. The fact, however, is certain; Secrole, the cantonments at Lucknow, nay, Calcutta itself, are all abominably situated. I have heard the same of Madras; and now the lately-settled cantonment of Nusseerabad appears to be as objectionable as any of them.

The affair at Calpee has excited great surprise not unmixed with alarm. Many of the party maintained that Sindia was at the bottom of the transaction, and that it was the harbinger of a new war in central India; but one gentleman, who came lately from Mhow, had no suspicion of the kind; and though he thought it not unlikely that the marauders in question had been assembled in Sindia's territories, he did not think that the Maharaja was himself inclined to break with us.

January 10.—This morning's stage was eight coss, to a small village called Furrah; it is built in a great measure within the enclosure of what has been, evidently, a very extensive serai, whose walls seem to have been kept up as a defence to the village. They have, however, not been its only defence, since on a little hill immediately above it is a square mud fort, with a round

bastion at each flank, and a little outwork before the gate. It is now empty and neglected, but has evidently been in recent use, and might easily be again put into sufficient repair to answer every purpose for which such a little fortress could be supposed calculated. Most of the villages in this part of Hindostan were anciently provided with a similar fastness, where the peasantry, their families, and cattle, might seek refuge in case of the approach of robbers or enemies. The strength of the British Government, and the internal peace which has flowed from it, have made these precautions, as well as the walls and towers of the greater towns, be almost universally neglected, though the recent misfortune at Calpee appears to prove that such means of defence may yet occasionally have their value.

The people and tussildar of Furrah were very dilatory in bringing supplies, and the Sepoys were so cold, hungry, and indignant, that I thought there would have been broken heads. The tussildar at length made his appearance in a hackery hung with red cloth, and drawn by two very fine bullocks, which trotted almost as well as the common horses of the country. He was followed by the usual aids, and matters were reconciled. The peasantry, my servants complained, were not only negligent, but uncivil, and seemed to have heard, probably, an exaggerated statement of the sack of Calpee.

Soon after we had encamped, a numerous party of fakirs, and other similar vagabonds, like us, as it seemed, on their travels, appeared, and pitched their tents at a little distance. Dr. Smith foretold that we should lose some property by this contiguity, but there was no avoiding it, since neither in law nor justice could men in the open field object to others, travelling like themselves, taking up their abode in the same vicinity. In one respect they gave us less trouble than might have been expected, since they did not beg. A party of them, however, came forwards with a musician, and a boy dressed up in adjutant's feathers, with a bill of the same bird fastened to his

head, asked leave to show off some tricks in tumbling and rope-dancing. On my assenting, in less time than I could have supposed possible, four very long bamboos were fixed in the ground, and a slack-rope suspended between them, on which the boy, throwing off his bird's dress, and taking a large balancing-pole in his hand, began to exhibit a series of tricks which proved him to be a funambulist of considerable merit. He was a little and very thin animal, but broad-shouldered and well made, and evidently possessed of no common share of strength as well as of agility and steadiness. Meantime, while he was gambolling above, the musician below, who was an old man, and whose real or assumed name was Hajee Baba, went through all the usual jests and contortions of our English "Mr. Merryman," sometimes affecting great terror at his companion's feats and the consequence of his falling,—sometimes bidding him "Salam to the Sahib Log," or challenging him to still greater feats of agility and dexterity.

Our road, during great part of this day's journey, had lain by the side of the Jumna; which is here very pretty, a wide and winding stream, with woody banks, and the fields in the vicinity more fertile and green than any which I have for a long time looked on. We saw a small vessel with masts and sails dropping down the river; but, except during the rains, its navigation is here so tedious and uncertain that few boats ever come up so high.

I heard this morning an account which interested and amused me, of the manner in which the Maharatta chief, Trimbuk-jee, whom I saw a prisoner at Chunar, had effected his escape from the British the first time he was seized by them. He was kept in custody at Tannah, near Bombay; and while there, a common-looking Maharatta groom, with a good character in his hand, came to offer his services to the commanding officer. He was accepted, and had to keep his horse under the window of Trimbuk-jee's prison. Nothing remarkable was observed in his conduct, except a more than usual

attention to his horse, and a habit, while currying and cleaning him, of singing verses of Maharatta songs, all apparently relating to his trade. At length Trimbuk-jee disappeared, and the groom followed him; on which it was recollected that his singing had been made up of verses like the following:

"Behind the bush the bowmen hide,
The horse beneath the tree;
Where shall I find a knight will ride
The jungle paths with me?
There are five and fifty coursers there,
And four and fifty men;
When the fifty-fifth shall mount his steed,
The Deckan thrives again!"

This might have been a stratagem of the Scottish border, so complete a similarity of character and incident does a resemblance of habit and circumstance produce among mankind.

January 11.—This morning we arrived at Secundra, nine coss from Furrab, a ruinous village and without a bazar, but remarkable for the magnificent tomb of Acbar, the most splendid building in its way which I had yet seen in India. It stands in a square area of about forty English acres, enclosed by an embattled wall, with octagonal towers at the angles surmounted by open pavilions, and four very noble gateways of red granite, the principal of which is inlaid with white marble, and has four high marble minarets. The space within is planted with trees and divided into green alleys, leading to the central building, which is a sort of solid pyramid surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends in a square platform of white marble, surrounded by most elaborate lattice-work of the same material, in the centre of which is a small altar tomb, also of white marble, carved with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the material, and to the graceful forms of Arabic characters which form its chief ornament. At the bottom of the building, in a small but very lofty vault, is the real tomb of this great monarch, plain and unadorned, but also of white marble. There are many other ruins in the vicinity, some of them apparently handsome, but Ac-

bar's tomb leaves a stranger little time or inclination to look at anything else. Government have granted money for the repair of the tomb, and an officer of engineers is employed on it. A serjeant of artillery is kept in the place, who lives in one of the gateways; his business is to superintend a plantation of sissoo-trees made by Dr. Wallich. He says the soil does not appear to suit them; they grow, however, but by no means rapidly. For fruit-trees, particularly the orange, the soil is very favourable, and the tall tamarinds and the generally neglected state of the garden afford more picturesque points of view than large buildings usually are seen in.

The next morning, January 12, we proceeded to Mr. Irving's house, near Agra, about six miles, through a succession of ruins, little less continuous and desolate than those round Delhi. I noticed, however, that some of the old tombs have been formed into dwelling-houses, and Mr. Irving's is one of this description. I found there a very comfortable room prepared for myself, with plenty of space in the compound for my encampment.

In the evening I went with Mr. Irving to see the city, the fort, and the Jumna Musjeed. The city is large, old, and ruinous, with little to attract attention beyond that picturesque mixture of houses, balconies, projecting roofs, and groups of people in the Eastern dress, which is common to all Indian towns. The fort is very large and ancient, surrounded with high walls and towers of red stone, which command some noble views of the city, its neighbourhood, and the windings of the Jumna. The principal sights, however, which it contains, are the Motee Musjeed, a beautiful mosque of white marble, carved with exquisite simplicity and elegance, and the palace built by Achar, in a great degree of the same material, and containing some noble rooms, now sadly disfigured and destroyed by neglect, and by being used as warehouses, armories, offices, and lodging-rooms for the garrison.

The hall, now used as the "Dewanny Aum," or public court of justice, is a

splendid edifice, supported by pillars and arches of white marble, as large and more nobly simple than that of Delhi. The ornaments, carving, and Mosaic of the smaller apartments, in which was formerly the zennanah, are equal or superior to anything which is described as found in the Alhambra. The view from these rooms is very fine, at the same time that there are some, adapted for the hot winds, from which light is carefully excluded. This suite is lined with small mirrors in fantastic frames; a cascade of water, also surrounded by mirrors, has been made to gush from a recess at the upper end, and marble channels, beautifully inlaid with cornelians, agates, and jasper, convey the stream to every side of the apartment. In another of the towers are baths of equal beauty; one of which, a single block of white marble, Lord Hastings caused to be forced up from its situation, not without considerable injury both to the bath itself and the surrounding pavement, in order to carry it down to Calcutta. It was, however, too heavy for the common budgerow in use on the Jumna, and the bath remains to shame its spoliator. Should the plan, which has been often talked of, of having a separate government for Central India, ever be carried into execution, this would unquestionably be the Government House. It might still be restored at less expense than building a new residence for the governor; and there is, at present, no architect in India able to build even a lodge in the same style. The Jumna Musjeed is not by any means so fine as that of Delhi. It is very picturesque, however, and the more so from its neglected state, and the grass and peepul-trees which grow about its lofty domes.

Archdeacon Corrie's celebrated convert, Abdul Musseeh, breakfasted this morning at Mr. Irving's; he is a very fine old man, with a magnificent grey beard, and much more gentlemanly manners than any Christian native whom I have seen. His rank, indeed, previous to his conversion, was rather elevated, since he was master of the jewels to the Court of Oude, an appoint-

ment of higher estimation in Eastern palaces than in those of Europe, and the holder of which has always a high salary. Abdul Musseeh's present appointments, as Christian missionary, are sixty rupees a month, and of this he gives away at least half! Who can dare to say that this man has changed his faith from any interested motives? He is a very good Hindoostanee, Persian, and Arabic scholar, but knows no English. There is a small congregation of native Christians, converted by Mr. Corrie when he was chaplain at Agra, and now kept together by Abdul Musseeh. The earnest desire of this good man is to be ordained a clergyman of the Church of England; and if God spares his life and mine, I hope, during the Ember weeks in this next autumn, to confer orders on him. He is every way fit for them, and is a most sincere Christian, quite free, so far as I could observe, from all conceit or enthusiasm. His long Eastern dress, his long grey beard, and his calm resigned countenance, give him already almost the air of an apostle.*

January 13.—I went to see the celebrated Tâge-mahal, of which it is enough to say that, after hearing its praises ever since I had been in India, its beauty rather exceeded than fell short of my expectations. There was

* Abdul Musseeh was converted to Christianity, and baptized in the Old Church at Calcutta, when he was about forty years of age. He was, subsequently, employed for eight years by the Church Missionary Society as catechist, and received Lutheran ordination in the year 1820, from the hands of the Missionaries of that Society. In December, 1825, the Bishop conferred on him, together with three other Missionaries, the rite of Episcopal ordination; the Articles, the various oaths, and the ordination service, having been translated, for his use, into Hindoostanee. The Bishop also read a considerable part of the ceremony in that language. Abdul Musseeh, immediately after, went to Lucknow, where he resided, with the exception of a visit to Cawnpore, till his death, which happened on the 4th of March, 1827, occasioned by mortification proceeding from a neglected carbuncle. The resident, Mr. Ricketts, who had always behaved to him with the utmost kindness and liberality, read the burial service at his grave, and ordered a monument to be erected to his memory, with an inscription in English and Persian. Among other bequests, Abdul Musseeh left his books to the Bible Society.—ED.

much, indeed, which I was not prepared for. The surrounding garden, which, as well as the Tâge itself, is kept in excellent order by Government, with its marble fountains, beautiful cypresses and other trees, and profusion of flowering shrubs, contrasts very finely with the white marble of which the tomb itself is composed, and takes off, by partially concealing it, from that stiffness which belongs more or less to every highly-finished building. The building itself is raised on an elevated terrace of white and yellow marble, and having at its angles four tall minarets of the same material. The Tâge contains, as usual, a central hall about as large as the interior of the Ratcliffe library, in which, enclosed within a carved screen of elaborate tracery, are the tombs of the Begum Noor-jehan, Shahjehan's beloved wife, to whom it was erected, and by her side, but a little raised above her, of the unfortunate emperor himself. Round this hall are a number of smaller apartments, corridors, &c., and the windows are carved in lattices of the same white marble with the rest of the building, and the screen. The pavement is in alternate squares of white, and, what is called in Europe, Sienna marble; the walls, screens, and tombs are covered with flowers and inscriptions, executed in beautiful Mosaic of cornelians, lapis-lazuli, and jasper; and yet, though everything is finished like an ornament for a drawing-room chimney-piece, the general effect produced is rather solemn and impressive than gaudy. The parts which I like least are the great dome and the minarets. The bulbous swell of the former I think clumsy, and the minarets have nothing to recommend them but their height and the beauty of their materials. But the man must have more criticism than taste or feeling about him, who could allow such imperfections to weigh against the beauties of the Tâge-mahal. The Jumna washes one side of the garden, and there are some remains of a bridge which was designed by Shahjehan, with the intention, as the story goes, to build a second Tâge of equal beauty for his own sepa-

rate place of interment, on the opposite side of the river.

On that side are some interesting ruins of other structures, more especially the tomb of Etmun ud Dowlah, prime-minister of Shahjehan. It is said to be very beautiful, but I did not see it, since during the rest of my stay at Agra I was confined by a feverish cold, and was barely able to go out on Friday to hold a confirmation, with a voice more completely lost than I ever remember happening to me before. I received very great kindness and hospitality from Mr. and Mrs. Irving; and on Sunday, though against Dr. Smith's advice, I preached and administered the Sacrament, and did not feel myself the worse for it.

The number of persons confirmed was about forty, half of whom were native Christians, mostly old persons and converts of Mr. Corrie's during his residence here. Abdul Musseeh told me there were a good many more scattered up and down in the neighbouring towns of Coel, Allyghur, and Etwah, whither he went from time to time, but who were too far off to attend on this occasion. Of several he spoke as elderly persons, who had been in the Maharatta service during Penn's time, of European extraction, but who knew no language but Hindoostanee, and were very glad to have religious instruction afforded them in that language. Many of them gladly attend on his and Mr. Irving's ministry; but others are zealous Roman Catholics, and adhere closely to the priest of Agra.

One of these Indo-Europeans is an old colonel, of French extraction, but completely Indian in colour, dress, lan-

guage, and ideas. He is rich, and has a large family of daughters, two or three of whom he has married, rather advantageously, to some of the wealthy country-born English. But no man is allowed to see any of these young ladies till he has had his offer accepted by the father, and till it is perfectly understood that he is pledged to marry one of them. He is then introduced behind the purdahs of the zennanah, and allowed to take his choice! The poor girls, of course, are never once consulted in the transaction. Mr. Irving celebrated one of these marriages, at which, except the bride, no female was visible, though he was told that the rest were allowed to peep from behind the curtains.

I took this opportunity of inquiring in what degree of favour the name of the French stood in this part of India, where, for so many years together, it was paramount. I was told that many people were accustomed to speak of them as often oppressive and avaricious, but as of more conciliating and popular manners than the English sahibs. Many of them, indeed, like this old colonel, had completely adopted the Indian dress and customs, and most of them were free from that exclusive and intolerant spirit which makes the English, wherever they go, a caste by themselves, disliking and disliked by all their neighbours. Of this foolish, surly, national pride, I see but too many instances daily, and I am convinced it does us much harm in this country. We are not guilty of injustice or wilful oppression; but we shut out the natives from our society, and a bullying, insolent manner is continually assumed in speaking to them.

CHAPTER XXI.

AGRA TO JYEPOOR.

Preparations for the Journey through the independent States of Western India—Futtehpoor—City of Achar—Great Mosque—Palace—Bhurtpoor—Mode of sinking Wells—Letter from the Raja of Bhurtpoor—Good state of his Country—Sir David Ochterlony—Sir John Malcolm—Wuerh—Mowah—Frontier of Jyepoor—Idol carried to Bindrabund—Deosa—Hindoo Festival—Arrival at Jyepoor.

JANUARY 7.—I sent off my tents this morning to a small village about nine miles from Agra, and two on the Agra side of the little town of Kerowlee, and drove over myself in the afternoon. I had found it necessary, during my stay at Agra, to make many alterations in, and some additions to, my usual domestic arrangements, preparatory to leaving the Company's territory, for my long journey through the independent states of Rajpootana, Meywar, &c. My tents were only adapted for cold weather, and would prove a very insufficient protection against either the sun or the storms of central India, being of European construction, and formed simply of one fold of thin canvas lined with baize. The necessity being admitted by all parties, I purchased two, which were on sale in the city, on the Company's account, there being none of any sort at the dépôt. My new lodgings were not so roomy or convenient as my old, but they answered very well, and everybody tells me I shall find the advantage when the hot winds begin to blow. Another necessary was a fresh supply of live stock. I had before been content to carry a few fowls on the back of one of the camels, and to trust to the supplies which the villages afforded for a kid or a sheep occasionally. But we were now going to countries where no Mussulmans are found, where there are few great cities, and a very scattered population of villages, who consume no animal food themselves,—who have no supplies

of the kind for strangers,—and, above all, who are now in a state of absolute famine. And though by myself, it must be a desolate country indeed where I should feel want, I was bound to consider that I was not alone, and that my companions also required attention. I was advised to buy some sheep, which were to be driven with us and killed as they were wanted. These, with some salt beef and tongues, were thought sufficient to carry us to Guzerat. At Nusseerabad no supplies of any kind are to be looked for. A solar hat and green shade were next recommended, and pressed on my acceptance by the kindness of Mrs. Irving. A spare saddle, and a store of horseshoes, were also declared to be necessary, and, in short, so many things were to be procured, that, had I been actually going into the interior of Africa, a less formidable preparation might, I should have thought, have sufficed. Some of my bearers, too, declared they neither would nor dared go beyond the limits of the Company's raj! This was at first likely to be the greatest difficulty of all, since there were at Agra none to be obtained who would undertake to go further than Nusseerabad, and there there are absolutely none to be had. A small advance of wages, however, induced most of them to promise anew they would "follow me to the world's end." The very deep and difficult wells which I am told to expect in our progress to the south-west made it necessary for me to hire another bheestie,

to draw water for myself and my horses. All these difficulties I had little doubt that I should find extremely exaggerated; but I was compelled, in my local ignorance, to follow the opinions of those who had local knowledge, and who evidently considered my journey as one of an arduous nature.

For the alarm and reluctance expressed by the natives of Hindostan to go into these western states many good reasons may be given. But a very few years have passed away since the British Government had neither influence nor authority in these districts, which, between the Maharattas, the Rajpoots, the Mewattees, and the Seiks, were in a constant state of intestine war, and as dangerous for travellers as the interior of Arabia is at this moment. At that time a person wishing to go into these provinces could not, as I am assured, have obtained bearers for less than eight or ten rupees a month; and the merchants travelled in caravans, paying high rates for protection to every little plundering raja. Now the Maharattas are subdued and driven out of the country, —the Mewattees are in a great measure reclaimed,—the Seiks are fully employed at home, and the Rajpoot princes and nobles are kept in awe by British residents and British garrisons;—it still, however, is spoken of as a wild, dreary, and inhospitable country, where provisions and water, fruit and forage, are scarce,—where thieves are numerous, and regular inhabitants few,—where a servant must look for inconvenience and fatigue, and where he can expect few of those circumstances of amusement or gratification which, in Hindostan proper, make many of this class of men prefer a rambling to a settled and stationary service. I was told to expect at this place a great desertion of my Bengalee servants also. But nothing of the kind has occurred: even if they talk with some dismay of accompanying me through the desert and over the sea, they like still less the notion of finding their own way back to Calcutta. They all say they never heard of such a journey as mine before, and that “neither mountains nor anything else stand in my way.” This is all absurd

enough at the present moment; but the recollection of where I am, and the circumstances of convenience and safety under which I have traversed, and am about, if it please God, to traverse regions which are laid down as a terra incognita in Arrowsmith's map of 1816, ought to make, and I hope does make, a strong impression on my mind of thankfulness to that Great God, whose providence has opened to the British nation so wide and so untried a field of usefulness,—and of anxiety, lest we should any of us, in our station, fall short of those duties which this vast increase of power and dominion imposes on us. I am often ready to break into lamentations that, where so much is to do in my own peculiar profession, the means at my disposal enable me to accomplish so little. But I ought to be anxious, far more, not to fall short in my exertions of those means which I have, and to keep my attention steadily fixed on professional objects, in order that what I cannot do myself I may at least lead others to think of, and perhaps to accomplish.

The thannadar of Kerowlee is a very intelligent old soldier, with certificates of good conduct from all the officers of distinction who commanded in Lord Lake's Maharatta war, and able to speak of most of the events which occurred in it. I was sorry to find that during the early part of that war, some of the British officers disgraced themselves by rapacity and extortion. Such instances, I believe and hope, are now neither of frequent nor easy occurrence.

January 18.—We went on this morning to Futtehpoor-sicri, about ten miles, through a verdant and tolerably well-cultivated country, but with few trees. We passed Kerowlee, a small town, with a ruined rampart and towers, seated on a low gravelly hill, with a few poor attempts at gardens round it. The country all seemed to have benefited greatly by the late rain, which is still standing in pools in many parts of the road. There had, indeed, been more, and more recent rain here than what we saw in Delhi. The approach to Futtehpoor is striking: it is sur-

rounded by a high stone wall, with battlements and round towers, like the remaining part of the city walls at Oxford. Within this is a wide extent of ruined houses and mosques, interspersed with fields cultivated with rice and mustard, and a few tamarind-trees; and nearly in the middle, on a high ridge of rocky hills, is a range of ruinous palaces, serais, and other public buildings, in the best style of Mussulman architecture; and to form the centre of the picture, a noble mosque, in good repair, and in dimensions equal, I should think, to the Jumna Musjeed of Delhi.

This town was the favourite residence of Acbar; and here, in his expeditions, he usually left his wives and children, under the care of his most trusted friend, Sheikh Soliman. The mosques, the palace, and the ramparts, are all Acbar's work, and nearly in the same style with the castle of Agra and his own tomb at Secundra. The two former are, however, plainer than this last, and there is a far less allowance of white marble.

We found our tents pitched among the ruins and rubbish, about a bow-shot from the foot of the hill, and in full view of the great gate of the mosque, which is approached by the noblest flight of steps I ever saw. The morning was still cool, and we determined to see the curiosities without loss of time. The steps of which I have spoken lead to a fine arch surmounted by a lofty tower; thence we pass into a quadrangle of about five hundred feet square, with a very lofty and majestic cloister all round, a large mosque surmounted by three fine domes of white marble on the left hand; and opposite to the entrance two tombs of very elaborate workmanship, of which that to the right contains several monuments of the imperial family; that to the left a beautiful chapel of white marble, the shrine of Sheikh Soliman, who had the good fortune to be a saint as well as a statesman.

The impression which this whole view produced on me will be appreciated when I say, that there is no quadrangle either in Oxford or Cam-

bridge fit to be compared with it, either in size, or majestic proportions, or beauty of architecture. It is kept in substantial repair by the British Government, and its grave and solid style makes this an easier task than the intricate and elaborate inlaid work of Secundra and the Tâge-mahal. The interior of the mosque itself is fine, and in the same simple character of grandeur; but the height of the portal tower and the magnificence of the quadrangle had raised my expectations too high, and I found that these were the greatest as well as the most striking beauties of Futtehpoor.

A little to the right is the palace, now all in ruins except a small part which is inhabited by the tussildar of the district. We rambled some time among its courts, and through a range of stables worthy of an emperor, consisting of a long and wide street, with a portico on each side, fifteen feet deep, supported with carved stone pillars in front, and roofed with enormous slabs of stone, reaching from the colonnade to the wall. There are four buildings particularly worthy of notice, one a small but richly-ornamented house, which is shown as the residence of Beerbal, the emperor's favourite minister, whom the Mussulmans accuse of having infected him with the strange religious notions with which, in the latter part of his life, he sought to inculcate his subjects. Another is a very beautiful octagonal pavilion in the corner of the court, which appears to have been the zennanah, and was variously stated to us to have been the emperor's private study, or the bedchamber of one of his wives who was a daughter of the Sultan of Constantinople. It has three large windows filled with an exquisite tracery of white marble, and all its remaining wall is carved with trees, bunches of grapes, and the figures of different kinds of birds and beasts, of considerable merit in their execution, but the two last disfigured by the bigotry of Aurungzebe, who, as is well known, sought to make amends for his own abominable cruelty and wickedness towards his father and brothers, by a more than usual zeal for the tradi-

tions and observances of Islam. The third is a little building which, if its traditional destination be correct, I wonder Aurungzebe allowed to stand. It consists merely of a shrine or canopy supported by four pillars, which the Mussulman ciceroni of the place pretend was devoted by Acbar to the performance of magical rites. Whatever its use may have been, it is not without beauty. The fourth is a singular pavilion, in the centre of which is a pillar or stone pulpit richly carved, approached by four stone galleries from different sides of the room, on which the emperor used to sit on certain occasions of state, while his subjects were admitted below to present their petitions. It is a mere capriccio, with no merit except its carving, but is remarkable as being one of the most singular buildings I have seen, and commanding from its terraced roof a very advantageous view of the greater part of the city, and a wide extent of surrounding country.

Of this last much appears to have been laid out in an extensive lake, of which the dam is still to be traced, and the whole hill on which the palace stands bears marks of terraces and gardens, to irrigate which an elaborate succession of wells, cisterns, and wheels appears to have been contrived adjoining the great mosque, and forcing up the water nearly to the height of its roof. The cisterns are still useful as receptacles for rain-water, but the machinery is long since gone to decay. On the whole, Futtehpoor is one of the most interesting places which I have seen in India, and it was to me the more so, because, as it happened, I had heard little about it, and was by no means prepared to expect buildings of so much magnitude and splendour.

Mr. Lushington was forced to leave me to return to Lucknow, and we parted with mutual hopes that we might often meet again, but in India how many chances are there against such hopes being accomplished! If his health is spared he will, I hope and believe, be a valuable man in this country, inasmuch as he has memory, application, good sense, excellent principles, both religious and moral; and,

what I have seldom seen in young Indian civilians, a strong desire to conciliate the minds and improve the condition of the inhabitants of the country.

After dinner I again walked to the mosque and went to the top of the gateway tower, which commands a very extensive view. The most remarkable object in the distance was the rampart of Bhurtpoor; eight coss from us, and hardly to be distinguished by the naked eye, but sufficiently visible with a pocket telescope. A number of miserable dependents on the religious establishment came up and begged for charity. One was blind, but officiated as porter so far as keeping the keys of the tower and other lock-up places. Another was deaf and dumb, and filled the place of sweeper; there were also some poor old women who "abode," as they told me, "in the temple gate, and made prayer night and day." These people, as well as the two principal muezzins, who had been my ciceroni through the day, were very thankful for the trifles I gave them, and begged me in return "to eat some of the bread of the sanctuary," under which character they produced a few little round cakes of barley-meal, stuck over with something like sugar. On leaving the building I was surprised to hear a deep-toned bell pealing from its interior, but on asking what it was, was told that it was only used to strike the hours on. Had I not asked the question, I might have been tempted to suppose (with the ingenious Master Peter in Don Quixote's celebrated puppet-show) that "the Moors really used bells in their churches as well as the Christians." As it was, the sound had a pleasing effect, and increased the collegiate character of the building.

January 19.—We rode this morning ten miles through a tolerably-cultivated country, but strangely overspread with ruins, to a large dilapidated village named Khanwah. In our way we had a heavy shower of rain, and rain continued to fall at intervals through the greater part of the day. On my arrival at Khanwah, I found that this place, though laid down in Arrow-

smith's map as within the British boundary, was in truth a part of the territory of Bhurtpoor, and that for the two following marches I should also be under the raja's authority. Ignorant of this circumstance myself, I had omitted to procure a purwanu, which might have been obtained in a few hours from his vakeel resident in Agra, and without which none of his officers were likely to give me any assistance in my progress through his country; the people were civil, but pleaded that they had received no notice or instructions concerning my arrival, and that, without orders, they could not venture to levy the necessary supplies on the peasants, who, on the other hand, were not willing to sell the grass and fuel which they had collected for their own use, unless they were called on to do so in a lawful manner. At last, after a good part of the morning had passed away, the zemindar of the place, a venerable old man like a middling farmer, took the business on himself, and supplied us from his own stores, on the assurance not only of payment, but of a letter of recommendation to the civility and kindness of any English who might pass that way. The business was thus settled for the day, but in order to prevent its recurrence the next morning, I sent a letter to the raja, in which I explained who I was, and requested him to give the needful purwanu to the bearer. It was despatched by the most intelligent of the judge's people to the court of Bhurtpoor.

Khanwah is at the foot of a remarkable ridge of grey granite, which protrudes itself, like the spine of a huge skeleton half buried, from the red soil and red rock of the neighbourhood. On its top is a small mosque, and, though in a Hindoo country, the great majority of the inhabitants of this village are Mussulmans. As I passed through the principal street in my evening's walk, I saw a very young man naked and covered with chalk and ashes, his hair wreathed with withered leaves and flowers, working with his hands and a small trowel in a hole about big enough to hide him if he

stooped down. I asked him if he were sinking a well, but a by-stander told me that he was a Mussulman fakir from the celebrated shrine near Agmere, that this was his dwelling, and that he used to make a fire at the bottom and cower over it. They called this a Sutte, but explained themselves to mean that he would not actually kill, but only roast himself by way of penance. I attempted, as far as I could, to reason with him, but obtained no answer except a sort of faint smile. His countenance was pretty strongly marked by insanity. I gave him a few pice, which he received in silence, and laid down on a stone, then touched his forehead respectfully, and resumed his work, scraping with his hands like a mole.

The houses in this neighbourhood are all of red sandstone, and several of them are supported by many small pillars internally, and roofed with large stone slabs laid from one pillar to the other. Wood is very scarce and dear. There were no boughs to be had for the elephants and camels, to which, therefore, it was necessary to give an extra supply of gram, and the only fuel which could be found for our camp was dried cow-dung. There are, however, a few scattered trees here and there, one belonging to a species of fir which I had never before seen, and on the road from Futtehpoor we passed a fine mangoe-tree, the first I had seen since leaving Delhi, except in the gardens of Secundra and the Tâge.

The wells of this country, some of which are very deep, are made in a singular manner. They build a tower of masonry of the diameter required, and twenty or thirty feet high from the surface of the ground. This they allow to stand a year or more, till its masonry is rendered firm and compact by time, then gradually undermine and promote its sinking into the sandy soil, which it does without difficulty and all together. When level with the surface they raise its wall higher, and so go on, throwing out the sand and raising the wall till they have reached the water. If they adopted our method, the soil is so light that it would fall in

on them before they could possibly raise the wall from the bottom, nor without the wall could they sink to any considerable depth. I forgot to mention that the day before we left Agra, the poor camel-driver, whom I had left in a jungle-fever at Moradabad, arrived safely and in restored health to join me. He had been very ill, and spoke with extreme gratitude of the kindness shown him by the staff-surgeon, Mr. Bell, who had, he said, taken great care of him, and had now procured him from the commissariat an advance of part of his pay, and a camel to ride on for his journey from Moradabad hither. It was pleasing to see the joy with which this lad was received by his comrades, who had given him up for lost. I wrote to Mr. Bell to thank him.

January 20.—Before daybreak this morning, I was told that a vakeel from the Raja of Bhurtpoor had arrived with a letter and present of fruit from his master. The messenger announced himself as treasurer to the raja. He was a very tall and fine-looking old man, handsomely dressed, but with a small train of attendants. He expressed the raja's regret that I did not intend to visit Bhurtpoor, and the pleasure which he had promised himself in showing me some good hunting. The letter was enclosed in a silk bag, and sealed with a broad seal like that of an university diploma. The vakeel said that he had orders to attend me in my remaining progress through the Bhurtpoor territories to procure supplies, but seemed surprised on finding that I meant to proceed to Pharsah that day. He said, however, that he would follow me as soon as his cattle could travel, and of course I did not wish to hurry him, particularly since the suwarr had gone on directly from Bhurtpoor to the encamping ground with all necessary powers. The vakeel had travelled, not on horseback, but in a covered carriage drawn by oxen.

From Khanwah to Pharsah is reckoned seven coss. The coss in this neighbourhood are long, and the distance, so far as I could judge, is above fourteen miles. The country, though

still bare of wood, has more scattered trees than we had seen for many days back, and notwithstanding that the soil is sandy, and only irrigated from wells, it is one of the best cultivated and watered tracts which I have seen in India. The crops of corn now on the ground were really beautiful; that of cotton, though gone by, showed marks of having been a very good one; what is a sure proof of wealth, I saw several sugar-mills, and large pieces of ground whence the cane had just been cleared, and, contrary to the usual habits of India, where the cultivators keep as far as they can from the highway, to avoid the various molestations to which they are exposed from thieves and travellers, there was often only a narrow pathway winding through the green wheat and mustard crop, and even this was crossed continually by the channels which conveyed water to the furrows. The population did not seem great, but the few villages which we saw were apparently in good condition and repair, and the whole afforded so pleasing a picture of industry, and was so much superior to anything which I had been led to expect in Rajpootana, or which I had seen in the Company's territories since leaving the southern parts of Rohileund, that I was led to suppose that either the Raja of Bhurtpoor was an extremely exemplary and parental governor, or that the system of management adopted in the British provinces was in some way or other less favourable to the improvement and happiness of the country than that of some of the native states.

What the old jemautdar of Khanwah said as to the rent he paid to Government, and the answers which he made to some questions put to him, were not, however, such as would lead one to expect an industrious or prosperous peasantry. No certain rent is fixed by Government, but the state takes every year what it thinks fit, leaving only what, in its discretion, it regards as a sufficient maintenance for the zemindars and ryuts. This is pretty nearly the system which has produced such ruinous effects in Oude, but which is of course tempered in these

smaller states by the facility of bringing complaints to the ear of the sovereign, by the want of power in the sovereign himself to withstand any general rising, to which his tyranny might in the long run drive his subjects, and most of all, by the immediate and perceptible loss of income which he would sustain, if by dealing too hard with any particular village, he made its inhabitants emigrate to the territories of his neighbour. Nor must the old hereditary attachment be lost sight of, which makes the rulers or subjects of a Jât or Rajpoot state regard each other as kindred, and feel a pride, the one in the power and splendour of a chief who is the head of his clan, the other in the numbers and prosperity of those who constitute his society and court in time of peace, and in war his only army.

The contingent which Bhurtpoor is bound to bring to the aid of the British Government in case of war on this frontier is 700 horse; but on necessity the raja might, I should conceive, raise many more, since the much smaller state of Bullumghur rated its means at 500 cavalry and 1500 infantry. The standing army of Bhurtpoor, however, probably falls short of 300 men. No more, indeed, are necessary than will suffice for the purposes of state, and to keep down robbers, and the raja may be supposed to lay by a considerable surplus revenue.

The present raja is said to be a young man of very pleasing manners and address. During the Pindarree war he came in person to Lord Hastings's camp with his contingent, but expressed considerable uneasiness as to the light in which he might possibly be regarded by the British Government, and how far his father's gallant and successful defence of Bhurtpoor might be remembered to his disadvantage. He was much tranquillized on being told that his tribe and himself were only the more respected and confided in by their present allies, for the bravery and fidelity which they had shown to their former Maharatta suzerains, and the perfect system of non-interference, which has been since pursued towards him, is said to have gone

far to remove whatever jealousy might still be lurking in his mind. At present there seems no doubt that all the smaller princes of this part of India have been great gainers by the rise of the British power on the ruins of that of Sindia and Holkar. They have all of them peace and tranquillity, which for many years they had never enjoyed for three months together. Many have had additional territory given them, and all have their revenues in a more flourishing state than they had been in the memory of man. The organization, therefore, of this new confederacy, if it may be called so, may seem to be the most brilliant and successful measure of Lord Hastings's administration, and one from which, as yet, almost unmingled good has flowed to the people and nobles of Western and Central Hindostan. I confess I am tempted to wish that more of the country over which our influence extends were divided into similar fiefs and petty feudal lordships.

Sir David Ochterlony, who, as agent to the Governor-General, is the common arbitrator and referee in the disputes of these little sovereigns, is said to maintain an almost kingly state. His income from different sources is little less than 15,000 s. rupees monthly, and he spends it almost all. Dr. Smith, in his late march from Mhow to Meerut, passed by Sir David's camp. The "burra sahib," or great man, was merely travelling with his own family and personal followers from Delhi to Jyepoor, but his retinue, including servants, escort, European and native aides-de-camp, and the various non-descripts of an Asiatic train, together with the apparatus of horses, elephants, and camels,—the number of his tents, and the size of the enclosure, hung round with red cloth, by which his own and his daughter's private tents were fenced in from the eyes of the profane, were what an European, or even an old Indian, whose experience had been confined to Bengal, would scarcely be brought to credit. All this is at least harmless, and so far as it suits the habits and ideas of the natives themselves, it may have a good effect.

But in Agra and Delhi, though Sir David is uniformly spoken of as a kind, honourable, and worthy man, I was shocked to find that the venality and corruption of the people by whom he is surrounded was a matter of exceeding scandal. Against one of his moonshes it appears he had been frequently warned without effect, till at length, in the course of a casual conversation with the emperor's treasurer, Sir David found to his astonishment, that his own name stood as a pensioner on the poor old sovereign's civil list, to the amount of 1000 rupees monthly! The moonshes had demanded it in his master's name; to refuse was out of the question, and delicacy had prevented the emperor from naming the subject to the person whom, as he supposed, he was laying under an obligation! So careful ought public men in India to be that their servants do not abuse their authority. But, how great must be the difficulties attendant on power in these provinces, when, except Sir John Malcolm, I have heard of no one whom all parties agree in commending! His talents, his accessibility, his firmness, his conciliating manners, and admirable knowledge of the native language and character, are spoken of in the same terms by all.

The village of Pharsah stands on the side of a small hill of sandstone, below which winds what is now a dry expanse of sand, but in the rainy season is said to be a considerable nuddee. The village contains a fortified house of the raja's, now empty and ruinous, but built in by no means a bad taste, and having its surrounding court ornamented with a range of handsome stone cloisters, lining the inside of the mud rampart.

In the evening we walked into the neighbouring fields, the greater part of which were covered with beautiful crops of green wheat. The soil is, however, mere sand, but under the sun of India, even sand becomes fertile by irrigation. So sensible are the people of this truth, that, notwithstanding the recent rains, we found them everywhere busy with their bullocks at the wheels of their wells, raising water to their "gools" (small channels), which

convey its rills to their fields. The work is toilsome, and must be expensive, but both labour and expense are amply repaid by such crops as their fields now promise. I observed that the men who were filling the gools had their spears stuck in the ground close to them. I asked if this were a necessary precaution, and was told that "now the times were so peaceable there was no fear, but that the dustoor had begun in time of trouble, and it was well to keep it up lest trouble should come again." Travellers, as a matter of course, are all armed, but the peasantry, in general, do not wear so warlike an aspect as those of Oude. I had heard a different account of them, but ten years' peace are already enough to have produced a considerable effect on their habits and feelings.

I saw a great number of pea-fowl and of the beautiful greenish pigeon common in this country. Both the one and the other were as tame as the tamest barn-door fowl, and scarcely troubled themselves to get out of the way. Dr. Smith observed that he had never seen a peacock with its train displayed. This, if generally true, is a curious fact, for their feathers and their habits in other respects resemble exactly those of Europe. They are a great ornament to the country.

The Jât women are, I think, rather taller and more robust than those of Hindostan; they are all dressed in red shawl-like mantles, which have a better appearance than the dirty and coarse cotton cloth which the Hindoostanee and Bengalee females wrap round them. We were now completely out of the regular dâk, but the raja's vakeel undertook to forward some letters for me to Agra, which city he called Acbarabad.

January 21.—From Pharsah to Wuerh is five long coss, during which we gradually approached one of the chains of low hills I have mentioned; they are very naked and sandy. The plain was not so well cultivated as that over which we had passed the day before, and seemed to have suffered from drought. We saw two large spaces enclosed with mounds of earth,

with good stone sluices, which appeared to have been tanks, but were now quite dry, and partially cultivated within with wheat and cotton. A large herd of deer were grazing on the plain; they were perfectly tame, and allowed us to ride up near enough to examine them with ease. One of the males was very beautiful, and of a singular colour, pieballed black and white, like what are called in England blanket cows. The others were dappled red with white bellies as usual.

We overtook a body of people going to a marriage, with a couple of large banners, two kettle-drums on a camel, several horns, and other musical instruments, and two or three hackeries full of men with pink turbans and holiday faces. Our falling in with them was lucky, since we had lost our way, and none of our horsemen could give any guess at the situation of Wuerh. About a mile further, however, an extensive line of groves came into view, and showed that we were approaching a place of some consequence, while the care with which every foot of ground was enclosed and improved, spoke well for the industry of its inhabitants. We found it a large town, surrounded by a high mud rampart, at the gate of which we were stopped by a decent-looking elderly man, who salamed to me, and said that I should find my tents by following a path which he pointed out among the orchards and gardens outside the wall. The truth, however, appeared to be that he did not like us to enter his fortress, for it was not till we had nearly gone half round the town, that we found the tents pitched in a fine tope, at a short distance from the gate directly opposite to that which he had prevented us from entering. If he feared to put us in possession of the plan of his castle, he could not, as it happened, have taken a better way to enable us to gain all the military knowledge which was necessary, since our path wound close under the wall, and we saw all its principal flanks and lines of defence. The wall is of earth, high and steep, well flanked by semicircular bastions, with a wide but shallow ditch filled up in several places, and without

a glacis. If well defended, it would scarcely yield to a coup de main, but might be breached, I should think, in a few hours. There were loopholes for musketry in the parapets of the bastions, but I saw no cannon. The rampart was in many places much decayed, but bore evident marks of having recently received considerable repairs,—a measure which may have been suggested either by the disastrous reports with regard to the British arms in the east, which had been so industriously circulated, or still more likely, by the quarrel between the Rannee of Jyepoor and the British resident, and the retreat of the latter from the city. It is not necessary to suppose, as some of the Europeans in Agra do, that if our Government had really tottered, the Raja of Bhurtpoor would have rejoiced in an opportunity of helping it down the hill. However well he may wish us (and he has been, certainly, a gainer by our predominance), in a time of universal war and trouble, such as would probably follow our evacuation of this part of the country, it would be highly desirable that his castles should be found in a state of good repair. And this is a sufficient motive for the repairs which I saw at Wuerh.

The grove where the tents were pitched was so close and shady that it would have been delightful during the warmer months; as it was, I should have preferred the plain, for it was so dark in my tent that I could hardly see to write. There was, however, no choice of situation, since the plain for a considerable distance round the town was so highly cultivated, and so much enclosed, that no room could have been found for our cofilah.

As we wound round the rampart to reach the camp, we passed a number of huts occupied by the "chumars" (leather dressers) and other Hindoos of low caste, who follow professions regarded as unclean by the majority of their countrymen, and are therefore not admitted into any of their towns. Leprous persons lie under the same exclusion, and many gipseys are usually found among this mingled and refuse population, which is generally as im-

moral as it is degraded and unfortunate. The suburbs of the ancient cities of the Jews seem to have been almost similarly inhabited, and I was forcibly struck to-day (as I rode through the huts of which I have spoken, and saw the filthy swine, the dogs gnawing the carcasses of different animals, and the flaunting dress and unequivocal air of the miserable, ragged, and dirty females) with that passage in the Revelations, which, though figuratively applied to the pure discipline of the Christian Church in its state of glory, is obviously taken from the police of a well-regulated earthly city in that age and country. "There shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth." "For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie."

I had been much plagued ever since I left Meerut and Delhi by different persons, who, under the name of "expectants," or "candidates," had attached themselves to the camp, and solicited me, day after day, either to take them into my service, or, which was still more impossible, to recommend them to the service of some other person. This practice arises, no doubt, out of the vast and overflowing population of India, abounding as it does beyond its due proportion, in persons of a certain degree of education, who are unable or indisposed to earn their bread by manual labour, and who, therefore, have no resource but as the servants of great men, or moonshees in some Government office. The number of these petitioners is an exceeding plague to all public men in the north of India, where they often attach themselves to the door of a cutcherry for weeks and months together. Several of this description followed me from Meerut to Delhi, including among them a fine showy fellow, a captain of irregular horse, who would not believe that I did not mean to levy a body-guard to attend me across the wilderness to Bombay. I was able, as it happened, to do this poor man, who was well recommended, a good turn, which, though it freed me from his company,

had rather the effect of attracting others, who followed me on foot and in misery, and who seemed to think that by wearing out their shoes and spending all their little money in my train, though without any invitation and against my repeated warnings, they established some claim on me to provide for them. At the frontier all dropped off except one, a candidate for a moonshee's place, the gradual deterioration of whose outward man had been for some time back lamentable enough. When he first preferred his suit at Meerut he was decently dressed, had a good pony, and had himself that appearance of sleekness and good keep, which in the opinion of a native of this country is almost synonymous with respectability. He and his horse were now lean, his clothes were becoming daily dirtier and more threadbare, and a silver-hilted sword was the only remaining memento of the fact that he pretended to the character of a gentleman and a man of letters. I asked him this morning "how long he intended to travel the same way with me," to which he replied, that "he was my devoted servant, that he had thrown himself on my pity, and relying on that, had spent every farthing he possessed, and might as well go on with me till he dropped, as die of hunger in the attempt to return to his wife and children at Meerut. If, indeed, I would but give him a letter"—I told him "*that* I could not do," but offered him a few rupees to get him out of the difficulty to which his own folly had conducted him. He seemed grateful for the money, but still continued so importunate either for employment or a recommendation, to which he would not perceive that my ignorance of his character was any bar, that I was at length obliged to have him turned out of my tent by "the strong hand." Surely this is a sort of mendicant of which we have no experience in England!

In my evening's walk the old vakeel came out to meet me, and inquired which way I chose to go. I asked if anything was to be seen in the city; to which he answered, with more readiness than his previous conduct had led

me to expect, "that there were things worth seeing." We set out, therefore, towards the gate, over some very solid and well-executed works of stone for carrying water to irrigate the neighbouring gardens. I remarked to the vakeel the extent and apparent expense of these canals, and he told me that they had been made at the expense of the Maharaja's father. We entered the city by a solidly-built arch of stone, with a strong timber iron-clenched door, secured externally by a rude earthen ravelin or barbican, and approached by a narrow stone bridge. The guards at the gate were not above ten or twelve, pretty nearly such peasants as I had seen in the fortress in Oude, with the exception of one sentry, who had on an old Sepoy's red jacket, got up, as I suspect, for the purpose of this visit. They received us not with the Mussulman salutation of "Salam alicum," but with the Hindoo "Ram! ram!" a greeting which I had never before heard except from the Brahmins in Benares, and from the lowest rank in some other parts of India. Here, however, we were in a Jât country, and the Arabic salutation would be unnatural. Within the gate nothing was at first visible but a narrow bazar with its usual accompaniments of mud huts, heaps of grocery, fat bunyans, scolding women, Brahminy bulls, and all uncleanness. But the raja's chobdar led the way to what the vakeel told us beforehand was a fine flower garden, and which certainly far exceeded my expectation. Through a narrow gate we passed into a small courtyard with a very handsome Hindoo house of stone, coated with marble chunam in front of it, and were then led into an extremely pretty, though not large garden, watered by stone channels, conducted from a large chunam tank with several fountains round it. Some of the trees were of great size and beauty, and the whole place, though evidently uninhabited, was kept in substantial repair, and not the less beautiful in my eyes, because the orange-trees had somewhat broken their bounds, the shade of the flowering plants assumed a ranker luxuriance,

and the scarlet blossoms of the pomegranate trailed more widely across our path, than was consistent with the rules of exact gardening. At the further end of the garden we found ourselves on the edge of a broad moat, with some little water still in it, surrounding an old stone-built castle, with round towers and high ramparts of stone. From the side of the town which we approached in the morning, it had been only partially visible, nor did I then suspect the existence of anything of the kind, though I now recognised one of the highest turrets as having, on my approach to the gates, caught my eye over the mud walls; the water was low, and this part of the scene had a dull and melancholy character. We repassed, through a small, but elegantly-carved gateway, into the city, where we first saw two high arches, carved with gods and goddesses, erected we were told in order to hang swings on. A small college was then shown us of religious mendicants, or "viragies," and this concluded the list of rarities in Wuerh, with which I had been greatly interested, the more so, probably, because I had been in no degree prepared for them, Wuerh being at a distance from any great road, and its existence very little known: It is only lately, indeed, that this country has been at all visited by, or accessible to, Europeans; and Deeg, whose palace and gardens are compared to the finest things of the kind in Agra, though only two marches from Muttra, is in like manner quite a new discovery. Zealous Hindoos as the Jâts are, they seem to agree very well with the Mussulmans. Many of this latter sect live in Wuerh, and their priest, an infirm old man, a descendant, as he said, of Mahomet, came to pay his compliments to me, and to offer the usual salutation of holy bread and sweetmeats.

The raja's chobdar desired and received his dismissal here, but the vakeel said he had orders to see me across the frontier at Peshawer. The chobdar had a handkerchief of printed cotton round his neck which was obviously of English manufacture. I notice this because I had remarked few symptoms

of our commerce having penetrated thus far for some time before, nor in so remote and secluded a district should I have expected it. I returned an answer by the chobdar to the raja's letter, enclosed in due form in a kincob* bag with gold strings, and with as large a seal as my Episcopal arms could supply.

January 22.—From Wuerh to Mowah is about sixteen miles. Nearly half-way is a large village, or small town, named Peshawer, very prettily situated on the side of a little rocky eminence, with a ruinous palace on its summit, and surrounded by trees partly planted in regular topes, partly scattered, as in England, over a considerable extent of arable and pasture land. There were some large herds of deer seen under the most distant shades, the fruit-trees near the village swarmed with peacocks, and the little rocky hills, through the soft fleecy mist of the morning, assumed a consequence which did not really belong to them. Peshawer, as a frontier town of this little monarchy, was guarded by a small body of suwaris, whose horses were picqueted under some trees in its market-place, and the men were lounging up and down in the usual picturesque groups which soldiers generally form when off duty. They were tall, bony men, in short jackets of French grey, but sufficiently slovenly and irregular in their appearance. Their long spears, which were ranged before their little guard-house, were the most military part of the show. There appeared to be also a custom-house, for a good many waggons loaded with cotton were drawn up in the street, as if to pay toll. The duties exacted from foreign commerce by these petty states are, as might be expected, exceedingly high, and being farmed out to persons who are under no sufficient control, the burden on the merchant is such as, in many places, to have put an entire stop to trade, and to all travelling, except of such persons as are either exempt from duty, or have nothing of which they can be plundered.

* A sort of gold brocade, very rich, and worn only by natives of high rank.—Ed.

A few, and only a few, of the native princes have, at different times, perceived their own interest in this respect. Whether Bhurtpoor belongs to the number I do not know, but a considerable trade appeared, from all which we saw at Peshawer, to pass through it. From Peshawer to Mowah the country was not so well cultivated, though still very tolerably so, and there were many plain indications that abundant rain had recently fallen.

Mowah, the frontier village of Jyepoor, has a large mud fortress with six bastions; and on the hill at about two miles' distance was another and, apparently, a more considerable castle. We were now, indeed, in a country where, till very lately, a fort was as necessary to the husbandman as a barn in England. The incursions of the Pindarees, it is true, did not often extend quite so far as we now were, but they were not unknown, and the army of Ameer Khān, as rapacious, as bloody, as perfidious as any Pindarree, was often, for months together, in the heart of the country. The reputation of the Jāts for courage appears to have preserved them, in part, from the worst of those horrors to which the Rajpoots, feeble and disunited, were exposed; and now, even in Jyepoor, the family may go to rest in peace, and with a tolerable security against murder, torture, and violence. Still, however, in so low a state of society, it is chiefly to a man's own sword that he must look to guard his head, and cattle-stealing and highway robbery are hardly accounted crimes. At Wuerh we saw all the cows, sheep, and goats, carefully driven into the city about sunset; and here, and southwards into Malwah and the Deckan, as I am informed, no night passes but

“The frighten'd flocks and herds are pent
Beneath the Peel's rude battlement.”

At Mowah we found a vakeel from the Rannee of Jyepoor waiting my arrival, with an escort of twenty horse, and a letter from Colonel Raper, the resident. From the vakeel we learnt that Sir David Ochterlony was still at Jyepoor, in high friendship with the

rannee, and occupying apartments in her palace; and that the rannee had obtained from the British Government all the points for which she had contended, and more particularly the recognition of her favourite as prime-minister. The concession of such a point, after her outrageous conduct towards Colonel Raper, and after the positive appeal to arms which had been made by both parties, is a sufficient evidence of the difficulties in which Government found themselves a few months ago. For me, however, it is fortunate, since, had the war continued, I could not have visited Jyepoor, and it is even probable that I should have found great difficulty in passing through any part of the western and southern provinces.

In the afternoon we took our usual walk through the town, attended by my silver-sticks, the rannee's vakeel, with three or four chuprassees, the two duffuldars of our horse, the old soubahdar, and the goomashta. I have no liking for all this train, which, on this occasion, was even greater than usual, and had the additional effect of drawing after us two or three score boys. Still it is *dustoor*, and to emancipate oneself from it would require more trouble than it does to submit to it. The town is small, but has a tolerably good bazar, in the shops of which I saw cutlery, ornaments of gold and silver, and shawls, as well as the usual more rustic commodities of cotton, corn and flour, ghee, and coarse cloth. Yellow seems the most prevalent colour for all garments in this neighbourhood, being the cheapest and most durable. The beautiful red and carmine tints with which we sometimes see the cloth dyed soon wear or wash out, and are obliged to be frequently renewed, which is, however, done without difficulty. A pair of common blankets of the same colour and appearance, but coarser and thinner than those of England, cost one rupee and a half. I bought them for my horses, the nights having lately been really cold, and Dr. Smith assures me that on the high level of Central India we shall find it cold all next month. In the course of our

walk we passed a sugar-mill of good construction, with a stone to grind the canes.

This evening our good, careful, old soubahdar had a parade of his men, and a general inspection of their arms. The muskets were all loaded and fresh flinted, and at night, instead of the usual three or four sentries, he made twenty men bivouac in two parties of twelve and eight to the north and south of our little encampment. I told him that I thought two additional sentries would be sufficient, observing that we were in a peaceable country. He shook his head, and said that it was never so peaceable but that people ought to be on their guard; that the Raja of Bhurt-poor was a good friend, but that such friends as we were now with were all the better for being well watched. In short, he evidently did not much like his neighbours. I here dismissed the five suwaris who had been lent me by the judge of Agra; the party of Colonel Skinner's men would find their way better home from Jyepoor, and I therefore still keep them. If there was danger, indeed, of which I see no probability, they would be far more to be trusted than the rannee's horsemen.

January 25.—This morning, being Sunday, was a halting-day. Before breakfast I took a walk towards the rocks, and that more particularly on which the fortress stands which I have described. I went alone by my express desire, but I was perceived and followed by the two orderly Sepoys, who overtook me before I had got half-way across the plain. I asked them why they came, to which they replied that "it was not fit I should go alone." Others, indeed, seemed to be of the same opinion, for before I reached the further village two of Colonel Skinner's men and the chobdar came running after me. For all this I am convinced there was not the smallest need, since, during the half hour that I was by myself, I had met some of the inhabitants, and found them perfectly civil and ready to answer all my questions. But when people give themselves trouble out of good-will, it is impossible to find fault with them.

Thus reinforced, I walked through this village, which its people called Ramghur, to the rock on which their castle stands. This last, unlike the fort of Mowah, is built of stone, with six round towers, perched on a steep eminence, with a double embattled wall stretching down one side to a wall at its foot. I had no great curiosity to see the inside, but the Sepoys said they were sure I should not be refused permission, and even doubted whether the place was occupied. I climbed up, therefore, by a steep winding path, at first among cottages, then through the tangled branches of fruit-trees and underwood, and lastly, through some ruined outworks, till I came to the strong iron-clenched door of the fortress. This, too, stood ajar, but I no sooner put my head through it, than two or three men, who were lying down within, started up in great confusion, and gave the alarm, on which ten or twelve more ran forwards and inquired what I wanted? I asked if I might see the inside of the castle, to which the principal person answered with joined hands, and very respectfully, that he could not let any one enter without orders. The Sepoys began to remonstrate, and the "killedar" (governor of a fort) was evidently confused, and might, I have no doubt, have been prevailed on. But it was really very little worth while, and I did not like to expose the poor man to the chance of a reproof from his superiors, or to excite any jealousy of the people among whom we were, by expressing curiosity about their means of defence. I therefore turned round to go down the hill, on which the defenders of the fort shut their door with exceeding good-will, and I heard them drawing all the bolts one after the other. From the rocks, without the rampart, I had as extensive a view as I could desire over a level country, interspersed with similar little eminences, each, as well as I could perceive, with its village and its castle. The principal chain of hills runs pretty nearly north and south.

On my return, by a different track across the plain, I passed several wells, with oxen and men at work, drawing

water for the fields. The vakeel met me half-way, and expressed concern that I had met with any hindrance in visiting the fort. He seemed, however, well pleased with the indifference which I expressed. The night had been very clear and cold, but after breakfast it again began to rain, and continued cold and drizzling the greater part of the day. Soon after I had read prayers, the vakeel called to say that he would fine, or punish in any other way which I thought best, the killedar and his men for repelling me from the fort of Ramghur. Of course, I told him that these people, not knowing who I was, did no more than their duty, and that I was not at all displeased with them. This, I suppose, satisfied him: indeed, I exceedingly doubt whether, if I had been fool enough to insist on their being punished, such chastisement would ever have been inflicted. I received in the afternoon a message from Colonel Raper, with some baskets of bread and fruit. The bread came at a very good time, as we were just commencing on a course of Hindoostanee chapaties, which are not a very good substitute.

A Brahmin, with a very large tumor on his wrist, came to ask medical aid. Dr. Smith said it would certainly kill him by degrees, unless his hand was cut off, to which the poor man readily agreed, and said he would follow us to Jyepoor, where Dr. Smith undertook to perform the operation, and I promised him two anas a-day for his maintenance during the journey. He seemed very thankful to us both, and said he would bring his wife with him to nurse him and dress his victuals. He was much comforted too, by my telling him that there were many Brahmins in my party. Indeed I had no doubt that they would take very good care of him. It is pleasant to think that our halt this day in his village may have been the means of preserving his life, by encouraging him to apply for help.

The weather clearing up a little in the evening, we were surprised to see, on looking out of our tents, a camp near us still larger than mine, with an elephant feeding under the trees, some

carts covered with red cloth, a large doubled-poled tent, and a considerable body of horsemen with their spears planted in the ground, and their lean bony chargers tethered in two lines. On inquiry we found that the maharannee had vowed a golden image to a shrine at Bindrabund, and that "his lordship the idol" (to use the expression of the vakeel, "Moorud Bahadur") was going to his destination under the care of one of her confidential servants. The principal of the rutts, which had struck our notice, was for his conveyance. Some of "his lordship's" escort came up to say that they were to join me next day, and to be relieved in their present service by a part of the troops now in Mowah. The man who said this was a striking specimen of a Rajpoot chief, young and handsome, but dirty in his dress, boisterous in his manner, talking with a great deal of gesticulation, many winks, nods, beckonings, and other marks of intelligence, and more than half drunk. All the Rajpoots are said to be addicted to opium, and the appearance of these men was far more that of robbers than soldiers, and strikingly inferior, not only to Skinner's men, but to the Jâts of Bullumghur. In the course of the evening some of them straggled into the camp, professing in the dusk to have mistaken it for their own. a blunder which occasioned a good deal of merriment to our Sepoys, who, apparently with truth, ascribed it to intoxication.

In the course of the day I overheard a conversation among the people of the village, in which they compared the present peaceable times with those in which "Ameer Khân and Bappoo Sindia came up with their horsemen and spoiled all the land, and smote all the people, and burnt the cities through Meywar and Marwar, till thou comest unto the salt wilderness." I give their own words; but what struck me most of all, "corn," they said, "had been getting gradually cheaper, and notwithstanding the late unfavourable season, was still not so dear as it used to be in the years of trouble." When such have been the effects of British supremacy,

who will refuse to pray for the continuance of our empire? Rain came on again as night closed in.

January 24.—We proceeded to Maunpoor, eight long coss, through an open sandy country. About half-way we passed a chain of hills at a place called Balaherry. The hill-tops are thickly studded with castles, some of them of a considerable size and extremely like buildings of the same kind in England. We passed no fewer than seven in the day's march. The rocks, where visible through the sand and withered herb-age, are granite. To the west of the hills we found a plain similar to that which we had left, but I think rather more elevated. It is traversed by a river, now indeed completely dry, called Maungunga, but which, from the width of its bed, must be, during the rains, a very considerable torrent.

The night had cleared up, and the morning was cool and bracing. The breakfast-tent had not been able to set out so early as usual, and we arrived on our encamping ground at the same time with the people. The spot fixed on was a dry elevated plain about a quarter of a mile from the little town of Maunpoor, without any trees, which at this season of the year are not required, but with a large well close to us, of the water of which the Sepoys took care to taste, before the place of encampment was determined on. The rannee's horsemen again pitched by themselves, and close to the town. I had found them, during the march, civil and communicative, but so ill-mounted that they could hardly keep up with us. I asked their leader some of the usual questions about game, &c. He said there were many deer, but those of his caste never killed any. All animals, indeed, here seem to feel that man is not their enemy. The partridges repeatedly crossed the road close to our horses' hoofs, the deer raised their heads to look at the cavalcade, and stooped them down to graze again, and the peacocks were quite as tame as in a barnyard. I would not, on any account, except real want of food, have broken this harmony, or injured this unsuspecting confidence.

Maunpoor is a small town on the plain, surrounded by a mud wall, with eight semicircular bastions, and a ditch now dry, but the works are in bad repair. If the present tranquillity were to last ten or fifteen years, it is to be doubted whether any mud forts would remain in the country, save those which the old families of rank and feudal pride might still keep up as monuments of old times. Still there are every year quarrels among some or other of these Rajpoot nobles, and no season, I am told, has yet passed in which the troops at Nusseerabad have not been called out as peace-makers, or to inflict chastisement. This is not the case in Malwah, where Sir John Malcolm has established the territorial arrangement on so firm a basis, that not a musket has since been fired there except against professed and public robbers.

About noon this day I had an unpleasant discussion with the vakeel, who would not authorise our mohouts and suwaris to cut boughs for the elephants and camels in the neighbourhood of the camp, but told them they might go to a wood six miles distant, which it was impossible for them to do. The men, in consequence, went to look out for themselves in the environs of a deserted village near us, and while thus engaged were attacked and beaten by some country people. I found that the vakeel's reluctance arose from the superstitious veneration which all over India is paid by the Hindoos to the peepul-tree, which was the only description of tree proper for our purpose in any part of this neighbourhood. I offered, if he would procure a supply of sugar-cane, meal, and bran sufficient to feed the animals, to let the trees alone, but this it seemed the village could not afford. He said we might, if we pleased, cut the trees with the "strong hand," without regarding the murmurs of the villagers. But this was exactly what I wished to avoid, and to prevent the necessity of which the rannee had sent him to attend me. I urged that I did not require him or any of his people to cut the sacred tree for us, but that I insisted on his sending a chuprassee with my people to acquaint the ran-

nee's subjects, that they were her guests, and acting by her authority. He at length yielded, and abundance of forage was brought in without further difficulty. But it is evident that our present guide falls as far short of the Bhurtpoor vakeel in honesty, good manners, and obliging temper, as he does in lofty stature and prepossessing countenance. He is of the "kayt," or writer caste, and I have seldom seen a face in which meanness and low cunning were more legibly written.

The night was clear and very cold, at least for the plains of India. A little after midnight two of the tattoos broke loose, and made their escape to the plain,—a circumstance the more vexatious, since their riders, my chobdar and sotaburdar, were, from lameness and age, unqualified for foot marches. I was obliged, therefore, to leave them behind with two or three Jyepoor horse to assist in catching their animals.

We ourselves proceeded (*January 25th*) to Doobee, six coss. The country has certainly very much deteriorated since we left the Bhurtpoor territory, though still it is not unpleasant to travel through; we continued at times to fall in with the bed of the Maungunga, on examining which more closely I saw that a stream still continued to force its way under the sand, distinguishable by the line of verdure which its secret rills kept alive amid the surrounding barrenness. In fact, I understand that by digging a few feet in the bed of any of these streams, water may usually be procured at all seasons of the year. Some of the rannee's suwaris were now changed for others much better mounted and equipped, and the cavalcade was considerably more respectable, though Skinner's horse still kept up their decided superiority.

Doobee is a small town or rather village, fortified with more care and on a better principle than any I had yet seen. A few pieces of ordnance were visible on the bastions; and the place was calculated to defy the attacks of Ameer Khân and his whole army, and, if well defended, to require a regular siege even from European troops.

The neighbourhood, however, from its nakedness, seems to have suffered severely from the Pindarrees and other enemies, and the insecurity of property is sufficiently shown by the fact, that during the two last days we have seen no scattered dwellings, and no village without its means of defence. Forage was not to be had here either for elephants or camels; but the vakeel, on whom my recent remonstrance seems to have produced some effect, had provided a good stock of "boosa," as well as of dried cow-dung for fuel.

The grass, when we set out this morning, was crisp with hoar-frost, and my people complained that it was as cold as if they were still in Kemaon. I did not quite agree with them; but it certainly was cold enough to make our morning ride agreeable, and to give an appetite for breakfast as keen as I ever felt in England. The kindness of my friends in Delhi and Agra had supplied us with an excellent stock of what is called hunters' beef; and we were supplied with some very fresh and tolerably well-tasted butter from the village—a circumstance which I mention because in Hindostan out of the large towns butter, save in the form of ghee, is seldom or never to be procured.

About eleven o'clock the lost ponies, to my great satisfaction, made their appearance. They had strayed to a considerable distance, and would not perhaps have been so easily recovered had they been very much worth stealing.

In the evening we walked to a pretty little Hindoostanee tomb about a mile off, consisting of an octagonal cupola raised on pillars, with a basement story containing apartments for a Brahmin and his family. A young man, whom we met near the spot, told me it was built, about five years before, in memory of a neighbouring zemindar. This young man said he was himself a tradesman in the village of Doobee. Hearing my servants express some surprise at the number of fortified places in this country, he began to tell a long story about the horrors inflicted by Ameer Khán and the Pindarrees of the Deckan, and seemed fully sensible of

the advantageous change which had occurred. His dialect differed a good deal from the Hindoostanee to which I was accustomed, but I made out his meaning pretty well.

January 26.—This morning was extremely cold, and the weather seemed to operate forcibly on all my people. The rannee's horse were none of them at their post when we set out: even Skinner's men were slow in mustering to attend us; and the Sepoys, having found the remains of a fire by the wayside during the march, hustled all close round it, and allowed the camels to go on with no guard but a single havildar. I found it necessary to check the growth of these irregularities, and gave orders for the better arrangement and government of our little camp in future.

The country through which we passed in our march to Deosa, about six coss or twelve miles, was very naked and desolate, with no marks of habitation except some castles dotted on the distant hills, and one large village about a mile from our road, within whose mud walls a few trees were visible. The hills are of singular forms, most of them insulated and rocky; in size, shape, and steepness, a good deal resembling that on which Beeston Castle stands. The soil does not seem bad; but the land has literally been "swept with the besom of desolation;" and the deer which we saw bounding among the low prickly shrubs, and the dead, whose tombs are scattered here and there, seem the natural proprietors of the territory. I should add, perhaps, the ravens, who are here seen in considerable numbers and of large size, though I do not remember to have observed them elsewhere. The country resembled extremely a large æstuary, but studded with rocky islands, whose sands were left bare by the receding tide; except the few thorny shrubs I mentioned, which do not grow higher than common heather, not a blade of verdure was to be seen; and this defect, together with the presence of the rocky hills, sufficiently distinguishes these wilds from the green level steppes of Southern Russia.

Deosa is a rather large town, built

on one side of a square table-like hill, with a sharp peak adjoining to it. The hill is crowned by a very extensive fortress, and there are various remains of antiquity, such as a large tank, now ruinous and dry, and a good many tombs, which evince that the place has seen better days. From its name, "Deosa," or Divine, it should seem to possess a sacred character, and even now we found a considerable encampment of merchants and pilgrims, with flying chairs, swings, and other symptoms of a Hindoo fair or festival. It turned out to be one which I cannot find in the Calcutta Almanac, but which they here call "Pusund," and it was celebrated in the course of the day with a degree of glitter and show which I did not expect in a place apparently so poor and ruinous. Two little images of a male and female, called, I think, Gungwala and Gungwalee, were carried wrapped up in a piece of kincob, in a very gaudy gilded rutt, drawn by the people to an open tent pitched without the town. A good deal of drumming and singing followed, and the ceremony ended by pelting each other with red powder, as during the hoolee. Mean time the usual traffic and diversions of a country fair went on; cakes, cloth of different kinds, and coarse trinkets were exposed in considerable abundance, and a good many of the people whom we met in the afternoon had evidently either been drinking or taking opium. We walked through the town, which had a ruined wall round it, and contained one fine old pagoda, resembling those at Benares, several small ones, a Mussulman mosque, and some large and richly-carved stone houses, but all verging to decay. The ruin of the town, as of the rest of the country, was laid by the people on Ameer Khân, though they did not seem to have any accurate information about the matter, and owned that it had been always as it is now in their memory. Its dilapidation, I suspect, is of older date. There are some very elegant tombs without the walls, and altogether the place is one extremely characteristic of the ancient habits of India.

The images which we saw were taken back to their pagoda at night, and, after a few days more of similar parade, were to be committed to the nearest river and sunk in it, where, being of unbaked clay, they soon dissolve. It is said that this is a relic of a hideous custom which still prevails in Assam, and was anciently practised in Egypt, of flinging a youth and maiden, richly dressed, annually into their sacred river. That such a custom formerly existed in India is, I believe, a matter of pretty uniform tradition. But this practice of drowning images is not confined to the two figures in question, but is the case with all their idols, except a very few. Kali in her various forms, and the other many-handed, many-headed potentates, who are worshipped in Calcutta, are all of clay, and all carried in like manner, after their festivals, to be absorbed in the holy stream, a custom which may seem rather to typify the inferiority confessed by the Hindoos themselves of all their symbols to the God of nature, than to recall the memory of an ancient piece of inhumanity.

January 27.—This morning we marched eight long coss to Mohunpoora. In the way I had an opportunity of seeing some part of the magnificence which Dr. Smith had described, for we passed Sir David Ochterlony and his suite on his road to Bhurtpoor. There certainly was a very considerable number of led horses, elephants, palanquins, and covered carriages, belonging chiefly, I apprehend (besides his own family), to the families of his native servants. There was an escort of two companies of infantry, a troop of regular cavalry, and I should guess forty or fifty irregulars, on horse and foot, armed with spears and matchlocks of all possible forms; the string of camels was a very long one, and the whole procession was what might pass in Europe for that of an Eastern prince travelling. Still, neither in numbers nor splendour did it at all equal my expectation. Sir David himself was in a carriage and four, and civilly got out to speak to me. He is a tall and pleasing-looking old man, but

was so wrapped up in shawls, kincob, fur, and a Mogul furred cap, that his face was all that was visible. I was not sorry to have even this glimpse of an old officer whose exploits in India have been so distinguished. His history is a curious one. He is the son of an American gentleman who lost his estate and country by his loyalty during the war of the separation. Sir David himself came out a cadet, without friends, to India, and literally fought his way to notice. The most brilliant parts of his career were his defence of Delhi against the Maharatta army, and the conquest of Kemaon from the Ghorkhas. He is now considerably above seventy, infirm, and has been often advised to return to England. But he has been absent from thence fifty-four years; he has there neither friend nor relation,—he has been for many years habituated to Eastern habits and parade, and who can wonder that he clings to the only country in the world where he can feel himself at home? Within these few days I have been reading Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*, and at this moment it struck me forcibly how little it would have seemed in the compass of possibility to any of the warriors, statesmen, or divines of Queen Anne's time, that an English general and an English bishop would ever shake hands on a desert plain in the heart of Rajpootana!

About two coss from Deosa is a good-sized village with a handsome old house belonging to the raja, and a little farther, a very beautiful well or reservoir ("boolee"), surrounded with cloisters and with a handsome gateway of three Gothic arches. It is said to be the charitable work of a merchant of Jyepoor, now alive. About half-way in the march we passed another low line of hills, with granite summits, and sandstone valleys and sides, like that we saw yesterday, and succeeded by another similar plain. It is easy to observe that we are rising gradually as we advance, the descent of the hills to the west never being so great as their ascent from the east.

Mohunpoora is a small and poor village, with a few scattered patches of

wheat round it, but neither trees nor forage, while the neighbourhood had been so completely exhausted by the large party which had passed the day before, that nothing was to be procured either by money or expostulation, and the rannee's vakeel either would not or could not do us any good. At length I sent one of the Sepoys, a Brahmin, and the elder of my two mountain attendants, to negotiate with the zemindars. On these occasions, a Brahmin is always the best messenger, since he may use what language he sees fit without danger, and, *ceteris paribus*, the people are always more ready to yield to his proposals. The man knew this well, and went therefore without his cloths, in order that his sacred string might be more conspicuous. This measure partially succeeded: about twelve o'clock some hay was brought for the horses who were fasting till now, and a very little fuel for the Sepoys who were equally ill off, their religion prohibiting them to eat victuals cooked on the preceding day. They conducted themselves with their usual patience and good temper, observing, of their own accord, that the poor people of the country were in want themselves, and could not spare to strangers. I found, however, in consequence, that they were all extremely willing and ready to make a long march the next day to Jyepoor, in order to get out of this "hungry country."

In the night the camp was visited by a thief, who crept in between the sentries, and got hold of the clothes of one of the tindals who was asleep on the outside of my tent. He was not so sound asleep, however, but that he felt the blanket as it was drawn away from him, and starting up, put his assailant to flight in an instant. In this case, probably, the robber was not very skilful or desperate, for strange stories are told both of their dexterity in stripping a sleeping man, and of the severe stabs which they give with their daggers if detected. Sir John Malcolm has a story of a play which he saw performed by some strollers in the Maharatta country, the plot of which consisted in the robbing a merchant of his goods,

after being hospitably received by the treacherous jemautdar of a village. After supper the merchant was represented as going to sleep with his goods all round him, and nothing could be more artful than the manner in which the thief made his approaches, gently withdrawing the shawls a quarter of an inch at a time, while at every slightest movement of the sleeping man his hand was immediately on his dagger. To guard against such surprises, I am inclined to believe that it is best to have no light in the tent, since, without some such guide, an intruder can neither find his way to objects of value, nor can well avoid making some noise.

January 28. — This morning was dusky and close, with heavy clouds, which however gradually dispersed, and were succeeded by a good deal of wind. Our march to Jyepoor was one, I should think, of nearly twenty miles. The early part of it was over a desolate plain of deep sand, traversed by a nullah, the windings of which we twice fell in with. About eight miles from Jyepoor we came to a deep water-course, apparently the work of art, and with a small stream in it flowing from the hills to which we were approaching. Round its edge some little cultivation was visible, though nothing could exceed the dry and hungry nature of the sand which was under us and around us, and which now began to be interspersed with sharp stones and bits of rock. The hills, as we drew near, appeared higher and steeper than those which we had hitherto crossed, but entirely of rock, shingle, and sand, without a blade of vegetation of any kind, except a very little grass edging here and there the stony, ragged water-course which we ascended, and which was our only road. The desolation was almost sublime, and would have been quite so had the hills been of a more commanding elevation. The pass grew narrower, the path steeper, and more rugged as we proceeded along it, and the little stream which we were ascending, instead of dimpling amid the grass and stones, now leapt and bounded from crag to crag, like a Welsh rivulet. Still all was wild and

dismal, when, on a turn of the road, we found ourselves in front of a high turreted and battlemented wall, pierced with a tier of arched windows, showing us beyond them the dark green shades of a large Oriental garden. A grim-looking old gateway on one side, built close to the road, and seeming almost to form a part of it, showed us the path which we were to pursue, and I was thinking of Thalaba on "the bridleless steed" at the gate of Aloaddin's paradise, and felt almost ready to look round for the bugle-horn suspended in the portal, when the English uniform appeared to dissolve the illusion, and Colonel Raper, who had good-naturedly come out thus far to meet me, rode up to welcome me.

On seeing him I at first hoped that we had already arrived at the gate of Jyepoor, but he told me that we had still four miles of very bad road before us. The rampart which we now passed is intended to guard the approach, and the garden which I mentioned is one of several attached to different temples founded in this wild situation by the same sovereign, Jye Singh, who built the city. Of these temples we passed through a little street, with very picturesque buildings on each side of it, and gardens perpetually green from the stream which we were now leaving, and which derives its source from a considerable pool higher up in the bosom of the hills. Our own track emerged on an elevated but sandy and barren plain, in which, nevertheless, some fields of wheat were seen, and what surprised me, some fine peepul trees. This plain, which seems to have been once a lake, is surrounded on three sides by the same barren stony hills, and has in its centre the city of Jyepoor, a place of considerable extent, with fortifications so like those of the Kremlin, that I could almost have fancied myself at Moscow. The wall is high, with dentellated battlements and lofty towers, extremely picturesque, but with no pretensions to strength, having neither ditch nor glacis. Its security must, of course, depend on the forts by which the summits of the surrounding hills are crowned. But

though these might ruin it and prevent an enemy from occupying it when taken, they could not save it against a spirited and well-directed attack from the plain. Nevertheless it stood a long siege from Ameer Khân, a fact which would prove that ruffian to be as bad a general as he was an adroit and merciless plunderer, had it not been suspected that he purposely delayed the assault on the town, both in hope of obtaining a large ransom, which would go into his own coffers, and in the fear that his men, if once enriched by the indiscriminate plunder of the city, would many of them disperse and leave him.

The trees with which the buildings are intermingled, and the gardens which, in spite of the hungry soil, are scattered round it, make up a very singular and romantic, or I might almost

say, a beautiful scene. The residency is a small palace, formerly a garden-house of the raja's, and surrounded by a high embattled wall, within which is a good garden of most English vegetables and Indian fruit-trees. Water is everywhere to be found close to the surface, and with water even the most sterile tracts, in this climate, become tolerably fruitful. My tents were pitched in the plain before the residency gates, but Colonel Raper had kindly provided an excellent tent for me close to his door and within his garden, of which I gladly availed myself, both to get out of the way of the glaring white sand and dust of the Meidan, and also to enable Skinner's horsemen, who had no tents, to take shelter in mine during my stay at Jyepoor, an indulgence for which they were very grateful.

CHAPTER XXII.

JYEPOOR TO AJMERE.

Climate—Government—City—Palace—Durbar—Presents from the Rannee—Revenues—
 Umeer—Lake—Great Palace and Fort—Death of the Soubahdar—Departure from Jyepoor
 —Manners of the Rajpoots—Children of the Sun—Salt Lake—Opium—Nuptial Procession
 —Message from the Rannee.

THE climate of Jyepoor is described as less disagreeable than I should have expected. The rains are never heavy, the cold months are bracing and healthy, and the hot winds, though fierce during the day, generally cease at night. The court and territory are in a very distracted state. The rannee's new minister is hated by a majority of her subjects, and her authority, in consequence, is very uncertain through the greatest part of her possessions. The people, into whose hands she has thrown herself, hate and fear the English, and a great proportion of her "thakoors," or nobles, shut up in their mountain castles, pay no tribute, obey no commands, and declare that they will obey none till the young raja, now a child of six years old, is placed on the musnud, and surrounded by a council such as they can confide in. Though, therefore, the rannee has in the present instance carried her point with our Government, and obtained its concurrence to a ministry of her own choice, there is little probability of matters going on smoothly much longer between us, or, even if the British were out of the case, of the present people being long able to hold the reins of government. Colonel Raper said that he could easily believe that it was want of power which made her vakeel fail in procuring us supplies, and in compelling the attendance of the horsemen, and he regretted to say that he did not know where to look for more serviceable troops, or a better proveditore. He advised me, therefore, to take on Skinner's horse to

Nusseerabad, as my best dependence in case of need. Of any serious necessity for them, there was, thank Heaven, very little likelihood, inasmuch as, however unruly the country, they are all in awe of the numerous cantonment of Nusseerabad, nor was my present escort unequal to protect us from any ordinary plunderers.

January 29.—This morning Colonel Raper took me to see the city and palace, as well as to present me in durbar. The city is a very remarkable and striking one. Being all the work of one sovereign, Jye Singh, it is on a regular plan, with one very wide street crossed at right angles by three others, with a square in the centre of the town, which serves as a market-place. The houses are generally two stories high, but some three and four, with ornamented windows and balconies, and many of them finely carved. They are interspersed with some handsome temples in the same style with those of Benares, and in the centre of the town, and adjoining the palace, is a very noble tower or minaret of, I should suppose, two hundred feet high. The town is tolerably clean, but a great part of the houses are in a state of decay. Still, however, it has a population of sixty thousand souls. The palace, with its gardens, occupies about one-sixth part of the city. It presents to the streets an extremely high front of seven or eight stories, diminishing in the centre to something like a pediment, and flanked by two towers of equal height topped with open cupolas. With-

in are two spacious courts and many smaller ones, surrounded by cloisters of stone pillars, except in the verandahs leading to the principal rooms, which are of marble. The gardens, which I was first taken to see, are extensive, and, in their way, extremely beautiful, full of fountains, cypresses, palm-trees, and flowering shrubs, with a succession of terraces and alcoves, none of them, singly taken, in good taste, but altogether extremely rich and striking. Two very large and handsome tanks terminate the grounds towards the north. The garden is surrounded by a high embattled wall, having a terrace at the top like that of Chester, and beneath it a common passage (as one of the ministers of state, who accompanied us, told me) for the zennanah to walk in. I was introduced to some of these ministers, or "sirdars," during my progress through the palace, under their several official names of "mouchtar," "buk-shee," &c. &c. Most of them were tall, good-looking men, in very handsome and becoming dresses. The whole establishment of the palace and gardens seemed well kept up, considerably better than that of Lucknow, and everything much exceeded my expectation except the military show, which was absolutely nothing. There were two or three policemen in the gate of the city, and four or five (I do not think there were more) lounging fellows with shields slung over their shoulders, and lances lying near them, in different parts of the outbuildings. I was surprised at so poor a muster among the warlike and turbulent Rajpoots, but recollected that in a country where every citizen and cultivator is a soldier, on ordinary occasions every soldier will be a cultivator or citizen. The resident's suwarra and my own five men, together with a little guard of seven orderly Sepoys, who, as usual on state occasions, followed me, and as many of my servants who chose to see the sight, were permitted without scruple to attend us through all the garden and most of the lower apartments of the palace, till, on ascending to an upper story, those who had swords or other arms were requested either to stay below or

to surrender their weapons. The ascents throughout the palace are not by stairs, but by inclined planes of very easy slope, and certainly less fatiguing than the European style. The passages are all narrow and mean, and the object in the whole building seems more to surprise by the number, the intricacy, and detail of the rooms and courts, than by any apartments of large size and magnificent proportions. A great part of the windows are glazed with small panes of stained or plain glass in latticed frames of white marble. The stained glass was said to be from Venice. These upper rooms, which are in fact a part of the zennanah, have their floors chiefly covered with stuffed white cotton quilts, over which, in certain places, sitrings are placed, and, in the more costly rooms, small Persian carpets. There are very strong wooden doors in different parts of the building, whose hinges and locks are as rude as those of a prison, but the suites of apartments themselves are only divided by large striped curtains hung over the arched doorways. The ceilings are generally low, and the rooms dark and close; both the walls and ceilings are, however, splendidly carved and painted, and some of the former are entirely composed of small looking-glasses in fantastic frames of chunam mixed with talc, which have the appearance of silver till closely examined. The subjects of the paintings are almost entirely mythological, and their style of colouring, their attitudes, and the general gloomy silence and intricacy of the place reminded me frequently of Belzoni's model of the Egyptian tomb.

After a long suite of these strange rooms, we were taken into a very striking and beautiful apartment, where breakfast was prepared for us. It was a small pavilion with arches on either side, opening into two small cloistered courts, the one filled by a beautiful cold bath about thirty feet square, the other by a little flower-garden divided, parterrewise, with narrow winding paths of white marble, with a jet d'eau in every winding, to the number, I should think, of fifteen or twenty, which re-

mained playing all the while we were at breakfast. Nothing could be prettier or more refreshing than the sight and sound of these tiny fountains, though I did not think the effect improved when all at once several of the principal ones began to throw up water tinged with some yellow dye. It was evidently much admired by the natives, and reminded me of "the golden water," which, together with "the talking bird" and the "singing tree," cost the princess in the Arabian tale so many labours to obtain. For our breakfast Colonel Raper had sent the usual requisites, but the "maha-rannee," or "ma-jee" (lady mother), as she is also called, sent us some specimens of Hindoo cookery, abundant in ghee, spice, and sugar, but without the garlic, which forms so essential a part of Mussulman luxury. I tasted one of the messes, which was of rice, raisins, and some green sweetmeat, strongly scented with rose-water, and seasoned with cinnamon, and thought it very good. The others were, apparently, kid or mutton minced small with rice, and covered with a very rich brown sauce, "a thing to dream of, not to tell," and which, if eaten at night, one should scarcely fail to dream of.

After breakfast, and till the hour of durbar arrived, we visited more of the buildings. In passing along the garden wall, I ought to have observed before, we were shown five or six elephants in training for a fight. Each was separately kept in a small paved court, with a little litter, but very dirty. They were all what is called "must," that is, fed on stimulating substances to make them furious, and all showed in their eyes, their gaping mouths, and the constant motion of their trunks, signs of fever and restlessness. Their mohouts seemed to approach them with great caution, and, on hearing a step, they turned round as far as their chains would allow, and lashed fiercely with their trunks. I was moved and disgusted at the sight of so noble creatures, thus maddened and diseased by the absurd cruelty of man, in order that they might, for his diversion, inflict fresh pain and injuries on each other.

Two of them were very large, and all sleek and corpulent.

The other apartments through which we were conducted nearly resembled those we had seen before breakfast. We had, however, a noble panoramic view of the town from the top of the palace. Indeed, I have seen few places of which a finer panorama might be made. From thence we returned to a lower court, in the centre of which, raised by a few steps, is a noble open pavilion, with marble pillars richly carved, rather inferior in size, but in other respects fully equal to the hall of audience in the castle of Delhi. The interior contains an oblong vaulted hall, surrounded by a very spacious verandah, and its pavement covered with sitringees and carpets, where we found all the ministers whom I have already mentioned, and some others, seated in a semicircle. They rose to receive us, and the "mouchtar," or prime-minister, introduced to me those whom I had not yet met. Among these were the "gooroo," or spiritual adviser of the rannee, a man extremely blamed for all the outrageous and absurd conduct which she has pursued, and a very remarkable person, at whom Colonel Raper looked with some surprise, and whom, he afterwards said, he had never seen or heard of before. He was apparently a Mussulman, a very tall hard-featured man, with a dark and gloomy expression of face, which made me think of Captain Rolando in *Gil Blas*. His name I did not perfectly hear, but in conversation they called him the Nawâb. He was armed with a sword, shield, and dagger, all splendid in their way; his clothes were handsome but plain, and his whole figure and equipment made me set him down, I believe correctly, as a Patan mercenary leader, for whom these troublesome times had obtained employment. The mouchtar I had now a better opportunity of observing than before. He is a shortish man, but very stoutly built, with what I thought a good countenance and frank rough manners.

A very formal old gentleman, the marshal of the palace, now got us all to our seats—Colonel Raper in the middle, myself at his right hand, and the mi-

nister and the nawáb beyond me; the rest were arranged on the left and behind us. We sat cross-legged on the carpet, there being no chairs, and kept our hats on. I was mortified to find that the rannee never appeared even behind the purdah, though we were told she was looking through a latticed window at some distance in front. The usual questions, of how I liked Jyepoor, whither I was going, and when I left Calcutta, followed. The nawáb talked a good deal, and seemed to be doing his best to make a favourable impression on the resident. I doubt whether he succeeded. For my own part the idea of Captain Rolando faded away, and was replaced by that of the bold Alsatian Captain Cullpepper. Some dancing-girls came in, whose performance differed in no respect from those whom I had seen at Bullumghur. Some very common-looking shawls, a turban, necklace, &c., were now brought in as presents from the rannee to me, which were followed by two horses and an elephant, of which she also requested my acceptance. I looked round on Colonel Raper in some embarrassment, which he relieved by telling me that all was done according to rule, and that I should not be much the richer nor the rannee the poorer for what passed that day. I of course, however, expressed my thanks to the mouchtar in as good Hindoostanee as I was able. Mutual wishes were expressed for health, happiness, and a continuance of friendship between the Company and the Court of Jyepoor, and after embracing all the ministers a second time, we took our leave, mounted our elephants, and returned to the residency, the rannee's presents going in procession before us. Of these presents it appeared that the elephant was lame, and so vicious that few people ventured to go near him. One of the horses was a very pretty black, but he also turned out as lame as a cat, while the other horse was in poor condition, and, at least, as my people declared, thirty years old. Colonel Raper said, however, that these animals would do more than cover the fees which it would be proper to pay the rannee's servants, and

which the Company, according to the usual practice, would discharge for me. In fact, the native powers understand perfectly well that presents of any great value are, on these occasions, thrown away. They have it published in the "acbars," or native newspapers, that such or such a distinguished personage came to pay his respects at the Court of Jyepoor, and that the rannee testified her pleasure at his arrival, by the gift of an elephant, two beautiful horses, and two trays of ornaments and shawls, and thus the ends are answered of making known the rank of the visitant, of setting forth the rannee's liberality, and above all, of hinting to her subjects and neighbours the good terms she is on with the British Government. But all these objects they are, of course, glad to obtain at as slight an expense as possible.

In the course of this day I had a good deal of conversation with Colonel Raper on the history and intrigues of this little court, the splendour of which had surprised me, but which, in its morals and political wisdom, appears to be on a level not much higher than that of Abyssinia.

The Rajas of Jyepoor were, for a long time, the most wealthy and powerful of all the Rajpoot states. Their territory is still the largest, and their revenue used to be reckoned at a crore of rupees (at the present rate of exchange less than a million pounds sterling) annually. They were generally on pretty good terms with the Emperors of Delhi, and, though nominally vassals, they always preserved a state of real independence of their authority. The Maharatta conquests blighted all their prosperity; the raja was so much weakened as to lose all authority over his own thakoors, twenty or thirty lacks was the whole amount of his revenue, and this was growing less under the almost annual scourge of the Pindarrees, of Jeswunt Row Holcar, and, above all, of his General Ameer Khán. Even before the conquest of Lord Hastings, the late Raja of Jyepoor had, as it is said, shown great anxiety to obtain the protection of Britain; but, from the jarring members of which

his state is composed, it was one of the last which in any regular way acceded to the confederacy, the thakoors keeping close in their castles like feudal chiefs, alike averse to any interference either of our government or their own, and chiefly occupied in making war on each other, leading plundering parties into the neighbouring states, and picking the bones which more potent devourers left behind. The principality was, in fact, in a state of anarchy as wretched and as bloody as Circassia at the present day, or England in the time of Ivanhoe, with the additional misery, that foreign invaders were added to domestic feudal tyrants. This anarchy has never yet been completely put a stop to in the remoter provinces, but it had, in the greater part of the kingdom, been materially abated by British arms and influence. The country had become safe to travel through, the peasants slept in their beds in peace, the thakoors began to come to court again and pay their tribute; and the revenue had greatly improved, when the raja died, five or six years ago, leaving no son, but one of his wives pregnant, and near the time of her delivery. This, at least, was said, though many of the thakoors declared it was an imposition. A child, however, was produced, and its reputed mother became regent, chiefly by the influence of a man of high rank and respectable character, who is generally known by his hereditary title of "rawul," and who possessed, in a great degree, the confidence of the English Government. He became minister under the regent, and the improvement of the country continued progressive. He, however, paid his nominal mistress but little deference, and she soon forgot the protection which he had afforded to herself and her son. Nor was this all. The rawul had the misfortune to find out an intrigue between one of the rannees and an adventurer from Rohilcund, who filled some post about the palace. He banished the paramour, and the lady never forgave him, but has ever since been urging the ma-jee to the most violent measures against him, in which she has been

backed by the gooroo, a very profligate Brahmin, who has always used his influence with the ma-jee to bad purposes. Two years ago an attempt was made to get rid of the rawul, and bring in the present minister, a thakoor of extremely bad character, who had been very recently in open rebellion, and had stood a siege against a British force. Against his appointment, however, the British Government strongly remonstrated. The rawul was maintained in his place, and his opponent banished till the evil reports which prevailed last year in all these provinces respecting the situation of our empire encouraged the rannee to venture on the object which she had at heart. Her first step was to attack with an armed force the house of the rawul in Jyepoor, and he very narrowly escaped with his life to the residency. She then got together a considerable number of troops, put the city in a state of defence, and assumed so martial an air that Colonel Raper, with his small force of Sepoys, his wife and children, and his friend the rawul, found it necessary to retreat from the residency to a position near Bancrote, about nine miles from Jyepoor. The ma-jee seemed fully bent on carrying matters to the utmost length; she invited over her favourite, then living at Agra, and treated with much contempt the proposal made her by the resident, that she should be at liberty to name any minister but that one who was so personally obnoxious. She found, however, that her force was less than she probably expected. The majority of the thakoors were not so fond either of her or the new minister as to run any risk for either: many were personally attached to the rawul, and, had they been encouraged, would have joined Colonel Raper's camp. The ill reports from Calcutta died away, and none of the neighbouring Rajpoot principalities appeared inclined to side with her, while the occupation of Mhow by the Bombay troops placed a considerable addition of force at Sir David Ochterlony's disposal; and old Ameer Khân, who, though shorn of his ancient power, still occupies a considerable jag-

hire south of Neemuch, made an eager offer of his services to the British Government to invade a country with which, as the hoary ruffian truly said, "he was well acquainted!" Colonel Raper, accordingly, did not think that she either could or would have continued to hold out; but Sir David Ochterlony, probably in consequence of directions from Calcutta, thought it best to give up all the points in dispute, rather than run the risk of a new war in Western and Central India. The rawul retired to his estates and castles, and the rannee, with her new minister, is permitted to try and govern the country, a task which she will probably soon be found unequal to, the favourite being, though a man of courage, of no character or talent, and the rannee as ignorant and passionate as a child. She is now about thirty years old, of humble extraction, was not the principal wife of the late raja, and had no children in the former years of her marriage. Under such circumstances it is probable that a short time ago a civil war would have arisen in Jyepoor, and it is certain that, in such an event, the Maharattas would not have been slow to take further advantage of their troubles. The chance now is, that the British will be called on to mediate between the parties; but before this takes place, some further mischief may be looked for. During the late scenes of intrigue and confusion, the rannee's confidential gooroo made a journey to Agra and Delhi, and Colonel Raper has ascertained that he drew large sums from his mistress, with the avowed object of bribing the principal servants of the Company to favour her wishes. It is most probable, Colonel Raper thinks, that this crafty Brahmin put all the money into his own pocket; but, from what I have heard of the practices of the moonshees of public men, I cannot help suspecting that some of it, at least, has redounded to their advantage. At all events, it is painful to find that the natives of this country continue to think us venal.

January 30.—I read prayers and preached at the residency, and christened Colonel Raper's little girl.

January 31.—I went this morning with Colonel Raper and Dr. Simpson, the residency surgeon, who, with Mrs. Raper, are the only European residents in Jyepoor, to Umeer, the ancient capital of this principality, till Jye Singh built the present city in the plain. We passed through the principal streets of Jyepoor, being joined at the palace gate by two of the ministers whom I had met there the Saturday before, and one of whom was killedar of the place where we were going to visit. The Rajpoots are not such showy figures on horseback as the Mussulmans, or even the Jâts; these men rode well, however, and had fine horses, which, with their long red shawls, sabres, and flowing robes, as well as their numerous attendants, made up a striking picture.

We passed together through the opposite gate of the city, the uniformity of which throughout is very striking. My companions told me that it was laid out in quarters, or wards, according to the rules of the Shaster; one being for the thakoors, another for the Brahmins, a third for the ordinary Rajpoots, a fourth for the caste of kayts, or writers, a fifth for the bunyans, or traders, and a sixth for the gaowalas, or cow-keepers, while the seventh is occupied by the palace. After leaving the city we proceeded by a wide sandy road, through a succession of gardens and garden-houses, some of the latter of which are very handsome, to the banks of a large lake, covered with waterfowl, and with a small island in the midst, on which were the ruins of a palace. The mere supplies the stream which we had passed in our way up the ghât; it has on this side every appearance of being a natural sheet of water; its banks are more woody and wild than anything which I had seen since I left Kemaon, and the steep and rugged road by which we ascended the hill beyond it contributed to raise my expectation of a beautiful view from the top.

This road led us through an ancient gateway in an embattled and turreted wall, which connected the two hills, like that which I described on the other side of Jyepoor, and within we found a

street like that also, of temples and old buildings of the same character, one of which was pointed out to me as the shrine whither the young raja is carried weekly to pay his devotions, and another as the house where he puts up his horses and reposes on such occasions. Beyond was a still steeper ascent to a second gate, which introduced us to a very wild and romantic valley, with a small lake at the bottom,—the crests of the hills on either side crowned with walls and towers, their lower parts all rock and wood interspersed with ruined buildings; in front, and on the margin of the lake, a small ruinous town, overgrown with trees, and intermingled with towers and temples, and over it, but a little to the left hand, a noble old fortified palace, connected, by a long line of wall and tower, with a very large castle on the highest part of the hill. We now descended the ghât by a similar road to that which had conducted us hither, among some fine old trees, fragments of rock, and thickets of thorny underwood, till we reached the town, which almost entirely consisted of temples, and had few inhabitants but grim and ghastly Yogis, with their hair in elf-knots and their faces covered with chalk, sitting naked and hideous, like so many ghoules, amid the tombs and ruined houses. A narrow winding street led us through these abodes of superstition, under a dark shade of peepul-trees, till we found ourselves on another steep ascent paved with granite, and leading to the palace. We wound along the face of the hill through, I think, three Gothic gateways, alighted in a large moss-grown quadrangle surrounded by what seemed to be barracks and stables, and followed our guides up a broad and long flight of steps, through another richly-ornamented gateway, into the interior courts of the building, which contain one very noble hall of audience, a pretty little garden with fountains, and a long succession of passages, cloisters, alcoves, and small and intricate apartments, many of them extremely beautiful, and enjoying from their windows, balconies, and terraces, one of the most striking prospects which can be conceived. The

carving in stone and marble, and the inlaid flowers and ornaments in some of these apartments, are equal to those at Delhi and Agra, and only surpassed by the beauties of the Tâge-mahal. My companions, none of whom had visited Umeer before, all declared that, as a whole, it was superior to the castle of Delhi. For myself, I have seen many royal palaces containing larger and more stately rooms,—many, the architecture of which was in a purer taste, and some which have covered a greater extent of ground (though in *this*, if the fortress on the hill be included, Umeer will rank, I think, above Windsor),—but for varied and picturesque effect, for richness of carving, for wild beauty of situation, for the number and romantic singularity of the apartments, and the strangeness of finding such a building in such a place and country, I am able to compare nothing with Umeer; and this, too, was the work of Jye Singh! The ornaments are in the same style, though in a better taste, than those of his palace at Jyepoor, and the size and number of the apartments are also similar. A greater use has been made of stained glass here, or else, from the inaccessible height of the window, the glass has remained in better preservation. The building is in good repair, but has a solitary and deserted aspect; and as our guide, with his bunch of keys, unlocked one iron-clenched door after another, and led us over terraces and up towers, down steep, dark, sloping passages, and through a long succession of silent courts, and dim vaulted chambers, seen only through coloured glass, and made more gorgeously gloomy by their carving, gilding, and mirrors, the idea of an enchanted castle occurred, I believe, to us all; and I could not help thinking what magnificent use Ariosto or Sir Walter Scott would have made of such a building. After all we saw only part of it. Higher up the hill was another grim-looking ward, with few external windows, but three or four elegantly-carved kiosks projecting from its roof, and a few cypresses peeping over its walls, which they said was the zennanah, and not allowed to be seen; and above this

again, but communicating by a succession of gates and turrets, was the castle which I have mentioned, grimmer and darker still, with high towers and machicolated battlements, with a very few ornamented windows, many narrow loopholes, and one tall minaret rising above the whole cluster. The interior of this, of course, was not shown; indeed, it is what the government of Jyepoor considers as its last resource. The public treasure used to be laid up here; and here, it is said, are many state prisoners, whose number is likely to be increased if the present rule continues.

On returning to the stable-yard, our conductor asked us if we wished to see the temple? I answered of course "anything more that was to be seen," and he turned short and led us some little distance up the citadel, then through a dark low arch into a small court, where, to my surprise, the first object which met my eyes was a pool of blood on the pavement, by which a naked man stood with a bloody sword in his hand. The scenes through which we had passed were so romantic, that my fancy had almost been wound up to expect an adventure, and I felt, I confess, for an instant my hand instinctively clench more firmly a heavy Hindoostanee whip I had with me, the butt-end of which would, as a last resource, have been no despicable weapon. The guide, however, at the same instant, cautioned me against treading in the blood, and told me that a goat was sacrificed here every morning. In fact a second glance showed me the headless body of the poor animal lying before the steps of a small shrine, apparently of Kali. The Brahmin was officiating and tinkling his bell, but it was plain to see, from the embarrassment of our guide, that we had intruded at an unlucky moment, and we therefore merely cast our eyes round the court without going nearer to the altar and its mysteries. The guide told us in our way back that the tradition was that, in ancient times, a man was sacrificed here every day; that the custom had been laid aside till Jye Singh had a frightful dream, in which

the destroying power appeared to him, and asked him why her image was suffered to be dry? The raja, afraid to disobey, and reluctant to fulfil the requisition to its ancient extent of horror, took counsel and substituted a goat for the human victim, with which the

Dark goddess of the azure flood,
Whose robes are wet with infant tears,
Scaul-chaplet wearer, whom the blood
Of man delights three thousand years,

was graciously pleased to be contented.

We were now taken down the hill, outside the fortifications, to some baths and summer-houses on the banks of the lake, which I should have thought pretty if they had not been much inferior to what I had already seen, and we crossed the lake by a narrow bridge, from the further end of which I made an attempt to sketch the view. Here our horses met us, and we returned home, all highly gratified, and myself not a little surprised that a place so curious and interesting should be so little known, not merely in Europe, but in India.

In the course of our homeward ride Colonel Raper told me that he had had unpleasant news from the palace. The rannee, the night before, without trial, or without so much as assigning a reason, murdered one of her female attendants,—a woman who bore a fair character, was possessed of considerable wealth, and believed, till lately, to stand high in her mistress's confidence and good graces. Her wealth was supposed to be her only crime. A great alarm had in consequence been excited in the zennanah and in the city; and eight other women, chiefly wives and concubines of the late raja, believed themselves also marked out for destruction. This atrocity had been perpetrated by the rannee's own order, and in her presence, but Colonel Raper said if the monchar had been himself anything but a mere ruffian, he would never allow such practices to go on, nor would such an order have been executed had he been a likely person to resent it.

With this story on my mind, it was with anything rather than a pleasurable sensation that I received in the course of

the morning a present of fruit, sweetmeats, and flowers, with the ma-jee's best wishes for my safe journey, her assurance that her people had arranged everything for my comfort on the road, and her hope that our friendship might long continue! I sent back my grateful acknowledgments, which was no more than her due, for the kindness and hospitality she had shown me, and an assurance of my prayers, though I did not add, for her amendment. I found to-day that her attentions had not been confined to me personally, but that she had sent an excellent dinner of sweetmeats, ghee, rice, kid, flour, and other Hindoostanee dainties, sufficient, as they told me, for one hundred men, to be divided amongst my servants and escort.

I had intended to proceed the first stage, which is only eight miles, this afternoon, but was prevented by seven of my bearers taking fright at the reports they heard of the country to the south-west, and running off this morning. Seven more were pressed by Government order to go with me as far as Nusseerabad, and I told them that, notwithstanding the manner in which their services were compelled, I should give them the usual pay for the journey. I now hoped at all events to get away on Tuesday, the 1st of February, but was again prevented by a very dismal and unexpected accident. A little before five in the morning the servants came to me for directions, and to say that the good careful old soubahdar was very ill and unable to leave his tent. I immediately put on my clothes, and went down to the camp, in my way to which they told me that he had been taken unwell at night, and that Dr. Smith had given him medicine. They had none of them, however, seen him since. I therefore wakened Dr. Smith to ask him what was the matter, and was informed that his illness was slight, and that he would be able to set off at his usual time. I thought it best to go to his tent, and ask him how he was, to which he answered that he felt well. I told him, however, that he had better remain quiet, and that his tent and bed might perfectly well go on in the

course of the day. He answered in his usual manner, "Ucha, ghureeb-purwar," and I left him to see the camels loaded, and to give directions about the manner in which I wished the tents to be pitched at our next stage. Shortly after, seeing that there was some bustle in packing near his tent, I went up to bid the people make less noise, on which they told me they were acting by his orders, and that he had got up and gone to the other side of the camp, leaving directions to have his pony saddled. I was walking away to finish my own dressing when a man came running to say that the soubahdar was dying. As he was returning to his tent he had fallen down, and I found him in the arms of two of his men, apparently in a swoon, but making a faint moaning noise. I made them loosen the cloth which was wrapped round his head and throat, and bid them sprinkle his face with water, while I ran for Dr. Smith, who had been already alarmed, and came immediately. He opened a vein, and, with much humane patience, continued to try different remedies while any chance remained; but no blood flowed, and no sign of life could be detected from the time of his coming up, except a feeble flutter at the heart, which soon ceased. He was at an advanced age, at least for an Indian, though apparently hale and robust. I felt it a comfort that I had not urged him to any exertion, and that in fact I had endeavoured to persuade him to lie still till he was quite well. But I was necessarily much shocked by the sudden end of one who had travelled with me so far, and whose conduct had, in every instance, given me satisfaction. I really felt a kindness for him, founded not only on his quiet pleasing manners, but his attention to his duty and the confidence which I could always place on his word; and it was my intention to recommend him for promotion as earnestly as I could to his colonel. Nor, while writing this, can I recollect without a real pang his calm countenance and grey hairs, as he sate in his tent door telling his beads in an afternoon, or walked with me, as he seldom failed

to do, through the villages on an evening, with his own silver-hilted sabre under his arm, his loose cotton mantle folded round him, and his golden necklace and Rajpoot string just visible above it. Nobody knew him to be ill during the preceding day till just before bedtime. He had been with Abdullah and Cashiram to the city, to see a pair of shawls of which I meant to make him a present on our arrival at Nusseerabad, that being the usual, or, at least, the most gratifying return which a Sepoy officer can receive, and had been extremely delighted with the knowledge of my intention. He was of Rajpoot caste, and his name was Jye Singh, two circumstances which made a strong impression on the minds of his comrades, who said "it was a strange thing that he had just happened to die in Jye Singh's city, and on his return, after so many years' absence, to Rajpootana." He left two sons, and a woman who was really his wife, and universally so considered, but who, being of an inferior caste, could not be regularly joined to him by the Brahminical rites,—a circumstance which I rejoiced to hear, as it put the burning herself out of the question. He had left her and his boys at Seetapoor, but expected to meet them at Nusseerabad. Alas! how nearly had he arrived at the place where he looked forwards to a reunion with those whom he loved! His body was burnt in the course of the day, and I had an inventory made of his goods. This is the second death and the fourth separation from illness which I have had to regret since the commencement of my journey.

The death of the poor soubahdar led to the question whether there would be still time to send on the baggage. All the Mussulmans pressed our immediate departure, while the Hindoos begged that they might be allowed to stay, at least, till sunset. The reasons urged on both sides were very characteristic—the former pleading that the *place* was "unlucky," and that it was best to get out of it as soon as possible; the other that the *day* was unlucky, not only from the melancholy omen which had already occurred, but from its being Tuesday,

which the votaries of Brahma regard as unpropitious for the commencement of any enterprise. I determined on remaining, not only as, in my opinion, more decent and respectful to the memory of a good and aged officer, but because, the things being already packed up and ready to put on the camels, it would be easy to send them off at midnight, and run the two first stages towards Nusseerabad into one. I ordered, therefore, the men to unload their camels, many of whom had received their burthens; and my determination to remain was welcomed with the kindest hospitality by Colonel Raper, and with much joy by the Hindoo part of the establishment. During my stay at Jyepoor, Dr. Smith amputated the hand of the poor Brahmin who had followed us from Mowah, and he was left in the care of the residency surgeon.

February 2.—We set off at half-past five this morning; Colonel Raper went with me on his elephant as far as Bannocrote, and I thence rode the remaining ten miles to Buggeroo, which I found rather a pretty place surrounded with groves of the tara-palm, a rare sight in these inhospitable plains. Yet a great part of the soil which I went over in the course of the day is not bad, and the water is everywhere near the surface. I asked one of my attendants why there was no cultivation? and he ascribed it, first, to the effects of the former troubles, during which no man dared plough; secondly, to the late drought, which had put a stop to all the improvements which had since been commenced. I got this information through an interpreter, for I had discovered before that the language of the Rajpoots is extremely different from the Hindoostanee. It is, I apprehend, much nearer the Sanscrit, but even in the words which are common to them and their neighbours, their thick pronunciation, making the "s" into "sh," or "dj," makes it very difficult for one who is not a proficient to catch their meaning.

The events of the morning proved that Colonel Raper's remonstrance on the previous misconduct of the vakeel

and suwarra had produced its proper effect. The escort now sent with me were very attentive to their duty, and evidently picked men; indeed I have seldom seen finer or taller young fellows than they most of them were. Their horses and arms likewise were good, and in good order, but their clothes extremely ragged and dirty, and their wild riding, their noisy whooping and hallooing, and the air of perfect equality with which they were disposed to treat us, were remarkably contrasted with the profound respect, the soldierly calmness, and handsome equipments of Skinner's cavaliers. I was, indeed, prepared to expect a much greater simplicity and homeliness of manners in the Rajpoots and tribes of central India than in those who had been subjects of the Mogul empire, and, even at the court of Jyepoor, I was struck with the absence of that sort of polish which had been apparent at Lucknow and Delhi. The Hindoos seem everywhere, when left to themselves, and under their own sovereigns, a people of simple tastes and tempers, inclined to frugality, and indifferent to show and form. The subjects of even the greatest Maharatta prince sit down without scruple in his presence, and no trace is to be found in their conversation of those adulatory terms which the Mussulmans introduced into the northern and eastern provinces. Europeans, too, are very little known here, and I heard the children continually calling out to us, as we passed through the villages, "Feringee, ue Feringee!" It was whimsical, however, and in apparent contrast with this plainness of speech, that the term "Maharaja," or Sovereign, is applied by them to almost every superior. "Salam Maharaja!" was addressed to me ten or twelve times in the day by passengers whom I met on the road, and my escort, though riding side by side with us, and laughing heartily at our inefficient attempts to make them understand us, never spoke to me without this title.

During the afternoon an alarm reached us of robbers in our morrow's march. Some tradesmen coming to Jyepoor the day before had been

plundered, and, as was said, some of them killed, and the country people and travellers, in general, were afraid to pursue the usual road. The number of these marauders was so variously stated, that nothing could be ascertained, varying from one hundred to ten or twelve. We prepared ourselves for meeting them. The breakfast-tent and dāk-horses we sent on, together with double the usual detachment of Sepoys and all the rannee's suwarra, amounting to a dozen, who, wild and unsoldierly as was their appearance, were yet very likely to behave well in case of need. Thirty Sepoys formed our main body, and five our rearguard, while I directed Skinner's men to remain with Dr. Smith and me, and arranged so as to keep our parties within a moderate distance of each other. Our whole numbers were likewise prepared for action, the Sepoys ordered to be primed and loaded, and the horsemen to have lighted matches. Abdullah, with much gravity, brought my own pistols, observing that this was a country where all who possessed arms should carry them. I had, however, very little fear that any of these warlike preparations would end in bloodshed; and was, indeed, chiefly induced to make them from the conviction that the robbers, if there were any in the neighbourhood, were well informed of all our movements, and that they would be little disposed to attack us when they knew we were on our guard. Meantime I was surprised to find how the number of the camp-followers had increased. Dr. Smith saw, in the course of the evening, two men fighting with their fists, an unusual sight in India, and on inquiring into the cause, was informed that they were pilgrims going to Ajmere, who had taken advantage of the protection afforded by our caravan, and had followed it, with their wives and families, all the way from Meerut. And now at least a dozen, I had nearly said twenty, country people, women and children, came up, who had been detained on the road by fear of the plunderers, and hoped to get past safely in my train. In this hope they were not disappointed.

Next morning, *February 3rd*, we performed our march in much peace, through a very wild and desolate country, overgrown with brushwood and long grass, but on these accounts less dismal to the eye than the tracts of naked sterility which we had lately traversed. We passed two ruined forts; round one was still a village, and adjoining to it a large encampment of gipseys.

I endeavoured to learn some particulars of the recent fray, but did not succeed in any considerable degree. It seemed agreed that a good deal of money and silver ornaments had been taken from the traders; that these last made no resistance, but that, notwithstanding, several of them were beaten as well as stripped, but it was not true that any had been killed. The robbery had taken place between these two villages, in the wild country which I have mentioned, but who the assailants were, how many, and whence they came, nobody seemed to know.

After a ride of seven coss we arrived at Mouzabad, another rather large town, with a ruined wall, a mosque, some good gardens, and several temples. The largest of these was called by the rannee's suwarr, "*Bunyan ka Mandur*," the Trader's Temple, belonging to the sect of Jains, of whom I gave an account from Benares, and who are numerous in all the west of India, where they nearly engross the internal traffic of the country. This building was externally richly carved, and appeared, like that which I had seen at Benares, to contain several apartments; but we were not permitted to see the inside, though the suwarra, without scruple, took us into the court, and up to the terraced roof, walking with their shoes on, in high contempt (as became the Rajpoot "*children of the sun*") both of the tradesmen and their deity. I have no doubt that they would, at a word speaking, have made a way for us to the very sanctuary; but as the Jains seemed evidently in pain, and anxious that we should go no further, I thought it both uncivil and inhuman to press the point. A small, but richly-carved dome rises in the centre of this

building, and beyond this again, and, as I conceive, immediately over the image of Painsath, three high pyramids of carved stone are raised like those of the principal temples in Benares.

February 4.—From Mouzabad we went to Hirsowlee, six coss, over a country little different from what we had traversed since we left Jyepoor, equally level, equally ill cultivated and ill inhabited. Being on my elephant the first part of the way, I saw to my right-hand, at the distance of seven or eight miles, a large piece of water which I supposed to be a part of the celebrated salt lake of Sambur, which supplies all northern and western Hindostan with that necessary. I could not positively ascertain the fact, however, at the time, because I had no natives of the country near me, being attended by Skinner's suwarra. I asked the rannee's people when we came up with them, but could only learn that they had not seen it, which on horseback they certainly could not do, and that it lay several coss out of our way. Our own course was evidently not a direct one, and I ascertained the cause to be that the rannee's people were obliged to take us to those places only where there were crown-lands, or where the thakoor were disposed to respect her authority. Of these gentry we had met several within these few days, generally seated in covered carts drawn by white oxen with gilt horns, and escorted by men armed with matchlocks and sabres. They saluted us courteously as we passed, but did not show any desire to enter into conversation.

We had to-day also a proof, which I did not expect, that the government of Jyepoor was not quite without an army, since we met three Sepoys who said they were in the rannee's pay, and that there were three battalions of them. They were in scarlet uniforms, so exactly like those of the Company's army that I should have had no doubt, had they not told us the contrary, that they really belonged to it. One of the suwarra spoke very unfavourably of the rannee's service. His pay, he said, was only four rupees and a half per month, and even this pittance was often

several months in arrears. He made shift, he said, to support himself, but his wife and children at home were starving. Dr. Smith asked him if he should have preferred the Company's service, to which he replied that it was a very good service, the best in India, but that he could not endure the strictness of the discipline, and above all the corporal punishment. None of his race, he said, could endure a blow. He who spoke this was a Patan from Rohilcund, but most of our other men were Rajpoots, distinguished by their strings and their badges of gilt metal, a sun, and a man on horseback, which they wore round their necks in memory of their great ancestor the "radiant Surya," or Apollo.

Dr. Smith, in the course of the day, gave these poor fellows what they considered a great treat, that is, a lump of Malwah opium. All the Rajpoots indulge in this practice, and many to a great excess, but as the remainder of their food is so simple, and they touch no other stimulant of any kind, it of course does them less harm than Europeans. Our Rajpoot escort had now got into so high good humour with us, that nothing could surpass their attention and attendance, and though their style of attention was very different from the polished and profound respect of the Hindoostanees, it had so much apparent cordiality in it that I began to be much pleased with them. They reminded me of the Tchernoymsky Cossacks. They are certainly a fine-looking people, and their complexion the fairest that I have seen in India.

We walked at night about the town, which has a mud wall and fortress, with a very deep ditch. The bazar is large, but the principal object worth seeing is, as usual, the Jain temple. We were amused by the sight of a splendid nuptial procession, on account of the betrothal of the son of a neighbouring raja to the daughter of a thakoor. The little boy passed on an elephant, with a long array of kettledrums, trumpets, and standards before him, as well as a very handsome palanquin, in which two brothers, still younger than himself, were conveyed.

In his passage through the streets of the town, fireworks were let off at intervals, and all the roofs of the houses, as well as the ramparts of the fort, were covered with spectators. The townspeople were very civil in securing us a good place, and seemed pleased with the interest which I felt in the show, and with my wishing the little bridegroom "good luck." They told me that he was to be taken for that evening to the house of his new father-in-law, where the ceremony of affiancing took place, but that he and the little girl were to remain for some years with their respective parents, when the second and real marriage would be celebrated.

In the evening I took leave of the vakeel, who, before he went, delivered a long message from the rannee, expressive of her earnest desire that I would stand her friend with Government, and in which she sought to justify herself for her conduct in removing the rawul and employing the present minister. She was anxious that I should take charge of a letter from herself to Lord Amherst; and her messenger dwelt much on her great desire to have peace, and on the frauds and speculations of which, as she should be able to prove, the rawul had been guilty. I told the vakeel that the maharanee might depend on it, that the British Government had not the least desire, so long as she lived in peace, and governed her subjects mildly and justly, to diminish her authority, or lessen her son's territory. That I did not think such a letter as she wished me to take charge of could be of any use to her, as it was the custom of British governors to settle all matters of state in "Sudder" (council); and before Lord Amherst could read her letter it must be translated, and by thus becoming public might do her injury, as giving offence to Sir David Ochterlony and Colonel Raper. That she might depend on having any paper which she chose to send through those two officers duly laid before Government; and that she had better draw up as strong a memorial as she could for that purpose. But in return for the civilities which I had received from

her, and the confidence she had reposed in me, I begged leave to offer two pieces of advice: First, I had heard that she had laid out a great deal of money among different sahibs and their servants, in order to gain their friendship and interest. I assured her that she was imposed on if she did so; that the probability was that the sahibs knew nothing of the matter, and that she was only enriching their moonshees; but that, above all, there was no sahib at Agra, Delhi, or elsewhere, except Colonel Raper and Sir David Ochterlony, whose friendship and interest could be of any use to her. Secondly, I observed that I had been informed she had ordered one of her female attendants to be put to death without a regular trial, and that others were in fear of their lives. I earnestly urged the vakeel to tell her that there was nothing which could do her so much harm as these rash and violent proceedings, since there was nothing which shocked the English so much. That if her servants did anything worthy of death, it was good to bring them to open trial according to the Hindoo law, and before the usual magistrates; and that it was desirable at this time, to prevent slanderous reports, that whenever sentence of death was lawfully pronounced, her mouchtar should state the circumstances of the case to the resident. I was then asked if, when I returned to Calcutta, I would allow her vakeel there to visit me, and consult me about her affairs; to which I answered, that I should be always glad to hear of her prosperity; and I said also that when I next wrote to Lord Amherst, I would inform him of the kindness and attention with which she had treated me. I concluded with again advising her to place confidence in Sir D. Ochterlony and Colonel Raper, and to do her utmost to secure their favourable opinions. Having thus sent her the best advice I could, I gave the vakeel his present and certificate of good behaviour. I had been so much dissatisfied with him in the former part of the march, that, I believe, he had very faint expectations of either one or the other; so that nothing could be more profound than his bows

and professions of service in taking leave.

February 5.—The horsemen attended me next morning as far as Bandursindree, a small and poor town in the little principality of Kishenghur, where we found some servants whom Mr. Moore, the resident at Ajmere, had sent to receive me, and the jemautdar of the village, who said he had orders from the raja to provide everything for me. From Bandursindree to Kishenghur was, I found, not more than eight miles, and as we had only come a very short stage this day, and as time was precious with me, I made arrangements for proceeding to Kishenghur on the Sunday. Had I been able to obtain good information of the road, I should have gone through, this day, the whole distance from Hirsowlee. I here dismissed my Jyepoor bearers, having received a powerful reinforcement from Government, through the kindness of Captain Burns, head of the commissariat of Nusseerabad, who, having heard of the desertion of my people at Jyepoor, forwarded twenty men to meet me. At Nusseerabad no ordinary bearers are to be hired, but the commissariat keep forty or fifty in their pay for Government service; and the letters which Government had written concerning me directed them to supply me with every assistance and comfort in their power.

February 6.—From Bandursindree we went between four and five coss to Kishenghur. The country half-way continued open and barren. Afterwards, without ceasing to be barren, it was a good deal covered by thorny trees; and at length we ascended a rugged chain of granite hills, which brought us to Kishenghur, with its walls of solid and substantial masonry, its castle on the mountain top, and its gardens fenced with hedges of prickly pear—the whole something like Jyepoor in miniature. The tents were pitched in a stony and dusty plain, but in rather a pretty situation without the walls, and enjoying a view of the raja's palace, a large but rudely built fort on the banks of a fine pool of water, with a margin of green corn-fields, and a

background of bare and rugged hills. We found nothing ready either for ourselves or for our animals. The people, though civil, would furnish no supplies without the raja's orders; and he had married a new wife the day before, and nobody dared to apply to him. The promises of payment brought, however, a scanty supply, and soon afterwards, about ten o'clock, a message came from the raja in divan, with his order to supply whatever was wanted, and an inquiry whether I wished him to call on me. I returned for answer that I had no design to give him that trouble, and that I intended to call on him at any time in the afternoon that suited him, adding, that it was not my custom to go out in the heat of the day, and that I was obliged to leave Kishenghur early in the morning. The messenger said he would bring me word immediately, but never returned, a circumstance which the servants ascribed to the raja's having by this time dosed himself with opium. The result saved me some trouble, and was only remarkable as being inconsistent with the modesty and simplicity of the first message.

The raja was described to me as a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six, of a dissipated character; his territory is small and barren, but his expenses must be very trifling, except so far as his many relations, for all his clan consider themselves as his kinsmen, are burdensome to him. At night he sent me some guides for our next day's journey, and some coolies whom I did not want; but, to my surprise, did not send an escort which I had asked for the horses, which were to be sent on half-way; he, however, afterwards thought better of it, since, when we set out, a dozen horsemen presented themselves, but too late to be of any service. The corn, in the neighbourhood of Kishenghur, I was sorry to see a good deal blighted, as if with frost after rain. We had had no rain which could have done any mischief, and this was the first blight which I had seen in Rajpootana. The soil is very barren, but water is found everywhere, so that, with industry and good fortune, plenty may be obtained. On these light soils, blight is, I believe, always most fatal.

CHAPTER XXIII.

AJMERE TO NEEMUCH.

Ajmere—Remarkable Fortress—Mussulman place of Pilgrimage—Encampment of Brinjarrees—Nusseerabad—Bhâts and Charuns—Captain Todd—Boolees—Bheel manner of Fishing—Bheels—Ranah of Oodeypoor—Chittore—Anecdote of Rannee—Marble Tower—Night Blindness.

FEBRUARY 7.—We marched to Ajmere, about seventeen miles. The country was as barren as ever, but more hilly, and saved from a wearisome uniformity by clusters of thorny trees and thickets of the cactus. Among these we found a considerable number of camels grazing, and were passed by some irregular troops and some Sepoys in red, and pretty nearly equipped like those in the Company's service, who said they belonged to the Maharaja Sindia. What they could be doing here now that he had ceded all his territories in this neighbourhood and within a hundred miles of it, I could not conjecture. Dr. Smith, who put the question, had forgotten this fact, or would have asked them where they were going, and I, having supposed that they belonged to the Company's service, had ridden on before and did not hear the question or reply. They were all infantry; the irregulars had matchlocks, swords, and shields; the regulars only differed from our troops as having, which our men frequently carry when on a journey, sabres in addition to their muskets and bayonets. The cactus or prickly pear grows very strong on these barren hills. Dr. Clarke in his travels through the Holy Land speaks of it as likely in certain latitudes to afford an impenetrable fortification, and I now asked Dr. Smith if it were ever used in the "bound hedge" of an Indian town. He answered that it was found very easy to cut down either with axe or sabre; and that nothing answered so well as a thick plantation of bamboos,

which, though not prickly, are impenetrable, and can be neither burnt nor cut down without great loss of time and risk from the fire of the besieged. The union of the two, as in the fortification of Marapoor, which I have previously mentioned, would seem the best.

I was disappointed in the first view of Ajmere, which I had expected to find a large city, but which is only a well-built, moderate-sized town, on the slope of a high hill, or what really deserves the name of mountain. The buildings are chiefly whitewashed, and the surrounding rocks have some thorny trees and brushwood on them which hide their barrenness, and make a good background to the little ruinous mosques and Mussulman tombs, which are scattered round the circuit of this holy city. Above, on the mountain top, is a very remarkable fortress, called Taraghur, nearly two miles in circuit, but, from its irregular shape and surface, not capable of containing more than 1200 men. It is, however, a magnificent place of arms in many respects. The rock is in most parts quite inaccessible; it has an abundant supply of good water, in all seasons, from tanks and cisterns cut in the live rock. There are bomb-proofs to a vast extent, and storehouses like wells, where corn, ghee, &c. used to be kept, and, with very little improvement from European skill, it might easily be made a second Gibraltar. It is, however, no part of the policy of the British Government in India to rely on fortresses, and the works are now fast going to decay.

The main attraction of Ajmere in the eyes of its Mussulman visitors, is the tomb of Shekh Kajah Mowûd Deen, a celebrated saint, whose miracles are renowned all over India. The Emperor Achar, great and wise man as he was, and suspected of placing little faith in the doctrines of Islam, made nevertheless a pilgrimage on foot to this place to implore, at the saint's tomb, the blessing of male offspring. The crowd of pilgrims who met us, or whom we overtook during the last three or four days, showed how much the shrine is still in fashion; and in Malwah it is not uncommon for pilgrims who have been at the Ajmere Durgah, to set up a brick or a stone taken from the sanctuary, near their dwelling, and to become saints themselves, and have pilgrimages made to them in consequence of such a possession.

Nor are they Mussulmans alone who reverence this tomb. The Sindia family, while masters of Ajmere, were magnificent benefactors to its shrine, and my own sirdar and the goomashta Cashiram were quite as anxious to come hither as if it had been one of their own holy places. I regret that I could not see it, but we were encamped at some distance from the city, and it blew all day long a dry north-wester, which filled the air in such a manner with dust as to make going about extremely painful. I sat waiting in my tent in the hope that it might abate towards evening; but it only became bearable as it grew dusk, and the account which I heard of the tomb from Mr. Moore was not such as to lead me to incur any great inconvenience in order to visit it. My servants described it as of white marble, with a great deal of golden and silver ornament; but Mr. Moore said that, though rich, it was neither finely carved nor of any particular curiosity.

The emperors of Delhi showed favour in many ways to Ajmere, but in none more than in a noble fresh-water lake which they made just above the city, by damming up the gore of an extensive valley, and conveying different small rills into it. The result is a fine

sheet of water now four miles, and during the rains six miles in circumference, sufficient in industrious hands to give fertility to all the neighbourhood. As it is, it affords the means of irrigation to a large district on its banks, supplies abundance of excellent water to the citizens of Ajmere, is full of fish, and would, if there were any boats, be an excellent place for sailing.

Mr. Moore lives in a small house fitted up out of a summer-house erected by Shah Jehangire on the very "bund" or dam of this lake, and with its waters beating against the basement. The building is prettily carved and lined with white marble, but a much meaner edifice would, in such a situation, be delightful. There is no flood-gate in the bund, nor does any water escape that way; whatever is superfluous being diverted right hand and left, and employed in agriculture.

Three coss west of Ajmere is a celebrated Hindoo temple named Pokur, which, from the remoteness of its situation from the more populous parts of Hindostan, is an object of much interest and curiosity with people from the east and the Deckan.

My tent was very nearly blown over in the hurricane of to-day, and everything in it filled with sand, from my bed to my book-boxes and inkstand. But, though longer in duration, the storm was not greater in violence than some which I have seen in Calcutta.

February 8.—We proceeded to Nusseerabad, fourteen very long miles, over a sandy and rocky plain, bordered on each side by mountains which would have been picturesque had they had a less bleak and barren foreground. The hills are now much improved in size; the little dells and stony plains between their ranges are inhabited by a race of people called Mhairs, nominal Mussulmans, but paying no real regard to religion of any kind, and robbers by profession. Brigadier Knox told me that he had, on first coming into this district, a good deal of trouble with them. Sindia had never been able to tame them; and our troops found much difficulty in following them into their mountain fastnesses. They were brought

at length to ask for an audience of the general, and like the Puharrees of Rajmahal, whom they seem greatly to resemble, were easily conciliated on their being promised protection from their lowland neighbours, and obtaining an immunity of their lands from tribute. A corps of light troops has been raised among them to their great delight, and they have been both brave and faithful under British officers. Brigadier Knox apprehends them to be of the same race with the Bheels and the other inhabitants of the mountainous parts of India.

We passed a large encampment of "Brinjarrees," or carriers of grain, a singular wandering race, who pass their whole time in transporting this article from one part of the country to another, seldom on their own account, but as agents for more wealthy dealers. They move about in large bodies with their wives, children, dogs, and loaded bullocks. The men are all armed as a protection against petty thieves. From the sovereigns and armies of Hindostan they have no apprehensions. Even contending armies allow them to pass and repass safely, never taking their goods without purchase, or even preventing them if they choose from victualling their enemy's camp. Both sides wisely agree to respect and encourage a branch of industry, the interruption of which might be attended with fatal consequences to both. How well would it be if a similar liberal feeling prevailed between the belligerents of Europe; and how much is our piratical system of warfare put to shame in this respect by the practice of those whom we call barbarians!

Nusseerabad is a pleasanter place than, from all the bad reports I had heard of it, I had expected. The cantonments are very regular and convenient, the streets of noble width, and there are a sufficient number of stunted parkinsoniæ about the gardens to save the view from that utter nakedness which is usually seen in Rajpootana. Many wells and two or three large tanks have been constructed since the English fixed here, but most of the water is brackish. Garden vegetables thrive well, though

the soil is light and the rock is very near the surface, and I have no doubt that the peepul and many other trees would succeed if planted sufficiently thick in the first instance. They would be a great accession to the place, not only for beauty but for shade, for shelter from the bitter winds, and diminishing the quantity of dust, which is the chief plague of the station. In contradiction to all I had been previously told, I find that Nusseerabad is, even now, perhaps, the healthiest station in India; and the climate is pleasant at all times except during the hot winds. The rains in this parched land are welcomed as refreshing, and seldom are sufficiently steady to keep people at home a whole day together. The force stationed here is considerable, and I found a more numerous society than I expected in so remote a spot, and which had been represented to me in such gloomy colours. Fruit-trees will not grow here, but they have abundant supplies from Pokur, the place of pilgrimage which I have just mentioned, and which is renowned for its gardens and vineyards. The grapes are by far the best and largest in India, and equal to those of Shiraz. Sindia still retains a house and garden at Pokur; so that it is probable his troops, whom we met the other day, were going to do duty there. The sanctity of the place is renowned all over India, but of its beauty and fertility I had never heard before. The country indeed of Rajpootana, as I was now given to understand, does not increase in sterility in proportion to its approach to the western desert. Captain Sandys, the quarter-master-general of the district, had travelled considerably beyond Joudpoor; and he described the whole province of Marwar as better soil and in a better state of cultivation than either Jyepoor, Ajmere, or Meywar (the south-western tract, including Oodeypoor and Nee-much). Marwar, indeed, escaped better during the troubles, as being farther off from the Pindarrees. The wells are very deep, and agriculture therefore expensive. The villages, however, were in a good state, the corn looking well and covering a large surface, and the

cotton the finest he had ever seen. The oxen and sheep, also, give evidence of the goodness of their pasture, being the largest and most highly prized in all this part of India. A pair of good Marwar bullocks, fit for drawing a native carriage, and trained to trot, will be reckoned cheap at from one hundred and fifty to two hundred rupees, and those of Sind are still dearer.

The castle of Joudpoor, in which the raja resides, Captain Sandys described as extremely magnificent; and a drawing which he showed me fully confirmed his statement. It is as large as Windsor, less strikingly situated, and of more simple and solid architecture, but in many respects fully equal to its rival. It is strange to find such buildings in such a country. In England I should hardly be believed if I said that a petty raja in the neighbourhood of the salt desert had a palace little less, or less magnificent than Windsor.

During my stay at Nusseerabad I was the guest of Brigadier Knox, the oldest cavalry officer now in India, and who has not seen England since he was a boy. His house had as yet been the only place for divine service, but was not nearly large enough for the station. There was a ball-room of sufficient size, but objections had been made to using this as a church also, which I soon obviated, and the place was directed to be got ready for Sunday. On the Saturday preceding I held a confirmation, when I administered the rite to twenty-seven people, the good old brigadier at their head. On Sunday I had a congregation of about a hundred and twenty, of whom thirty-two staid for the sacrament. This was an interesting sight in a land where, fifteen years ago, very few Christians had ever penetrated.

Timber is excessively dear, and all articles of wooden furniture proportionably scarce. When ladies and gentlemen go out to dinner parties, they send their own chairs as well as their own plates, knives, and forks, a custom borrowed from the camp, and very sensible and convenient. At church also, everybody was to bring their own chairs; but as the soldiers had very

few of them anything like a seat, I begged that the ladies and gentlemen would send what supply they could spare for their use. A curious muster was accordingly made of all the chairs in the cantonment, but there were still more people than seats. The good-nature with which my request was met pleased me extremely.

European articles are, as might be expected, very dear. The shops are kept by a Greek and two Parsees from Bombay. They had in their lists all the usual items of a Calcutta warehouse. English cotton cloths, both white and printed, are to be met with commonly in wear among the people of the country; and may, I learned to my surprise, be bought best and cheapest, as well as all kinds of hardware, crockery, writing-desks, &c. at Pallee, a large town and celebrated mart in Marwar on the edge of the desert, several days' journey west of Joudpoor, where, till very lately, no European was known to have penetrated.

I here exchanged my escort of Sepoys, I believe, with mutual regret. They, as their commander, Colonel Thomas, told me, made a formal application to go on with me to my journey's end; and I, on hearing this, expressed the same desire. They were, however, wanted in their regiment after this long absence; and the more so because, without them, that regiment, in consequence of the numbers which had been distributed on different services, was almost a skeleton.

February 14.—I had intended to leave Nusseerabad to-day, but my course was arrested by the painful news of the illness of my poor baby. My first impression was to set out immediately, by the way of Saugor, for the Ganges; but reflecting that at Neemuch I should receive further intelligence, and be better able to decide as to the propriety of returning, I resolved to go on; Captain Fagan, the postmaster, having very kindly ordered one of the servants of his office to go with me, who was empowered to open and examine any Dāk packets which might pass us.

Accordingly, on *February 15th*, I quitted Nusseerabad, a place which I

found so much pleasanter than it had been described to me, that I have, perhaps, thought too favourably of it. Its inhabitants, however, certainly spoke well of it; and of them I have every reason to think and speak highly. I have not, in all India, met with a better informed, a more unaffected and hospitable society. We marched nineteen miles to Bunae, a good-sized town, situated at the foot of one of the ranges of mountains seen from Nusseerabad, with a little old castle on an adjoining rock, and a good many spreading trees round its base, which in this country are a very unusual and valuable ornament. The people of the place begged that we would not deface these trees by cutting them for our elephants and camels. A great part of the trade of their town, they said, depended on them, inasmuch as a *religious fair* was held annually under their shade. This was just over, and we had met, during our march, a number of people returning from it. Of course I complied with a wish so natural, and purchased, in consequence, three hundred little bundles of maize straw as food for the three elephants.

The Greek shopkeeper of Nusseerabad, a Mr. Athanass, a very decent man, rode after me to this place to ask my blessing, being the only Christian bishop whom he had seen since he had left Smyrna. He said he usually attended the worship of the Church of England, but had been ill on the morning of last Sunday. He had been sixteen years in India, had a brother, also a shopkeeper, at Meerut, and their family, he said, for two or three generations, had come out to make little competencies in the East, and had returned to spend the evening of their lives in their native country. He was very anxious to hear news from Greece, and I felt sorry that I had nothing good to tell him. I prevailed on him to eat some cold meat and drink some claret, but he would not sit down in the same room with me. Dr. Smith and I were lodged in an empty bungalow, one of several constructed along this road for the convenience of Sir David Ochterlony, but which all travellers may make

use of. They are sorry buildings of stone, thatched, with no furniture, nor any better doors and windows than pieces of matting; they, however, save the trouble of pitching tents, and answer every purpose for which they were intended.

The raja, or thakoor of the place, who resides in the little fort already mentioned, is a child, and his mother sent to allege his tender age as a reason for his not calling on me. In the town, where we walked in the evening, are two very elegant little temples.

February 16.—We went to Deolea, six coss. It is a small shabby town, with a mud rampart and a ruinous castle. The soil apparently improves as we go south, but the country is sadly burnt up, and bare of everything but thorny trees, which are pretty thickly scattered in some places.

February 17.—We proceeded seven coss to Dabla, a poor town like the last, at which we entered on the territories of the Ranah of Oodeypoor, and were met by one of the servants of Captain Cobbe, British resident at that court, who had prepared everything necessary for me. I found here another letter from home, with a more favourable account of the infant, but a bad account of my eldest girl. Now, however, I must proceed to Neemuch.

All this country is strangely desolate; yet the number of tombs and ruins which we passed proved that it had been well inhabited at no very distant period. Oodeypoor was, indeed, the district which suffered most from the Pindarrees, and from two of the chieftains who had the greatest influence with those horrible robbers, Bappoo Sindia, a cousin of the maharaja, and Jumsheed Khān. The only district which escaped was the territory of Kotah, then administered during the ranah's minority by the regent Zalim Singh, of whose character and many virtues an interesting account may be found in Sir John Malcolm's "Central India," and who, by firmness, personal popularity, and the able employment of very limited means, made his little country a sort of Eden amid the surrounding misery, and his court to be

renowned as an asylum for the exiled and unfortunate from every neighbouring principality. He died a few years ago, loved by his own subjects, and revered even by the worst and most lawless of his neighbours. During the time of Colonel Monson's disastrous expedition and retreat through these provinces, Zalim Singh offered to open his gates to his distressed army, and protect them during the whole rainy season, provided Monson would guarantee to him the British protection against the subsequent vengeance of Jeswunt Row Holcar. But he was incurable in his feelings of dislike and distrust towards all the natives of Hindostan. He would not so much as confide in the valour and loyalty of his own Sepoys, far less in that of a stranger; and he had, perhaps, no authority for promising the alliance of his Government to any native power so distant as Zalim Singh was from the *then* frontier of the Company. The generous offer of the regent was, however, very properly remembered and rewarded when the British became paramount in Rajpootana.

A "bhât," or bard, came to ask a gratuity. I desired him first to give a specimen of his art, on which he repeated some lines of so pure Hindoo, that I could make out little or nothing except "bhadrinâth," "duccun," and other words expressive of immense extent, and of the different parts of the compass; the poetry was in praise of the vast conquests of the British. He only repeated a very few lines, and seemed unwilling to go on, on which one of the bystanders, a Dâk peon, reproached him for his idleness, and rattled off twenty lines of the same language in high style, and with much animation, as a sort of challenge to an Amœbean contest. He spoke so rapidly that I caught even less of his meaning than of the bard's before, but the measure struck me as very nearly approaching to the hexameter. The bard rejoined with considerable vehemence, and I perceived that, like the corresponding contests of the shepherds in Theocritus and Virgil, the present trial of skill would soon degenerate into a scolding match, and therefore dismissed both

parties (according to the good old custom of Daphnis and other similar arbiters), giving each a small gratuity.

The bhâts are a sacred order all through Rajpootana. Their race was especially created by Mahadeo for the purpose of guarding his sacred bull; but they lost this honourable office through their cowardice. The god had a pet lion also, and as the favourite animals were kept in the same apartment, the bull was eaten almost every day, in spite of all the noise that the bhâts could make, greatly to the grief of Siva and to the increase of his trouble, since he had to create a new bull in the room of every one which fell a victim to the ferocity of his companion. Under these circumstances the deity formed a new race of men, the charuns, of equal piety and tuneful powers, but more courageous than the bhâts, and made them the wardens of his menagerie. The bhâts, however, still retained their functions of singing the praises of gods and heroes, and, as the hereditary guardians of history and pedigree, are held in higher estimation than even the Brahmins themselves, among the haughty and fierce nobles of Rajpootana. In the yet wilder districts to the south-west, the more warlike charuns, however, take their place in popular reverence. A few years back it was usual for merchants and travellers going through Malwah and Guzerât to hire a charun to protect them, and the sanctity of his name was generally sufficient. If robbers appeared, he stepped forwards waving his long white garments, and denouncing, in verse, infamy and disgrace on all who should injure travellers under the protection of the holy minstrel of Siva. If this failed he stabbed himself with his dagger, generally in the left arm, declaring that his blood was on their heads; and, if all failed, he was bound in honour to stab himself to the heart, a catastrophe of which there was little danger, since the violent death of such a person was enough to devote the whole land to barrenness, and all who occasioned it to an everlasting abode in Padalon.

The bhâts protect nobody; but to kill or beat one of them would be re-

garded as very disgraceful and ill-omened; and presuming on this immunity and on the importance attached to that sort of renown which it confers, they are said often to extort money from their wealthy neighbours by promises of spreading their great name, and threats of making them infamous, and even of blasting their prospects. A wealthy merchant in Indore, some years since, had a quarrel with one of these men, who made a clay image which he called after the merchant's name, and daily in the bazar and in the different temples addressed it with bitter and reproachful language, intermixed with the most frightful curses which an angry poet could invent. There was no redress, and the merchant, though a man of great power and influence at court, was advised to bribe him into silence; this he refused to do, and the matter went on for several months, till a number of the merchant's friends subscribed a considerable sum, of which, with much submission and joined hands, they entreated the bhât to accept. "Alas!" was his answer, "why was not this done before? Had I been conciliated in time, your friend might yet have prospered. But now, though I shall be silent henceforth, I have already said too much against him, and when did the imprecations of a bard, so long persisted in, fall to the ground unaccomplished?" The merchant, as it happened, was really overtaken by some severe calamities, and the popular faith in the powers of the minstrel character is now more than ever confirmed.

I find that the European complexion and dress are greater objects of curiosity here than I should have expected; of both they see many specimens in officers travelling through the country, and their own tint is so much lighter than that of the people of Bengal, that my habituated eyes have ceased almost to consider them as different from Europeans. I can perceive, however, in the crowds of women and children who come out to see us, that Dr. Smith and I are lions of the first magnitude; and an instance which happened this day shows that we are reckoned formidable

lions too. A girl of about twelve years old, whom we met in our walk round the town, stopped short and exclaimed, in a voice almost amounting to a cry, "Alas, mighty sir ('maharaja'), do not hurt me! I am a poor girl, and have been carrying bread to my father." What she expected me to do to her I cannot tell, but I have never before been addressed in terms so suitable to an ogre.

All the provinces of Meywar were, for a considerable time after their connection with the British Government, under the administration of Captain Todd, whose name appears to be held in a degree of affection and respect by all the upper and middling classes of society, highly honourable to him, and sufficient to rescue these poor people from the often-repeated charge of ingratitude. Here and in our subsequent stages we were continually asked by the cutwals, &c. after "Todd Sahib," whether his health was better since he returned to England, and whether there was any chance of their seeing him again? On being told it was not likely, they all expressed much regret, saying, that the country had never known quiet till he came among them, and that everybody, whether rich or poor, except thieves and Pindarrees, loved him. He, in fact, Dr. Smith told me, loved the people of this country, and understood their language and manners in a very unusual degree. He was on terms of close friendship with Zalim Singh of Kotah, and has left a name there as honourable as in Oodeypoor. His misfortune was that, in consequence of his favouring the native princes so much, the Government of Calcutta were led to suspect him of corruption, and consequently to narrow his powers and associate other officers with him in his trust, till he was disgusted and resigned his place.* They are now, I believe,

* The Editor is much concerned to find that this passage has given pain to a person for whom her husband felt the greatest respect and esteem. She is anxious therefore to remove any unfavourable impression which may exist on the subject by stating, that she now has the authority of a gentleman, who at the time was a member of the Supreme Council, to say, that no such imputation was ever fixed on Colonel Todd's character.

well satisfied that their suspicions were groundless. Captain Todd is strenuously vindicated from the charge by all the officers with whom I have conversed, and some of whom have had abundant means of knowing what the natives themselves thought of him.

There is a castle at Dabla, but much dilapidated. The thakoor, its owner, is in disgrace, and has sought refuge at Kotah, where he now resides in exile: the supplies were consequently scanty and dear, and the elephants had to go a long way before any trees could be found for their forage. What was worse still, a good deal of altercation and recrimination occurred, as to the question whether the money which I paid found its way to the poor peasants. Abdullah said the cutwal of the place had complained to him of its having been intercepted by the Sepoys, but the cutwal has, in my presence, and in answer to my questions, declared that all had been received. On the other hand, Abdullah had been accused, by some of the Sepoys, of frequent extortion during our journey. So difficult is it to find out the real state of the case among a people in whose eyes a lie is not disgraceful, and, if an offence, a very venial one! A good many of the tradesmen and merchants of this neighbourhood are natives of Biccaneere, a celebrated city in the desert, and generally return, when they have made a little money, to end their days in that place—a remarkable instance of the love of country, inasmuch as it stands in one of the most inhospitable regions of the earth, with an ocean of sand on every side, and all the drinkable water in the place is monopolized and sold out by the Government. Aboo, respecting which I asked several questions, lies, as I was told, forty coss directly west of Oodeypoor, in a very wild and thinly-inhabited country. On every account, I apprehend I have done well in not going there in this season of drought and scarcity.

February 18.—From Dabla to Bunaira is about sixteen miles; the country rather improves, at least it is not so naked, though the timber is little better than thorny bushes. Bunaira is a large

walled town, prettily situated in the midst of gardens and fields, at the foot of a range of craggy and shrubby hills, on one of which is a very fine castle, larger than that of Carnarvon, and in good repair. The raja, who resides in it, came out to meet me at the head of a considerable cavalcade; he was splendidly dressed, with a very glittering turban, a shield slung on his back, and a remarkably elegant sword and dagger in his sash. His horse was led by two grooms tolerably well clothed; the attire of his silver-stick and standard-bearers, and other servants, was not in very good repair, and his own cane was carried by a naked boy of about fourteen. He was an elderly man, and had lost many of his teeth, which made it very difficult for me to understand him. This does not seem an usual infirmity in India, but the raja's red eyes and eager emaciated countenance sufficiently proved him to be an opium-eater. On our first meeting we endeavoured to embrace, but our horses threw themselves into such offensive attitudes, and showed such unequivocal signs of hostile intentions, that we could only touch each other's hands. I know not how Cabul's courage rates, but he looked as if he would have torn both the raja and his horse into shreds. When our steeds were a little pacified, we rode abreast a short distance, and began a conversation. It is, fortunately, the custom in this part of the world for persons of very high rank to converse only through the medium of a confidential servant, and I gladly made use of this etiquette, using the Dāk jemautdar, whose Hindoostanee I understood pretty well, as the channel of communication with the muttering old Rajpoot. The effect, however, of this procedure was abundantly ludicrous. "Tell the Raja Sahib that I am happy to meet him, and hope he is in good health;" thus rendered, "The Lord Sahib *decrees* that he is happy to see your worship, and hopes you are in good health." "Tell the Lord Sahib that I am in very good health, thanks to his arrival and *provision*, and that I hope he is well;" rendered, "The Raja Sahib makes representation that he is very well, thanks to Huzzoor's

arrival," &c. In this way we talked on various subjects in our way to the bungalow, which stands in a grove of scattered trees and shrubs, at a little distance from the city gate. We passed the dam of what had been a noble pool of probably one hundred and fifty acres, but now quite dry, as was, the raja said, another of equal size on the other side of the town.

We passed also the first field of white poppies which I had seen, a sign of our approach to the opium district. The bungalow commands a very striking view of the raja's fortress; on arriving there we alighted and embraced in a most affectionate sort, after which I conducted him in and seated him at my right hand. A little more commonplace conversation followed, and he took his leave. Soon after he sent a considerable present of sweetmeats, which I ordered to be divided among the servants and soldiers. The bungalow looked very desolate, and I took the precaution of having my mosquito-net put up as a security from the scorpions, which, in such buildings, sometimes drop from the thatch, and slept at night very comfortably.

In the evening we walked to a neighbouring hill, where we had another view of the castle and town; the former, we were told, had stood a siege from Zalim Singh of Kotah, who erected his batteries on the hill where we now were, but from whence his balls could not have reached the ramparts, and Ameer Khân had ravaged the neighbourhood without attempting the castle. It would doubtless be a place of considerable strength even against an European army, unless they bombarded it, since there are no neighbouring heights which command it, and the rocky nature of the soil would make it very difficult and laborious to open trenches. But shells would, probably, soon compel a native garrison to surrender. A good deal of cotton grows round the city, and some wheat and barley, with several palm-trees, and the whole scene was interesting and romantic. Ruined tombs and mosques were scattered over the hills to a considerable distance.

February 19.—From Bunaira to

Bheelwara is ten miles; the road for about four miles wound very agreeably through hills and scattered jungles. Afterwards we entered a plain, greener and better cultivated than we had seen any extent of country for many days; the cattle all showed this change, and, notwithstanding the drought had extended hither also, were in a plight which, even in England, would not have been called actual starvation. At about seven miles we passed Sanganeer, a large town and celebrated fortress, with a good rampart, bastions of better construction than most I have seen, a glacis and ditch, which showed signs of having been a wet one. The walls of the town were, however, much dilapidated, and we were told it had been sacked by Ameer Khân. Here I was met by the kamdar, or judge of Bhularia, with a message of welcome from the Ranah of Oodeypoor; he was a very clean and respectable old man, with a numerous attendance of ragged match-lock men.

Bheelwara is a large town without any splendid buildings, but with a number of neat houses, four long bazars, and a greater appearance of trade, industry, and moderate, but widely-diffused wealth and comfort than I had seen since I left Delhi. The streets were full of hackeries laden with corn and flour, the shops stored with all kinds of woollen, felt, cotton, and hardware goods, and the neatness of their workmanship in iron far surpassed what I should have expected to see. Here, too, everybody was full of Captain Todd's praise. The place had been entirely ruined by Jumsheed Khân and deserted by all its inhabitants, when Captain Todd persuaded the ranah to adopt measures for encouraging the owners of land to return, and foreign merchants to settle; he himself drew up a code of regulations for them, obtained them an immunity from taxes for a certain number of years, and sent them patterns of different articles of English manufacture for their imitation. He also gave money liberally to the beautifying their town. In short, as one of the merchants who called on me said, "it ought to be called Todd-gunge,

but there is no need, for we shall never forget him." Such praise as this from people who had no further hopes of seeing or receiving any benefit from him, is indeed of sterling value.

Though the country improves, the people, I think, are a smaller race than those to the north, and certainly fall very far short of the Hindoostanee Sepoys.

February 20, Sunday.—We were again obliged to go a short stage this day, in order that I might have, which is absolutely necessary, two entire days at Neemuch. I tried different ways of arranging the journey so as to secure our Sunday's rest, but it would not do. We began our march with a very melancholy omen. One of the raja's soldiers, or chokeydars, for the name of soldiers they hardly merited, who had been sent from the town to take charge of the remainder of the grass which my suwarra had left, sate down on the parapet of a deep and broad well or "boolee," with a wide flight of steps down to the water's edge. Here he either fell asleep or was seized with a fit; at all events he rolled over, fell at least forty feet on the stone staircase, and was dashed to pieces. He had no wife, but left two children, one a boy in service, the other a little girl of eight years old. Her uncle brought this child to me in consequence of my inquiries, and the interest which I took in the business; the poor little thing seemed hardly to understand what had happened, except that something dismal had befallen her father; and her blubbered cheeks, her great black eyes, which were fixed on me between fear and astonishment, and her friendless state, affected me much. I gave her money enough to burn the dead body, and leave her something over for her own immediate maintenance, and recommended her to the care of her uncle, who confessed himself to be her natural guardian.

These boolees are singular contrivances, and some of them extremely handsome and striking; they are very deep square pits, about fifteen or twenty feet across, lined with hewn stone, and sometimes sixty or seventy feet deep.

At the top is a pulley, as in a common well, by which water is drawn from the bottom by oxen, but on one side is a long and broad flight of stone steps to the water's edge, and, with its approach, sometimes ornamented with pillars and a kind of portico. The steps are used both by people who desire to wash themselves, and by those who have not rope enough to reach the water from the surface, and the effect in going down is often very striking. They are generally full of pigeons, which build their nests in crannies of the walls.

Our road was through a country chiefly covered with open jungle to Ummeerghur, distant nine miles. A little short of this place we passed the river Bunass, now a dry channel with the exception of a narrow stream of beautiful and rapid water in its centre. It flows eastward, and falls into the Jumna. In the rainy season it is a very great river, and the suwarra told us they had never seen it so dry before. There is another river of the same name beyond the hills of Aboo and Palhanpoor, which falls into the Runn to the west of Guzerat, a circumstance which has led Arrowsmith into some great errors, in supposing these streams to rise out of the same lake and flow different ways.

Ummeerghur is a good-sized town, in the centre of which are three very pretty temples ranged in a line, and built on an uniform plan, with a tomb on their right hand, where repose the ashes of a rich merchant, their founder. A considerable manufacture of chintz seemed going on, and the place bore the marks of apparent prosperity. Above it, on a high rock, stands a castle, which was conquered last year for the ranah from a rebellious thakoor. The ranah, with three thousand men, had besieged it three months before he asked for the help of British troops. Finding, however, that he made no progress, he applied to the brigadier at Neemuch, and two battalions and a few mortars settled the affair in little more than one day. This was told me by the kamdar of the town, and confirmed with a sort of exultation by the jemaundar of a troop of irregular cavalry, who, as his corps

is under a British officer, and he himself had served in our army against Asseerghur, seemed to pique himself on being a British, not an Oodeypoor soldier. The kamdar, together with the "Potail," or zemindar of the neighbouring district (who is here an officer strictly hereditary, and answering to the Lord of a Manor in England), called on me, attended by a number of men with rusty matchlocks, swords, and shields. The kamdar spoke very intelligible Hindoostanee, and I thought him a sensible man. The potail had the appearance of a venerable old farmer. The whole party, attendants and all, entered the bungalow in the unceremonious manner which Sir John Malcolm ascribes to the natives generally of Central India, and seated themselves on the ground in a half-circle round me, resting their hands on their shields. My servants were a good deal scandalized at this rustic plainness, but there was, evidently, no offence intended. On the contrary, nothing could exceed the attention which they paid us during the day. Fuel and grass were furnished on the most liberal scale, and they sent a stock of very fine fish, enough to dine our whole camp, while all payment was steadily refused, except that I was, with some difficulty, allowed to give three rupees to the fishermen who had worked for us the greatest part of the morning. Of the fish, indeed, they were glad to dispose as soon as possible in any way which might offer. They were the inhabitants of a large pool close to the castle-hill, which appeared, in the rains, to cover about eighty acres, being then supplied from the Bunass river. It usually retained its water all the year, but this cruel season had already brought it very low, and in a month more they calculated that it would be quite dry. Accordingly all hands were now at work to catch the fish while they were yet alive, and people from the whole country round about had assembled, either for this purpose or to purchase them, a very large "rooe" being to be had for a single pice. Captain Gerard, an engineer officer who met me here, went to see the chase, and said it was very curious. The fish were pursued

in the shallow muddy water with sticks, spears, and hands in all directions, but there was little execution done till four Bheels, in the service of the Oodeypoor government, made their appearance. The rabble were then driven away, and these savages, with their bows and arrows, made in a few hours that havoc among the fish which produced such plenty in the camp, singling out the largest, and striking them with as much certainty as if they had been sheep in a fold. The magistrates offered to renew the sport for my diversion in the evening, but, being Sunday, I did not choose it. I saw the fishermen, however, who were the first of their nation I had met with—middle-sized, slender men, very dark, with frames which promised hardiness and agility more than much muscular strength. They were bare-headed, and quite naked except a small belt of coarse cloth round the loins, in which they carried their knives. Their bows were of split bamboos, very simply made, but strong and elastic, more so, I think, than those of buffalo-horn, which are generally used in Hindostan. They were about four feet six inches long, and formed like those of Europe. The arrows were also of bamboo, with an iron head coarsely made, and a long single barb. Those intended for striking fish had this head so contrived as to slip off from the shaft when the fish was struck, but to remain connected with it by a long line, on the principle of the harpoon. The shaft, in consequence, remained as a float on the water, and not only contributed to weary out the animal, but showed his pursuer which way he fled, and thus enabled him to seize it.

We have not yet passed any Bheel villages, but I am told that we are getting into their neighbourhood: Bheelwara, indeed, though now inhabited by Hindoo and Mussulman traders, should seem, in its name, to retain the mark of its original population. During the period which is emphatically called by all the people of this country "the years of trouble," these savages were one among the many scourges which laid waste the fields, and made travel-

ling a desperate adventure. The revival of the Rajpoot governments, and the better system of police which English influence has introduced among them, together with the aid which they receive on all serious occasions from the garrisons of Mhow and Neemuch, have put a stop, in a great degree, to these depredations; and the judicious measures of firmness and conciliation pursued towards the Bheel chiefs, who have had lands granted them tax-free, in order to bring them into regular habits, and have been many of them enrolled, like the Puharrees and Mhairs, in local corps for the defence of the roads, have gone far to make the savages themselves sensible of their true interests, and the kind intentions of the English towards them. Still, however, there are occasional excesses, though they are chiefly indulged in against the Hindoos. A few months since, one of the bazars at Neemuch was attacked and plundered by a body of the hill people, who succeeded in getting off with their booty before the troops in the neighbouring cantonment could overtake them. And there are, doubtless, even in the plains, many who still sigh after their late anarchy, and exclaim, amid the comforts of peaceful government,

"Give us our wildness and our woods,
Our huts and caves again."

The son of Mr. Palmer, chaplain of Nusseerabad, a clever boy, who speaks the native languages very fluently, while travelling lately with his father and mother in their way from Mhow, observed some Bheels looking earnestly at a large drove of laden bullocks which were drinking in a ford of the Bunass. He asked one of the men if the bullocks belonged to him? "No," was the reply, "but a good part of them would have been ours if it were not for you Sahib Log, who will let nobody thrive but yourselves!"

Captain Gerard, I found, under a very modest exterior, a man of great science and information; he was one of the persons most concerned in the measurement and exploring of the Himalaya mountains, had been in Ladak, and repeatedly beyond the Chinese

frontier, though repelled each time, after penetrating a few miles, by the Tartar cavalry. He had himself ascended to the height of nineteen thousand six hundred feet, or four hundred higher than Humboldt had ever climbed amid the Andes, and the latter part of his ascent, for about two miles, was on an inclined plane, of forty-two, a nearer approach to the perpendicular than Humboldt conceived it possible to climb for any distance together. Nothing, he said, could exceed the care with which Major Hodgson, Mr. Frazer, and himself had ascertained the altitude of the hills. Each of the accessible peaks had been measured by repeated and scrupulous experiments with the barometer, corrected by careful trigonometrical measurement, checked by astronomical observations. The inaccessible heights had been found by trigonometry, on bases of considerable extent, and with the help of the best and highest priced instruments. The altitudes, therefore, of the hills, and the general geography of the provinces on the British side of the frontier, he regarded as about as well settled as human means could do it, and far better than the same objects have been obtained in most countries of Europe. The line at which vegetation ends he states to be about thirteen thousand feet. The mountains of Kemaon, he said, are considerably more accessible and less rocky than those which lie north of Sabathoo, where the scenery is more sublimely terrible than can be described. Yet Nundidevi, and the other highest peaks, lie nearer to Almorah than to Sabathoo, and the scenery of both these situations falls short of the upper parts of the valley of the Alacanandra which flows between them. The more I hear of these glorious hills, the more do I long to see them again, and explore them further. But my journeys never can nor ought to be mere tours of pleasure, and the erection of a new church, the location of a new chaplain, and twenty other similar matters may compel me to a course extremely contrary to what I could desire if I were master of my own time.

Captain Gerard had been employed

some time in surveying and mapping this part of India, and was now for his health returning to the hills, having had a severe fever at Neemuch. He spoke of Jyepoor as the least hospitable and most unruly of all the Rajpoot and Maharatta principalities, and seemed rather to wonder that I had got through it so well, and met with so much general civility.

In the evening we walked to see the fort on the hill, which, though it looks extensive and showy from without, is within neither large nor interesting. The only object of curiosity is a very deep well, the water of which is drawn up by a wheel turned by bullocks, but which, preposterously enough, is placed just without the main wall of the castle.

February 21.—From Ummeerghur to Gungrowr is a distance of ten miles, the latter half through a jungle of bushes and stunted trees, but with a very tolerable road, though not easy to find, on account of the number of tracks winding in every direction through the coppice. Gungrowr is a small town with a castle, perched on a rock at the foot of a range of woody hills. It had been described to me as only remarkable for the predatory habits of its people. Of these I had no opportunity of judging; to us they were very civil, and the bill for expenses brought in by the chief of the place was very moderate. But the situation I thought the most beautiful I had seen since leaving the mountains. Our tents were pitched in a plain traversed by a small brook which, even now, was not dry, and bordered by a wood of some of the largest mangoe, saul, peepul, and banyan trees which I ever saw except at Ruderpoor, above which rose the hills with their rock, brushwood, and ruinous towers; and in spite of this burning season, the ground was so good, and the brook so abundant, that there was a very tolerable turf, a thing which I had not seen, I might almost say, since I left Bengal! I had a delightful walk in the wood as soon as the day grew cool. In spite of the ill reputation of the neighbourhood I left my train behind, and could often

almost fancy myself at dear Hodnet. I believe this place did me real good, at least I felt better hope and heart after a half-hour's stroll, when I was joined by Dr. Smith, who agreed with me that, but for a few scattered palm-trees, the scene would have been entirely English. It would, he said, have been Scottish, but for the great size of the timber, which indeed I have seldom, if ever, seen equalled in our own country.

I asked the duffildar of the irregular horse if there were many groves as fine as these in our way to Neemuch, and was glad to hear that the country would become more and more woody and verdant as we advanced. The jemautdar from Ummeerghur made his appearance again to-day. He had, indeed, promised to go with me as far as Chittore, but now apologized on the plea that news had arrived of a band of robbers having made their appearance near Bheelwara, the inhabitants of which place had sent to ask his assistance. He did not know the strength of the banditti, but said that with the ten men whom he had with him, he should not be afraid of charging fifty Bheels. I asked him if it were true that the people of Gungrowr bore so ill a character? "The same," he said, "as all the people in the neighbourhood; all had been thieves, and all would be so again if they dared: Bheels or Rajpoots, there was little difference." He was himself a Mussulman, a short, but very strong-built man, with a cheerful countenance and a good deal of energy of manner. He said there were one hundred horse stationed in different parts of this district, under a tussildar and himself, to keep the peace. They had at first some troublesome work, but now things were reasonably quiet.

I had another countryman with me to-day, Dr. Gibb, late inspecting surgeon of this district, and just appointed a member of the Military Board, to take his seat in which he was now marching towards Calcutta. He is a cheerful, well-informed old gentleman, and gave me a good deal of additional knowledge respecting Central and Western India. The Mussulman jag-

hiredars, Ghuffoor Khân, Ameer Khân, and a few others, make better sovereigns than the Hindoo princes. Though remorseless robbers, so far as they dare, to all their neighbours, they manage their rynts better, are themselves better educated, and men of better sense than the generality of rajas or ranahs, and are sufficiently aware of their own interest to know that if they ruin the peasantry, they will themselves be losers. Ameer Khân, like the saintly Woggarwolfe, in Miss Baillie's "Ethwald," now that he can no longer carry fire and sword from Bhopâl to Joudpoor, is grown devout in his old age, dresses in sackcloth and ragged apparel, tells his beads and reads his Koran continually, and is surrounded by fakirs. He is extremely rich, but his army, except a few household troops, he was obliged by Lord Hastings to dismiss. To prevent the evil of turning such a horde of desperate men loose on the country, all who chose it were taken into the Company's service. But Ameer Khân would still have found, had his services against Jyepoor been accepted by Government, no scarcity of ruffians and vagabonds to join the banner of so renowned a leader, and would in a few weeks have been again the old Patan general, the neighing of whose horses was heard from Gurmukteser Ghât to the hill of Aboo.

The Ranah of Oodeypoor has a large extent of territory, and, in ordinary years, a singularly fertile one, were these people to cultivate it. But he was quite ruined and beggared by Bappoo Sindia and Jumsheed Khân. Half his revenues at least are mortgaged to shroffs and money-lenders, and his people are pitiably racked in order to pay the exorbitant interest of his debts. It has been the misfortune of his family to have been the oldest and purest in India; to be descended in a right line from the Sun without any debasing mixture, having resisted all attempts of the Emperors of Delhi to effect an intermarriage of the houses, and reckoning, I believe, in their pedigree, one or two Avatars of the Deity. In consequence they have been generally half-mad with pride, perpetually marrying

among themselves, fond of show and magnificence beyond their means, or the usual custom of Hindoo sovereigns, and very remarkably deficient in knowledge and intelligence. The present ranah adds to all these advantages a great fondness for opium. In consequence the revenue is collected in the most oppressive, and dissipated in the most absurd manner, and except in the large towns which have obtained, more or less, the protection of the British resident, the country, Dr. Gibb said, has profited infinitely less than either Malwah or the rest of Meywar by the peace which it has enjoyed since the destruction of the Pindarrees. Yet, in comparison with Jyepoor, the country is plentiful and thriving. Corn is cheap, and the number of beggars less than I have seen on this side of Delhi. And when the very unfavourable season is taken into consideration, I really think that present appearances may be well accounted for, without supposing any great oppression on the part of their government.

The late thakoor, Bulwar Singh, who was shot, with his two eldest sons, about two months ago, in an affair with our troops at Boondee, was considered as the ablest man in this part of India. He was as restless, however, as he was active and daring, the untameable enemy of the British power, and the person who chiefly encouraged the rannee of Jyepoor to brave that power. His mine, fortunately, exploded too soon. Conscious of his own intrigues, he refused to give any explanation of his conduct to the resident of Kotah, fortified himself in his house, and fired on four companies of Sepoys who, by a fortunate chance for the Government, happened then to march through the country. Finding himself unprepared to stand a siege, he sallied out with about twenty men, among whom were his sons, and all three fell in the attempt to cut through the soldiers. His youngest son, a boy, has been allowed to inherit his jaghire.

The weather is growing warm, though, as yet, by no means oppressive. I must expect some heat, however, before I reach Baroda.

February 22.—From Gungrowr to Chittore is between twelve and thirteen miles, a wild but interesting road winding through woods at the foot of some fine rocky hills. The situation of Chittore is conspicuous from a considerable distance by the high rock on which the fortress stands, and which from its scarped sides, and the buildings scattered along its crest, sufficiently denote its nature, even before the precise forms of the buildings themselves are distinguishable. There is a bungalow for travellers near the Bunass, but in a situation without shade, and too far from the city to answer my purpose. The tents were therefore sent on half a mile farther to a small stony plain close to the town gates, and we followed them through a ford of the river, which in this place still runs with a considerable stream of very bright and beautiful water. On our left hand were the ruins of a long, lofty, and handsome bridge of eight Gothic arches, and one semicircular one in the centre, with a ruined tower and gateway at each end. The ford was deep, with a sharp, gravelly bottom, the road leading to it both ways extremely broken and stony. Our encamping ground was near the bazar, and close to a fine boolee, but had no other advantages, being rocky and strewed with rubbish and fragments of buildings, with only a single tree. It was made, too, more uncomfortable by the neighbourhood of a poor mad woman, who had taken up her abode under a little shed just long enough and high enough to shelter her as she lay on her back, covered with a ragged cloth, and raving and lamenting, as we are told, and as I had good reason to believe, night and day. I gave her a little relief, as many others in the camp did, but she went on in the same tone, and with the same fluency. Dr. Smith offered to supply her with opium if she ever took it, but she answered, "No," and went on as before, or rather worse. At last a Sepoy said he would break her head if she did not hold her tongue, which quieted her for a few minutes, when she broke out again. He did not, however, put his

threat into execution, nor do I believe he ever intended to do so: on the contrary, all the people called her a "moonee," or inspired person, and treated her, if not with respect, at least with forbearance.

The kamdar of the town, a very well-mannered man, in a splendid dress, called on me, and offered to conduct me to see the castle, which was a great favour, as it is a thing of which they are very jealous, and which probably not ten Europeans had seen out of all the number who have visited and lived in India. I proposed accompanying him at four in the evening, but he begged it might not be later than three, and that we would come on horseback, since it was, he said, nearly two coss to the top of the hill. We accordingly joined the thakoor in the market-place of the little old city, where he was already mounted and ready to accompany us. Chittore was once the capital of this principality, and is still what would be called in England a tolerably large market-town, with a good many pagodas, and a meanly built, but, apparently, busy bazar. The population seem chiefly weavers and dealers in grain. The fortress rises immediately above the town, and extends for a considerable distance to the right and left of it. The rock, where not naturally precipitous, has been scarped by art all round the summit to the height of from eighty to one hundred and twenty feet, and is surmounted by a rude wall with semicircular bastions, enclosing, as our guide the thakoor assured us, a circuit of six coss, or twelve miles. Of course it does not contain an area proportionate to this circumference, since the form is extremely irregular, and the ridge of the hill in many places narrow. But the length I can easily believe to be above two coss, and the measurement of the wall is, probably, not much exaggerated. The approach is by a zig-zag road, of very easy slope, but stony and in bad repair, passing under six gateways with traverses and rude out-works, before we arrive at the main entrance of the castle. The whole face of the hill, except the precipice, is covered with trees and brushwood, and

the approach is therefore very picturesque and interesting. It is certainly, however, not two coss in gradual ascent, though it may perhaps be not far short of one. In advance of the castle gate is an outwork, or barbican, with a colonnade internally of octagonal pillars and carved imposts, supporting a flat terrace, and with a hall in the interior, which our guide pointed out to us as resembling the hall of audience at Delhi! If he had said the emperor's stables, he would have been nearer the truth, but I did not think it necessary to contradict him. The gateway itself is very lofty and striking, with a good deal of carving, in the genuine style of ancient Hindoo architecture, with no Mussulman intermixture, and more nearly resembling the Egyptian than anything I have seen since my arrival in this country. On entering, we first passed through a small street of very ancient and singular temples, then through a narrow and mean bazar, then, and so long as daylight lasted, through a succession of most extraordinary and interesting buildings, chiefly ruinous, but some still in good repair. The temples were the most numerous, none of them large, but several extremely solemn and beautiful. There were two or three little old palaces, chiefly remarkable for the profusion of carving bestowed on rooms of very small dimensions, and arranged with no more regard to convenience than a common prison. One of these, which is seated on a rock in the midst of a large pool, was pointed out as the residence of a very beautiful rannee, whose fame induced the Emperor Acbar to demand her in marriage, and, on her father's refusal, to lay siege to Chittore, like another Agramant, in order to win the hand of this Eastern Angelica. After a long siege he succeeded in undermining a part of the wall, on which the princess in question persuaded all her country-women in the garrison to retire with her and her children into this palace, where they were, at their own desire, suffocated with the smoke of fuel heaped up in the lower apartments, only two remaining alive. The garrison then sallied out on the enemy,

and all died fighting desperately, neither giving nor accepting quarter. The two female survivors of the carnage were found by Acbar, and given in marriage to two of his officers. I give this story as I heard it from the Thakoor Mytee Motee Ram. With the exception of the romantic cause assigned for Acbar's invasion of Oodeypoor, it is indeed "an over true tale," the horrible circumstances of which may be found in Dow's History of Hindostan. It is extremely probable that there may have been some one high-spirited princess who urged her companions to submit cheerfully to slaughter, rather than to the wretched lot of female captives; but it is certain that all the women and children were slaughtered nearly in the manner described, which, in the blood-stained history of India, was of no uncommon occurrence, and known by the technical term of "Joar," being an act of devotion to Kali, to which men had recourse in the last extremity.

The palace on the lake has, however, no appearance of having suffered by fire, though the ruins of a long range of apartments to the north of the lake may very probably have been the scene of this sacrifice, and in this, perhaps, I may have misunderstood my informant. Just above, and on the crest of the hill, as if connected with this event, stands the largest temple in the fort, dedicated to the destroying powers, with the trident of Siva in front, and within, lighted by some lamps, in its furthest dark recess, a frightful figure of the blood-drinking goddess, with her lion, her many hands full of weapons, and a chaplet of skulls. A tiger's skin was stretched before her, and the pavement was stained with the blood of sacrifices from one end to the other. On one side, on a red cloth, sate three Brahmins, the principal of whom, a very handsome man of about thirty-five, was blind, and seemed to be treated by the other two, and by all the bystanders, with great deference. On my entering the temple, which is very beautiful, I gave a rupee to the Brahmin next me, who with a very humble obeisance laid it at the foot of his superior, telling him at the same time that it was the

gift of a "belattee raja." He took no notice, however, of either it or me, merely raising his calm melancholy face and sightless eyes at the sound of my voice, and again turning them towards the shrine, while he kept telling the beads of his rosary. A large peepul grows in the court of the temple, and there are many others scattered on different parts of the hill. In this and all the other temples, I was much struck with the admirable masonry and judicious construction of the domes which covered them, as well as with the very solemn effect produced by their style of architecture. A Gothic or Grecian building of the same size would merely have been beautiful, but these, small as they are, are awful; the reason of which may be found in the low and massive proportion of their pillars, in the strong shadow thrown by their projecting cornices and unpierced domes, in the long flights of steps leading to them, which give a consequence to structures of very moderate dimensions, and in the character of their ornaments, which consist either of mythological bas-reliefs, on a very minute scale, so as to make the buildings on which they are found seem larger, or in an endless repetition and continuation of a few very simple forms, so as to give the idea of a sort of infinity. The general construction of all these buildings is the same, a small court-yard, a portico, a square open building supported by pillars and surmounted by a dome, and behind this a close square shrine, surmounted by an ornamented pyramid. One, and one only, of the buildings on the hill struck me as a Mussulman erection, and on inquiring who built it, I was told it really was the work of Azeem Ushân, son of Aurengzebe, who also was fortunate enough to take Chittore, and who called this building "Futteh Mul" (Victory Hall). It is singular that such a trophy should have been allowed to stand when the Hindoos recovered the place. Though uninhabited and falling to decay, it is still tolerably entire.

There are, besides the pool which I have already noticed, many beautiful pools, cisterns, and wells, in different

parts of this extraordinary hill, amounting, as we were assured, to eighty-four, of which, however, in the present singularly dry season, only twelve have water. One of these last, cut in the solid rock, and fed by a beautiful spring with a little temple over it, is a most picturesque and romantic spot. It has high rocks on three sides, crowned with temples and trees; on the fourth are some old buildings, also of a religious character, erected on the edge of the precipice which surrounds the castle, a long flight of rock-hewn steps leads down to the surface of the water, and the whole place breathes coolness, seclusion, and solemnity. Below the edge of the precipice, and with their foliage just rising above it, grow two or three plantains of a very large size, which were pointed out to me as great curiosities. The kamdar assured me that they were three hundred years old, and that they every year produced excellent fruit, though, as he truly said, there could be very little earth on the ledge where they were rooted. They probably derive moisture from the water filtering through the rampart, which here forms a dam to the pool. For their great age I have only his authority.

The most extraordinary buildings in Chittore are two minarets or tower temples, dedicated to Siva. The smaller of these we only saw from a distance, and were told it was now ruinous; the largest, which resembles it in form, is a square tower nine stories high, of white marble most elaborately carved, surmounted by a cupola, and the two highest stories projecting, balcony-wise, beyond those beneath them, so that it stands on its smaller end. There is a steep and narrow but safe staircase of marble within, conducting to seven small and two large apartments, all richly and delicately carved with mythological figures, of which the most conspicuous and most frequently repeated are, Siva embracing Parvati, and Siva in his character of destroyer, with a monstrous cobra de capello in each hand. Our guides said that the building was five hundred years old, but from its beautiful state of preserva-

tion, I should not suppose it half that age. It is, so far as I could judge by the eye, about a hundred and ten or a hundred and twenty feet high. The view from the top is very extensive, but, at the present season of the year, there is so much dust and glare that a distant prospect cannot be seen to advantage in this part of India.

On our return from the fort I found the killedar with a number of people round him, seated on the roof of the colonnade which I have mentioned. I paid him some compliments in passing, on the magnificence and strength of his castle, which he received in a surly manner enough, barely standing up to return my civilities. I suspect that, though compelled by the order of his superiors to admit me, he was not well pleased at seeing Feringees within his castle, and perhaps still less so, that they came by the invitation of another person. We returned down the hill by torch-light, greatly pleased with our visit.

We did not see much of the rampart, but were struck by the very slight appearance of precaution or defence at the gates which we passed. There was only one clumsy piece of cannon visible, and the number of armed men did not altogether amount to sixty. A considerable population resides within the fort, but they seemed all Brahmins, weavers, and market-people. If well garrisoned by a British force, the place would, with the addition of some case-mates, be very nearly impregnable. Its situation is such, that to batter it could be of little use, and, from its great extent, shells would not occasion much danger to the garrison. But to man its walls, even in the most imperfect manner, would require a moderate army.

In our way back through the town, a man begged of me, saying that he was blind. On my calling him, however, he came forwards so readily to the torches, and saw, I thought so clearly, that I asked him what he meant by telling me such a lie. He answered that he was night-blind ("rat unda"), and I, not understanding the phrase, and having been a good deal worried

during the day with beggars, for the whole fort is a swarm of nothing else, said peevishly "darkness is the time for sleep, not for seeing." The people laughed as at a good thing, but I was much mortified afterwards to find that it was an unfeeling retort. The disease of night blindness, that is, of requiring the full light of day to see, is very common, Dr. Smith said, among the lower classes of India, and to some professions of men, such as soldiers, very inconvenient. The Sepoys ascribe it to bad and insufficient food, and it is said to be always most prevalent in a scarcity. It seems to be the same disorder of the eyes with which people are afflicted who live on damaged or inferior rice, in itself a food of very little nourishment, and probably arises from a weakness of the digestive powers. I was grieved to think I had insulted a man who might be in distress, but Dr. Smith comforted me by saying that, even in respect of night blindness, the man was too alert to be much of a sufferer from the cause which he mentioned.

February 23.—From Chittore to Sawa is a stage of ten miles, through a country almost entirely covered with jungle, not close and matted with long grass, but open, of scattered trees and bushes, with a tolerable turf under foot. It abounds, the suwaris told me, with deer and wild hogs, but has very few tigers. These last, indeed, seem to like long grass and the neighbourhood of water, which is here by no means abundant. There are, however, other beasts of prey. A few nights before, a wolf had carried away a fine lamb from our little flock, close under the nose of the centinel, who did not perceive the robber till too late.

Sawa is a good-sized town, walled, and containing two or three well-looking houses, four handsome pagodas, and two very beautiful boolees. An unusual number of drunken men, four or five, showed themselves in the course of the day: they came in two parties to ask justice against some Brinjarrees, who, they said, had beaten and robbed them. It appeared, on cross-examination, that in the Brinjarree encamp-

ent, spirits were (in the language of the Calcutta market-book) "procurable."

These men had been there, and got into some quarrel, in which they had been soundly beaten, and very possibly robbed too, though this last seemed doubtful, as they had still their usual Rajpoot ornaments of silver about them, which would, I should think, have gone first. I told them I was not the sovereign of the land, and bade them go to the kamdar of the town. I had seen very few drunken men in India before, but the time of "Hoolee" is now coming on, which is the Hindoo carnival, and in which the people of Central India more particularly indulge in all kinds of riot and festivity. The Sepoys of my guard have begun to assail the women whom they pass on their march with singing and indecent language, a thing seldom practised at other times. This is also the season for pelting each other with red powder, as we have seen practised in Calcutta.

I have endeavoured, within these few days, to learn the tenure of lands, their rent, &c., but found that the tenure differed in no respect from that described by Sir John Malcolm, and that there was no fixed rent but an annual settlement with Government,—a ruinous system, but too common, as it seems, all over India.

February 24.—From Sawa to Neemhaira there are six coss; the first part of the road through jungle again. Indeed the want of people in this part of Meywar is very striking, and the more so because the soil, though stony, is far from bad. Water, however, it is not impossible, may be difficult to obtain except at a considerable expense by piercing the rock. The most common tree, or rather bush, in these forests is the dhâk, with a large broad leaf like a peepul, and a beautiful pink flower which now begins to show itself.

Neemhaira is a small town, surrounded with a better rampart and towers than any which I have lately seen, and with a far better cultivation round it of wheat, barley, and poppies. The poppies are very beautiful, the more so indeed from a circumstance which diminishes their value in the

opium market, that, namely, they are red, white, and all colours instead of white only. Neemhaira, and the district round it, containing two hundred and seventy-five villages, and yielding a revenue, as I was told by the town's-people, of three lacs, form a part of Ameer Khân's jaghire, which consists of four or five detached territories, besides the principal one of Tonk, where he himself resides. The income of all together has been variously rated at from ten to twenty-four lacs; fifteen or sixteen may probably be about the amount. This is far more than he ever could have collected honestly during the time of his greatest power, since then he seldom was sure of any part of his territory, except what was actually in the possession of his army, and his great harvest always grew on his neighbour's lands.

Neemhaira is administered by a Musulman officer of his, under the title of "moonshee," a very civil and apparently well-informed person. He furnished us liberally, and without accepting any remuneration, with fuel, grass, &c., as well as with four goats, as a dinner for the people. The encamping ground, however, was bad, the neighbourhood of the town being so well cultivated that no place remained free, except what was covered with stones and ruins. There is a neat cutcherry with three or four small temples and a little mosque in the town; adjoining to the latter is the tomb of Jumsheed Khân, the late Patan chief, who, with Bappoo Sindia, held Oodeypoor in so complete and inhuman subjection. He has been dead, the moonshee told me, these five years. This was his jaghire till his death. At present it is subject to the police of our Government, on account of the following transaction: a great robbery having occurred about a year ago in this district, in which some persons, British subjects from Neemuch, were attacked, stripped, and some of them killed, Colonel Lumley applied to Ameer Khân for justice or damages. The nawâb answered that he had no sufficient army to enforce his authority over so distant a possession, and that he wished that the English would take

the district in farm, pay him a fair rent, and govern it in their own way. This offer was accepted. The moonshée, though administering justice in the name of the nawâb, is appointed by Colonel Lumley, and there is a jémautdar with twenty of our horse quartered in the town to secure it and its neighbourhood. This jémautdar, who called on me, is one of the finest old men I have seen, with a grey beard flowing over his breast. He is a Mussulman, and, as I should have supposed from his tall stature, not of this country, but from the north of Hindostan. There is a very beautiful boolee in the town, built within these few years from a legacy left by a rich merchant. It has a noble staircase, and a verandah of rich Saracenic arches round the wall about half-way down. The water is now very low, but in the rains it is full nearly to the brim. These fine boolees seem peculiar to India west of the Jumna, at least I

have never met with any like them to the eastward of that river. The practice of having steps down to the edge of the water, as well as corridors and porticos round the wells at certain heights, arises from the religious observances of both Mussulmans and Hindoos, which make washing an inseparable accompaniment of prayer. As works of art and taste they are eminently beautiful, but they are strangely deficient in any mechanical aids for raising the water. No means are used but the small brazen lotee which everybody carries, or at most an earthen jar or skin, the former of which is let down by a long string from the top of one of the galleries, while the other must be carried down to the water's edge and brought up again on the head or back. There is indeed a rude pulley at the top, but this is only used in irrigating the fields, and to bring up the large leathern bucket which is drawn by oxen.

CHAPTER XXIV.

NEEMUCH TO BARODA.

Neemuch—Character of Rajpoots and Bheels—Good effects of British rule—Boras—Confirmation—Pertaubghur—Manner of collecting Opium—Heat, and parched state of the Country—Festival of the Hoolee—Bheel Huts—Palace of Banswarra—Murder of Female Infants—Visit from the Rawul—Jain Temple—Sham-fight of Bheels—Visit from the Raja of Barreah—Dreadful Famine—Brinjarrees.

FEBRUARY 25.—From Neemhaira to Neemuch is between seventeen and eighteen miles, over a more open and rather better cultivated country. Neemuch itself differs in no conspicuous respect from any of the other large cantonments of the Bengal army. It is a stationary camp of thatched bungalows and other buildings, open on all sides, and surrounded by a fine plain for the performance of military evolutions. The soldiers are employed in building a sort of fort, as a shelter to the women, children, and stores, in time of need. There is a fine house here, built by Sir David Ochterlony, and well furnished, but which he has never occupied. These buildings, with the surrounding slip of Meidân, constitute the entire British territory in this neighbourhood, the small town of Neemuch, and most of the surrounding country, belonging to Sindia. The cantonment itself is in fact on his ground, but was sold or ceded by him, though with considerable reluctance, at the last peace. Not even Swabia, or the Palatinate, can offer a more checquered picture of interlaced sovereignties than Meywar, and indeed all Malwah, of which Meywar, in common parlance, is always reckoned a part. In the heart of the territory which on our English maps bears Sindia's colour, are many extensive districts belonging to Holkar, Ameer Khan, the Raja of Kotah, &c.; and here scarcely any two villages together belong to the same sovereign. Sindia, however, though all this is usually

reckoned beyond his boundary, has the lion's share. Never was an arrangement better calculated to ensure protection and impunity to robbers, even if there had not been abundance of jungle and inaccessible rocks, inhabited by a race (the Bheels) whose avowed profession, from the remotest antiquity, has been plunder. The presence of a powerful army in the midst of such a territory, under officers anxious and interested in the maintenance of good order, has, of course, contributed greatly to repress these disorders, and must, as I should apprehend, be regarded as a real benefit and blessing to the country by all its peaceable and industrious inhabitants.

I was very hospitably entertained at Neemuch by Captain Macdonald, political agent for this part of India, and brother to Major Macdonald Kinneir, whose travels in Asia were published some years ago. He was a long time aide-de-camp and secretary to Sir John Malcolm. I derived much valuable information from him respecting the route to Bombay, which is all under his control, and which he had himself surveyed and laid down in a new direction,—the route to Saugor, the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring countries, and their rulers. There was no doubt of the route to Saugor (which, in my anxiety to rejoin my wife and children, I had still a great hankering after), through Bundelcund and Mirzapoor being perfectly safe and practicable, though I should latterly find the heat

very oppressive in marching, and almost intolerable in a palanquin. Nor, indeed, did it appear that there were means for laying a dāk in that direction, so that I could not hope to arrive on the river till the 20th or 21st of April. As to the facilities of proceeding from Mirzapoor by water, I found two opposite statements; some maintaining that the passage might, by the help of the stream, be made in six weeks; while one officer, who said he had himself performed it, declared that it would, from the delay occasioned by the southern monsoon, occupy at least two months or ten weeks, even supposing, which was not always to be expected, that the Moorshedabad river was open, and that I was spared the detour by Chudna and the Sunderbunds, which would make three weeks more. On the whole, unless I determined to go by dāk from Benares to Calcutta, a measure not to be adopted in April or May without real necessity, I found that I should gain but little time by giving up Bombay, while by doing so, the sacrifice of probable usefulness and future convenience which I should make would be very great. I therefore made up my mind, though with a heavy heart, to go on, in the hope that a kind Providence would still continue to watch over those dear objects, to meet whom in safety, after my long absence, was at present my chief earthly wish. I determined, however, on relinquishing my visit to Mhow, because Captain Macdonald assured me both that the earlier in April I left the hot country of Guzerāt the better, and also that after the middle of that month I should find considerable difficulty in obtaining a passage by sea from Surat to Bombay.

The character of the Rajpoots, and their government, Captain Macdonald represented in unfavourable terms. The people, who are grievously oppressed, and have been, till very lately, engaged in incessant war, have the vices of slaves added to those of robbers, with no more regard to truth than the natives of our own provinces, exceeding them in drunkenness, fondness for opium, and sensuality, while they have a blood-thirstiness from

which the great mass of Hindoos are very far removed. Their courage, however, and the gallant efforts they made to defend their territories against the Maharattas, deserve high praise; and some effects of a favourable nature have been produced among them by the intercourse which they have had with the English. The specimens of our nation which they have hitherto seen have, on the whole, been very favourable. None of the king's regiments have yet been sent here, and few Europeans of any description except officers. They have, therefore, seen little of the drunkenness and violence of temper which have made the natives of our own provinces at once fear and despise a Feringee soldier, and they still, Captain Macdonald says, admire us more and wonder more at the difference of wisdom, morals, and policy which they perceive between us and them, than any other people with whom he has had intercourse in India. And he is of opinion that their present state of feeling affords by no means an unfavourable soil for the labours of a missionary.

The Bheels were regarded both by him and the other officers with whom I conversed, as unquestionably the original inhabitants of the country, and driven to their present fastnesses and their present miserable way of life by the invasion of those tribes, wherever they may have come from, who profess the religion of Brahma. This the Rajpoots themselves, in this part of India, virtually allow, it being admitted in the traditional history of most of their principal cities and fortresses, that they were founded by such or such Bheel chiefs, and conquered from them by such and such children of the Sun. Their manners are described as resembling, in very many respects, those of the Rajmahal Puharrees. And, thieves and savages as they are, I found that the officers with whom I conversed thought them, on the whole, a better race than their conquerors. Their word is more to be depended on, they are of a franker and livelier character, their women are far better treated and enjoy more influence, and though they

shed blood without scruple in cases of deadly feud, or in the regular way of a foray, they are not vindictive or inhospitable under other circumstances, and several British officers have, with perfect safety, gone hunting and fishing into their country, without escort or guide, except what these poor savages themselves cheerfully furnished for a little brandy. This is the more touching, since on this frontier nothing has been done for them, and they have been treated, I now found, with unmingled severity. In the south, where Sir John Malcolm could carry everything in his own way, he raised a corps out of their number, which he placed under the command of their own chiefs, and subjected to just as much discipline as a wild people were likely to bear, and as was necessary for the nature of the service in which they were to be employed. He also secured them the peaceable possession of a certain portion of their lands which had been depopulated by the Pindarrees, obtaining for them a freedom from taxes for a sufficient number of years to make it worth their while to acquire industrious habits. In short, he proceeded in nearly the same manner, and with full as much success, as Cleveland did with the Puharrees.

In this part of India nothing of the kind has been done; they have, indeed, had facilities held out to them to enter into our local corps, but these corps are under the same severe discipline and exact drill with the regular regiments, which it is idle to suppose that a savage would endure. Though there is waste land in abundance, no effectual measures have been taken to persuade the princes of the country to allow or induce the Bheels to settle in it, and as the poor people themselves complain, we punish them for robbing while we give them no means of earning their subsistence in an honest way.

The difficulties, indeed, which the English residents have to encounter in their attempts to improve the condition either of Bheels or Hindoos are in this country very great. All interference in the internal concerns of the petty sovereigns who are the Company's feudatories, is naturally viewed with a

jealous eye by the native rulers themselves, and except in the way of advice or indirect influence is, in all ordinary cases, discouraged by the supreme Government. The rajas of these states are the most ignorant and degraded of men, incompetent to judge of their own true interests, and uninfluenced by any other motive which might induce them to consult the happiness of their people.

The Ranah of Oodeypoor, in addition to the circumstances of his character, which I have already detailed, is surrounded and governed by minions of the most hateful description, who drain his treasury, force him to contract new debts, and squeeze his people to the utmost. The heir apparent of Pertaubghur, who had till lately been the efficient sovereign of the country, is now in confinement by order of the English Government, in consequence of his having committed, in about three years' time, no fewer than six murders with his own hands, or at least sanctioned them by his presence. His father, the raja, who was entirely unable to restrain him, but pleaded with many tears for his liberty, is a poor old man, past everything except a strong affection for his unworthy son, and a spirit of avarice which seems to know no bounds, and will not be convinced that he would increase his revenues, eventually, by allowing his waste lands to be cultivated at easy rents. The Raja of Banswarra is a very young and weak prince, and the Rajas of Lunewarra and Doongurpoor are, in fact, without power to do good; the territories of the former never having recovered from the cruelty of the Pindarrees, and, consequently, are become jungle from one end to the other, and the poor prince of Doongurpoor being in the hands of a party of rebels who have shut up themselves and him in a strong castle, where they are at this moment besieged by a body of the Bombay army, who, finding themselves unequal to their work, have applied for help to Neemuch.

In such a state of society, and in a country previously reduced by Maharrattas and Pindarrees to a state of universal misery, such as no country be-

sides has known, little can be done in the way of advice or influence by young men stationed at different courts, and obliged to apply for directions to a government a thousand miles off. It is even probable that too frequent or too arbitrary interference would defeat its own ends, and that such a close connection as subsists with Oude, for instance, would, as in that case, by no means add to the happiness of the people whom we seek to benefit. But that for these poor Bheels many advantages might be even now obtained, and that it would be a wise as well as a most humane policy to secure them as our allies, in any future struggles in this part of India, I am fully persuaded; as well as that, had Sir John Malcolm been made governor, as he desired to be, of all Central India, this point, and many others advantageous to the people of the country, would have been, long since, secured permanently. No difficulties could be greater than those which he met with in Southern Malwah, and yet that country, from a mere wilderness, is now, I am told, a garden. There are, indeed, few such governors as Sir John Malcolm to be found, but any intelligent government established with distinct powers, and the advantages of local information, in the centre of India, would, I am convinced, be a great blessing to the country, and a security to our dominion here, so great as hardly to be appreciated.

Meantime it is satisfactory to find that, though our influence has not done all the good which might be desired or expected, that which has been done is really considerable. Except from these poor Bheels, and from the few gangs of marauders which still lurk in different parts of the country, that country is now at peace; and how slight are these dangers, and how easy to be borne are the oppressions of their native rajas, in comparison with the annual swarm of Pindarree horsemen, who robbed, burned, ravished, enslaved, tortured, and murdered over the whole extent of territory from the Runn to the Bay of Bengal? While their inroads are remembered, to say nothing of Jeswunt Rao Holkar and Ameer Khan the

coming of the English cannot but be considered as a blessing. And I only hope that we may not destroy the sort of reverence and awful regard with which, I believe, our nation is still looked upon here.

Captain Macdonald agreed with Dr. Gibb in speaking of the Mussulman governors as wiser and better than the Hindoos; their religion, in fact, is better, and their education is something superior. But it should seem, by what he says, that Sindia's territories, and Holkar's, are also better governed than those of these western princes, whose misfortunes and long-continued degradation seem to have done anything but taught them wisdom. Sindia is, himself, a man by no means deficient in talents or good intentions; but his extensive and scattered territories have never been under any regular system of control, and his Maharatta nobles, though they too are described as a better race than the Rajpoots, are robbers almost by profession, and only suppose themselves to thrive when they are living at the expense of their neighbours. Still, from his well-disciplined army and numerous artillery, his government has a stability which secures peace, at least, to the districts under his own eye: and as the Pindarrees feared to provoke him, and even professed to be his subjects, his country has retained its ancient wealth and fertility to a greater degree than most other parts of Central India. The territories of Holkar were as badly off as any, but for their restoration they had the advantages of Sir John Malcolm's advice and commanding influence. The ministers who have ruled the country during the young raja's minority are of his choice; the system of administering justice and collecting the revenue, recommended by him, has been preserved, and, by all which I can learn, the beautiful valley of the Nerbuddah has enjoyed, during the last ten years, a greater degree of peace and prosperity than it perhaps ever did before within the limits of Hindoo history.

Besides the Rajpoots, Bheels, and Jains, a good many Jats are scattered

up and down these provinces, chiefly as cultivators of the land. There are also more Mussulmans than I expected to find, of whom the majority are of Patan race and of the Sunnite sect. The smaller, but by far the wealthier and more industrious party, are here called Boras,—a sect whose opinions are but imperfectly ascertained. They approach nearest to the Sheeahs, with a tendency towards Sooffeism, and are believed by Captain Macdonald to be a remnant of the old sect of Hussunus, or as they are called in European history, “Assassins.” They have nothing, however, at present of the sanguinary and warlike temper which distinguished the followers of the “Old Man of the Mountain.” They are in general very peaceable and orderly merchants and tradesmen, and have considerable influence and privileges in most of the cities of Central India, agreeing far better with both Jains and Rajpoots than their fiery Sunnite rivals. Between these last and them, however, blood has been lately shed. A new Sunnite teacher in the city of Mundisore, a few weeks since, thought proper to distinguish himself by a furious attack on the Sheeite heresy from the pulpit, and by exhorting the true believers to cast out such wretches from dwelling among them. In consequence some wealthy Boras were insulted in the bazar by the Patans, and a fray ensued, in which the Boras, peaceable as they generally are, had the advantage. The Sunnite preacher was killed, but his body was buried by his friends with all the honours of martyrdom. The fray was again renewed, when the Patans killed several Boras, and drove the rest from the place, declaring that they would pursue their advantage in all the neighbouring towns till the accursed were rooted from the earth. It ended in two companies of British Sepoys being sent to keep the peace, and in the arresting of one or two ring-leaders. Had not a large force been at hand, it is probable that a grand war would have begun between the parties in half the towns of Malwah; so easily is blood shed where all hands are armed and all laws feeble.

February 26.—I dined with Colonel Lumley, the commandant of the station.

February 27.—I read prayers and preached in the drawing-room of Sir David Ochterlony's house to a congregation of nearly a hundred. I had eight communicants, and, which I did not expect, four applicants for confirmation, among whom was my host, Captain Macdonald.

February 28.—I sent off the tents and people at sunrise, but Dr. Smith and I remained, till night or rather morning, when we travelled in our palanquins towards Pertaubghur. The weather had been really cold for several days, and this night there was a hard frost, a circumstance which I did not expect at this time of year and in this latitude. We are here, however, in one of the highest parts of Malwah, all of which is considerably elevated above the sea. The height of the plain of Pertaubghur is reckoned at about 1700 feet, an altitude, however, hardly sufficient to account for the degree of cold which was felt. For us this was very pleasant and wholesome, but the opium crops and the fruit-trees were sad sufferers. Captain Macdonald says that Malwah suits most European garden-stuff well, but potatoes degenerate fast, and are of so small a size, that the natives, after, in many instances, trying the experiment, have ceased to cultivate them. He had some tolerable ones in his own garden, some fine roses just come into bloom, and a good show of strawberries not quite ripe.

March 1.—We arrived at Pertaubghur, a small city, the residence of a petty raja, with a battalion of Sepoys cantoned in the neighbourhood. The commandant, Major Hamilton, showed us much hospitality and kindness, and from him, as being placed in the immediate neighbourhood of the Bheels, I obtained a good deal of the information which I have, in the last few pages, communicated respecting them. Pertaubghur contains little or nothing worth seeing. The country round it is undulating and fertile, with extensive fields of poppies and wheat, and a good many scattered peepul-trees. The groves of fruit-trees seem to have been

all ruined by the Pindarrees, and, in spite of its fertility, all beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the large towns is jungle. The raja has the privilege of coining money, grounded, as he pretends, but as seems very doubtful, on a grant of one of the Mogul emperors. He was allowed to retain it when he became feudatory to the British Government, but has so repeatedly abused it by fraudulently altering the standard, that he probably will not be suffered to strike money much longer. Ornaments of gold, silver, and enamel, are to be procured here; I saw a necklace and bracelets of gold embossed with the twenty-four avatars of Indian mythology, which were very curious and prettily wrought.

March 2.—I was joined by nine more horsemen of Captain Smith's local regiment, making the number of my escort eighteen. I had not asked for any increase of guards, but Colonel Lumley told me that my road lay too near the seat of war in Doongurpoor, and through a country at all times so unsettled, that he did not like to send me away with a smaller number. Yet the road takes us, comparatively, through a far better country than that which used to be followed, and which led directly through the gorge of the mountains at Gulliakote, into a very dismal wilderness of several days' journey, so much infested by tigers that no travellers could safely move before sunrise. The consequence of a contempt of this precaution Major Hamilton told me in an affecting story. One of his acquaintance, who was marching with a body of troops between Gulliakote and Luneewarra, called on a Bheel villager to be his guide through the wood very early one morning. The Bheel remonstrated, observing that it was not the custom of the country to march before daylight, and that it was dangerous to do so. The officer, supposing this to be the mere pretext of laziness, was positive, and threatened him if he did not go on. The man said nothing more, but took his shield and sword and walked on along the narrow path overhung with long grass and bamboos.

The officer followed at the head of his men, and had moved slowly half asleep on his saddle for about five miles, when he heard a hideous roar, and saw a very large tiger spring past him so close that he almost brushed his horse. The poor Bheel lifted up his sword and shield, but was down in an instant under the animal's paws, who turned round with him in his mouth, growling like a cat over a mouse, and looked the officer in the face. He did what could be done, and with his men attacked the tiger, whom they wounded so severely that he dropped his prey. But the first blow had done its work effectually, and the poor man's skull was mashed in such a manner as, literally, to be all in pieces. The officer told Major Hamilton that from that day forwards this scene was seldom absent from his dreams, and with the least illness or fever he had always a return of the vision of the tiger, with the unfortunate man in his jaws, whom his imprudence had sacrificed.

March 3.—We went this morning about seventeen miles to a small and very poor village named Chompna, whither supplies had been sent beforehand by the Raja of Pertaubghur, who was himself at Deecoleear, a fort at some distance, but from whom we had a civil message. The country is pretty, with a mixture of wood and arable land which is by no means disagreeable. The trees are either dhâk or peepul, but near the villages are a few mangoes now in blossom. The hills are low, but very rocky, the valleys and level ground of a rich and deep though light black loam, which, under a good government, would soon be a garden. The villagers, however, are among the poorest that I have seen, and reminded me in dress and squalor, though not quite in the outward signs of ill-health, of the wretched inhabitants of the Terrai of Rohilcund. These poor people complained bitterly of the injury done to their poppies by the frost, which was again severe last night. Their wheat is happily very promising, but it is on the opium that they chiefly depend to pay their rents. The heavy transit duties imposed by the different

rajas on the exportation and importation of corn are very ruinous to agriculture. In Guzerât the inhabitants of this fertile region would, generally, have a ready market for their wheat, and during this present year it bears a price in the neighbourhood of Baroda treble to what it bears at Pertaubghur, being twenty-seven seer the rupee at the latter place, and at the former, if we are rightly informed, nine the rupee, a difference which, with an open and easy communication, could not possibly exist unless the intermediate duties were exorbitant. If this is the case, it would be, surely, a fair subject of interference on the part of the Company's Government, as both Guzerât and Malwah would be gainers by a free interchange of their commodities. It should seem, however, either that these tolls have been lowered, or that the present high price has of itself been a sufficient stimulus to prompt men to carry corn southwards, inasmuch as, though we had as yet seen none, we met or overtook, in the course of our onward journey, a great many parties of Brinjarrees and waggoners, who were either taking corn from Malwah, or were going thither from Guzerât to purchase it. The people, however, complained that even now the profit they should make would, to use their own phrase, "not be enough to fill their bellies."

One of Dr. Smith's saeeses died to-day. He was taken so ill in his march to this place as to be unable to proceed. I sent an elephant and some people for him, who found him insensible, and he remained so till he expired, soon after his arrival. The cholera had showed itself in several instances at Pertaubghur, but this was apparently nothing of the kind. He was a Hindoo, and was burned by his companions in the course of the evening.

The gram "dhana" had just been cut before this nipping wind and frost arrived,—happily, as the suwarra told me, or that also must have suffered.

We met to-day a considerable number of bullocks laden with an intoxicating drug called "mhowah," a flower, the juice of which they ferment and take

in various forms. It grows on a large tree, and drops off about this time of year. The part which they use is the round bulb, or calyx, from which the leaves grow. The colour is a pale pink. These men were bringing their loads from Doongurpoor to Pertaubghur, against the great period of the Hoolee, when all sorts of indulgence and excitation are in request.

March 4.—We marched seven coss, or about sixteen miles, to Amba Ramba, or, as it is generally called, Ambera. The country during this march becomes more rugged and woody, but is still tolerably well cultivated; and after passing a low but rocky chain of hills, I was glad to see that the people were at work in their poppy-grounds, and that the frost, to all appearance, had not extended far in this direction. The opium is collected by making two or three superficial incisions in the seed-vessel of the poppy, whence a milky juice exudes, which is carefully collected. The time of cutting them seems to be as soon as the petals of the flower fall off, which is about the present season. Sugar-mills are seen in every village, but no canes are now growing. The crops of barley and wheat are very thin, and the whole country bears marks of drought, though not by any means so decidedly and dismally as Jypeoor.

Ambra is a large village on the slope of a hill, with a nullah not far from it, now standing in pools, and some large trees. At some little distance it is enclosed by rocks fringed with wood, and the scene would be beautiful if it were less parched and sunburnt. The morning had been again cold, but it was very hot during the day. We must now, indeed, expect to be more or less inconvenienced by heat, and may reckon ourselves fortunate in the frosty mornings which have so long favoured us. The people of Ambra were very noisy all day and great part of the night, in the merriment of the Hoolee. In the course of the evening a man came to us who said he was a charun from Cattywar. He had not his distinctive dress on, which I was curious to see. I told him, therefore, to bring

his "burra pugree," or large turban, and that he should have a present. He promised to do so, but never returned, and had, possibly, laid claim to a character which did not belong to him.

I was to-day talking with Dr. Smith on the remarkably diminutive stature of the women all over India,—a circumstance extending, with very few exceptions, to the female children of Europeans by native mothers; and observed that one could hardly suppose such little creatures to be the mothers or daughters of so tall men as many of the Sepoys are. He answered, that the women whom we saw in the streets and fields, and those with whom only, under ordinary circumstances, Europeans could form connections, were of the lowest caste, whose growth was stunted from an early age by poverty and hard labour, and whose husbands and brothers were also, as I might observe, of a very mean stature. That the Sepoys, and respectable natives in general, kept their women out of our way as much as possible; but that he, as a medical man, had frequently had women of the better sort brought to him for advice, whose personal advantages corresponded with those of their husbands, and who were of stature equal to the common run of European females.

March 5.—About two miles beyond Amhera the road descends a steep pass, overhung with trees, into an extensive forest, which we traversed for fifteen miles to Chotee Sirwan, a small station of police Sepoys, near which our tents were pitched. The tract, however, is not entirely without inhabitants. Soon after descending from the ghât we came to a Bheel hut, whose owner we engaged, by the promise of a reward, to guide us through the jungle, and afterwards passed two or three little hamlets of the same nation, with small patches of cultivation round each. The huts were all of the rudest description, of sticks wattled with long grass, and a thatch of the same, with boughs laid over it to keep it from being blown away. They were crowded close together, as if for mutual protection, but with a small thatched enclosure adjoining for their cattle. Their fields

were also neatly fenced in with boughs, a practice not common in India, but is here, I suppose, necessary to keep off the deer and antelopes from their corn. The soil is poor and stony, and few of the trees of large size. There is, however, a better supply of water than I expected, none of the nullahs being perfectly dry, even in this thirsty year, but standing in pools, as Bruce describes the rivers in Abyssinia. The whole country, indeed, and what I saw of the people, reminded me of the account which he has given of the Shangalla. All the Bheels whom we saw to-day were small slender men, less broad-shouldered, I think, and with faces less Celtic, than the Puharrees of Rajmahal, nor did I think them quite so dark as these last. They were not so naked as the two whom I met at Ummeerghur, having a coarse and dirty cotton cloth wrapped round the head and shoulders, and a sort of plaited petticoat round their loins, of the same material. Two of them had rude swords and shields, the remainder had all bows and arrows resembling those which I had seen before, except that the arrow-heads, not being intended for striking fish, were fixed. The bow-strings were very neatly made of bamboo-slips plaited. Their beards and hair were not at all woolly, but thick and dishevelled, and their whole appearance very dirty and ill-fed. They spoke cheerfully, however, their countenances were open, and the expression of their eyes and lips good-tempered. Few of them appeared to know anything of Hindoostanee.

At Chotee Sirwan no supplies were to be obtained, except water from a nullah at some distance, and boughs for the elephants and camels. Some tradesmen from the thanna at Ninnore had brought supplies for sale sufficient for the day, but nothing further; and I was again, with reluctance, but from sheer necessity, compelled to give orders for continuing our march on the Sunday. The weather was extremely hot during the greater part of the day, but this is obviously among the most advantageous months for passing the jungle. The long grass is now burnt,

or eaten down by the cattle,—the marshes are nearly dry,—and those prevailing causes of disease removed, which, at other times of the year, make this tract no less deadly than the Terrai. Even the tigers are less formidable now that their covert is so much diminished. The prospect, nevertheless, is dismal; nobody can say,

“Merry it is in the good green wood!”

The rocks seem half calcined, the ground is either entirely bare and black, or covered with a withered rustling grass; the leaves which remain on the trees are dry and sapless, crackling in the hand like parchment; and the bare scorched boughs of, by far, the greater number give a wintry appearance to the prospect, which is strangely contrasted with the fierce glow of the atmosphere, and a sun which makes the blood boil and the temples throb. A great proportion of the trees are teak, but all of small size. There are some fine peepuls, which retain their leaves in the moist dingles by the river side; and the pink blossom of the dhâk, and a few scattered acacias, the verdure of which braves even the blast of an Arabian desert, redeem the prospect from the character of unmingled barrenness. Still it is sufficiently wild and dreary. Abdullah observed, and I was struck with the accuracy of the comparison, that the huts, the form of the hills, and the general appearance of the country and people, greatly resembled the borders of Circassia and Georgia.

This being the great day of Hoollee, all my Hindoo servants came to pay their compliments, and bring presents of red powder and sugar-plums. The event was rather costly to me, as I was obliged to make presents in return. But it is the “dustoor,” and who in India can transgress that unwritten and common law of the land?

Cashiram and the servants were very full of two adventures which had befallen them in their night's march. The first was that they heard people for some time running among the bushes near them, as if watching to seize the camels, but that on one man looking out and seeing the Sepoys, all appeared

to take flight. The other was, that a very large tiger crossed the path a little before daybreak, so near that they could not have mistaken any other animal for him, particularly as the moon shone bright. He stopped as if to look at them for a moment, and then passed quietly, or, as they said, “civilly” on, as if neither courting nor fearing an encounter. All the suwaris were very full of the change which had taken place in this country. “Five years ago,” one of them said, “a thousand men could hardly have forced their way through these jungles and their inhabitants, now I was safe with sixty.” I asked if small parties were safe? and they answered, “by no means;” that “the Bheels were as great robbers and murderers as ever where they had the power,” but that “they were very much afraid of the red coats.” I forgot to mention before, that, on our first approaching the Bheel villages, a man ran from the nearest hut to the top of a hill, and gave a shrill shout or scream, which we heard repeated from the furthest hamlet in sight, and again from two others which we could not see. I asked the meaning of this, and my suwaris assured me that these were their signals to give the alarm of our coming, our numbers, and that we had horse with us. By this means they knew at once whether it was advisable to attack us, to fly, or to remain quiet, while if there were any of them of their number who had particular reasons for avoiding an interview with the troops and magistrates of the lowlands, they had thus fair warning given them to keep out of the way. This sounds like a description of Rob Roy's country, but these poor Bheels are far less formidable enemies than the old Mac Gregors. In the afternoon we walked up to one of the nearest hills, where were some huts of this unfortunate nation. They were all shut up, and an old man who came to meet us said that they were empty. He himself, and a young man, who was, he said, his nephew, remained alone in the place; all the rest were with their cattle in the jungle.

Dr. Smith, who has an excellent ear,

and knows Hindoostanee well, was able to converse with these people more readily than any of our party, and said that it was chiefly in accent and tone that their language differed from the dialect usually spoken in Malwah. They speak in a drawling sort of recitative, which Dr. Smith imitated, and found them catch his meaning much better than they otherwise could. The old man said that they had suffered much from want of rain, that their crops had been very scanty, that there was little pasture left for their cattle, and what was worst of all, they expected the pools of the neighbouring nullah to dry up before the end of the hot weather. When that happened, he said with much resignation—"they must go down to Doongurpoor, or some other place where there was water, and do as well as they could." Both the men were evidently in fear, and even trembled; they showed an anxiety that we should not go near their huts, and were unwilling to trust themselves with us as far as our tents, though they perfectly understood my promise that they should have something to eat. I pressed the young man to shoot one of his arrows at a mark, but he had only two with him, and he looked at us all round as if he feared we wanted to make him part with his means of defence. I succeeded, however, in reassuring him; he shot at and hit a tree about a hundred yards off, and on my praising his skill, let fly his other arrow, which went straight enough, but struck the ground near the root. He held his bow and arrow in the English manner, differently from the Hindoostanees, who place the arrow on what we should call the wrong side, and draw the string with the thumb; his arrows were not ill-made, but his bow was what a "British bowman" would call a very slight one. The applause which he received, and the security which he now felt, made him familiar. He sat on the ground to show us the manner in which his countrymen shoot from amid the long grass, holding the bow with their feet, and volunteered aiming at different objects, till I told him there was no need of more trials;

I asked him what game he usually killed, but apprehend that he misunderstood me, for he said, with some eagerness of manner, "that he only used his bow in self-defence." He now was very willing to come to our camp, and his uncle followed him. I gave them three anas between them, for which they were very thankful. One of the suwaris told me that the guide in the morning expressed much delight and some surprise at my keeping my word with him, in giving him the promised bukshish, a pretty clear proof how these poor people are usually dealt with.

The police thanna consists of three or four huts, with a small stage elevated on four poles for a sentry to stand on, so like those used by the Cossacks on the Circassian frontier, as to add greatly to the resemblance of scenery discovered by Abdullah. I again, in the course of the evening, longed for my wife to see these things with me; and though, after all, this is a country into which it is not likely that I should by choice take her, yet I know there is much in it which would amuse and interest her.

March 6.—We proceeded this morning about seven miles, through a very wild forest of rock, wood, dingles, and dry ravines, to Panchelwas, a small village inhabited by a mixed population of Bheels and Rajpoots, and under the government of the Ranah of Banswarra. To this place we were told was a direct road over the hills from Neemuch, which would have saved us at least eight miles, and which, I found on reference to Sir John Malcolm's work, is laid down in his map of Central India. It is so rugged, however, and so infested by the unsubdued tribes of Bheels, that few travellers, except beggars and pilgrims, go that way. The houses of Panchelwas are built in the same manner with those of the Bheels, but are larger and neater; and there were one or two shops, and the work-yard of a wainwright, which showed our return to something like civilization. The carts here are very strong and low. The wheels have no spokes, but are made of the solid circles of the

stem of a large tree, like those of children's carts in England. They have no axletrees of the kind used in Europe, but the wheels are placed below the carriage, and secured like those of wheelbarrows.

The country, though still as wild as wild could be, had improved both in greenness and beauty during this morning's ride, and, on the other side of Panchelwas, became extremely pretty. We crossed a river, the Mhye, which, notwithstanding its distance from the sea, though shallow, was still broad, and not stagnant, with rocks on each side, crowned with wood and some ruined temples, while the hills were not only greener and better wooded than any we had lately seen, but assumed a certain degree of consequence of size and outline. At last, our path still winding through the wood, but under the shade of taller and wider spreading trees, and over a soil obviously less burnt and barren, we came to a beautiful pool, with some ruined temples, and a stately flight of steps leading to it, overhung by palms, peepuls, and tamarinds; and beyond it, on the crown of a woody hill, the towers of a large castle. This was the palace of Banswarra, and on advancing a little further the town came in sight at its foot, with its pagodas, ramparts, and orchards.

I was much surprised to find in such a situation so large and handsome a place, of which I knew nothing before, except as one of those states which have been noted in India for the wildness and poverty of their inhabitants, and for their abominable custom of murdering the greater part of their female infants. This cruel and most unnatural sacrifice it has long been the endeavour of the British Government to induce its vassals and allies to abandon. Major Walker, when resident at Baroda, thought he had succeeded with the greater part of them, but it is believed by most officers on this side of the country, that the number saved was very small in proportion to that of the victims. Unhappily pride, poverty, and avarice are in league with superstition to perpetuate these horrors. It

is a disgrace for a noble family to have a daughter unmarried, and still worse to marry her to a person of inferior birth, while they have neither the means nor the inclination to pay such portions as a person of their own rank would expect to receive with them. On the other hand, the sacrifice of a child is believed, surely with truth, to be acceptable to "the evil powers," and the fact is certain that, though the high-born Rajpoots have many sons, very few daughters are ever found in their palaces, though it is not easy to prove any particular instance of murder, or to know the way in which the victims are disposed of. The common story of the country, and probably the true one, for it is a point on which, except with the English, no mystery is likely to be observed, is that a large vessel of milk is set in the chamber of the lying-in woman, and the infant, if a girl, immediately plunged into it. Sir John Malcolm, however, who supposes the practice to be on the decline, was told that a pill of opium was usually given. Through the influence of Major Walker it is certain that many children were spared, and previous to his departure from Guzerât, he received the most affecting compliment which a good man could receive, in being welcomed at the gate of the palace, on some public occasion, by a procession of girls of high rank, who owed their lives to him, and who came to kiss his clothes and throw wreaths of flowers over him, as their deliverer and second father. Since that time, however, things have gone on very much in the old train, and the answers made by the chiefs to any remonstrances of the British officers is, "Pay our daughters' marriage portions and they shall live!" Yet these very men, rather than strike a cow, would submit to the cruellest martyrdom. Never may my dear wife and daughters forget how much their sex is indebted to Christianity!

The walls of Banswarra include a large circuit, as much, I should think, as those of Chester; but in the one, as well as the other instance, a good deal of space is taken up with gardens. There are some handsome temples and

an extensive bazar, in which I saw a considerable number of Mussulmans. We took up our abode without the walls in a little old palace, with a pretty garden and a large cistern of water, now dry, which has been appropriated by the rawul to the use of Captain Macdonald. From this house is an advantageous view of the city and palace: the trees are finer, and the view more luxuriant than anything, Gungrowr always excepted, which we have seen since our leaving Bhurt-poor.

The rawul came to call on me in the afternoon with his kamdar, and a considerable train of vassals, whom he presented to me as a highland chief would have done the gentlemen of his clan, and describing them in the same manner as the thakoors of his house. They were mostly good-looking stout men, of a rustic but manly figure. The rawul himself is a small, thin, and effeminate young man, of no prepossessing appearance. He was plainly dressed, except that he had a very handsome sword, a most voluminous red turban, and great gold anklets. His minister was a thin shrewd-looking person, with a very squeaking voice, a turban, as was fitting, of inferior dignity to his master's, but with large pearls in his ears. I embraced the rawul and his minister, and assigned them chairs on my right and left hand. The thakoors all sat down on the floor, with their shields before them in the Rajpoot fashion, and a crowd of servants and people of all descriptions, among whom, in order to do me honour, near half the Sepoys of my escort pressed, formed a semicircle of standers-by behind them. Abdullah acted, as usual, as master of the ceremonies and interpreter, neither Dr. Smith nor I being versed in the technical and complimentary language of a court. At length, however, the conversation became more general, and they expressed much curiosity concerning the war in Ava. They had heard of Sir A. Campbell's success, and the capture of three hundred pieces of cannon, but were anxious to learn the further progress of the campaign. I talked to them about Sir John Mal-

colm, of whom they spoke with great respect and apparent regard, and expressed great joy on hearing that he was likely again to come out to India. They conversed readily enough, more so than I had expected, about Doongur-poor and its war, though, as the rawul said in answer to my question, if it was not so? that its raja was his kinsman. "And Oodeypoor also?" said I. His countenance evidently brightened as he answered in the affirmative, as if he derived consequence in his own opinion and that of others by his relationship to so illustrious a house.

I now thought the visit had been long enough, and ordered pawn and attar to be brought. To my surprise, however the rawul kept his seat, called for his "kalean," or Persian pipe, smoked some whiffs, then began talking again. A long whispering conversation ensued between him and his minister, and while I was wondering in what all this would end, he begged my acceptance of a horse, which he said he had brought for me. I was a good deal annoyed, but endeavoured to parry the offer as well as I could. I first pleaded that such things were unnecessary where there was good-will, and that I valued the almonds and sugar-plums which he had presented on first entering the room, as his gift, as much as an elephant coming from a person of less distinguished family. He bowed and smiled, but said, "If you refuse the horse, how can I believe you like to receive a smaller present?" I then said I should accept the horse with gratitude, and should be much obliged to the raja to keep it for me till I returned that way, since in my journey between Bombay and Calcutta, I should go by sea, and be unable to take it with me. "Oh," said the raja, "when you return I shall have more and finer horses for you, but you must not refuse to take this now." In short, I was obliged to yield, and the horse was brought, a tolerable grey pony, but old, and not in the best condition, though quite as good as one generally meets among the Rajpoot nobles. He now took leave, and I accompanied him to the gate, the Sepoys presenting

arms, which seemed to please him much. Knowing, however, the poverty as well as the antiquity of his family, I could not bear the idea of taking the horse without making a return, and, after some deliberation, for it was not easy to find anything I could spare which he would like, I sent him the glass lamp which used to hang in our cabin on board ship, both as a pretty thing in itself, and one which he had, unquestionably, never seen before, at the same time that it accorded with the habits of his nation, who all burn lamps at night. I sent it by my servants, with an apology for my not returning his visit, from my anxiety to proceed on my journey. He returned a very civil message, and if I am to believe the report of my messengers, was well pleased with my present. Its intrinsic value, I should guess, was fully equal to that which I had received from him.

The rawul said his age was just twenty-one, and he had been on the musnud since the year 1816. Both he and his minister spoke much of the oppression and cruelty formerly exercised on them by the Maharattas and Pindarrees. They said that ours was a good government for peace, and putting down thieves, but complained of the opium laws, and asked where all the opium went which was monopolized. They listened with much attention to Dr. Smith's account of the empire of China, and the quantity of opium which was consumed there, but were still more interested on his telling them that on my voyage from Bombay to Calcutta I must pass by Lanca (the name given to Ceylon in the Hindoo books, and respecting which they have many extravagant legends). They would scarcely believe him when he said that it was now under the British Government, and that he had been there, and asked eagerly "if the principal city was surrounded by a wall of solid gold?" He answered that this was an old tradition, but that they themselves knew that many things mentioned in old books had not their like on earth now; that Lanca was still a rich country, but not so fine as

it had been represented, which seemed to satisfy them.

In the afternoon Dr. Smith strolled out by himself, and had some conversation with a few old men whom he had found under the shade of a tree. They seemed well satisfied with the present peaceable times, and answered his questions very readily about the internal politics of their country. The kamdar, they said, was a Jain, and seemed to hold him cheap accordingly: with the rawul they did not seem well pleased. He was twenty-one, they said, and yet not married, a circumstance always discreditable among the Hindoos, but here particularly so, where it is a matter of much difficulty for girls of high blood to obtain suitable matches. We were objects of great curiosity in this place. A crowd was assembled all day before my gate, observing every movement within; and when I walked in the evening I had as great a crowd after me as I have seen after a Persian ambassador, or other such outlandish person, in the streets of London.

During all the time of Hoolee drunkenness is common among the Hindoos, and our bearers had been for some days giving proof of it. To-night, however, they were so noisy after I was in bed, that I sent Abdullah to scold them. He brought back word that there was a dispute between them and some bunyans of the town about payment. On this I ordered all parties to my bedside, in order to judge between them, but by the way the adversaries agreed between themselves, and I heard no more of it.

March 7.—We went between eleven and twelve miles through a wild but pretty country, to a small village named Burodeca. We were guided by Bheels, and most of the people we met were of that nation, though the villagers themselves were Rajpoots. Supplies were scanty, and obtained with some difficulty from five or six neighbouring hamlets. The place contains at present twenty-five families; it was, twenty years ago, a moderate-sized town, but was ruined by Ram Deen, one of the followers of Jeswunt Row Holkar, and among the worst of the many bad. He

is now a pensioner of the British Government, having surrendered to them early in the last war, and is living in retirement in Hindostan.

I was told that no charge would be made for the wood, milk, and grass which had been furnished, and which were all the supplies which we had required. I gave, however, a rupee to the zemindar, or potail, a very fine young peasant, but who could scarcely speak a word of Hindoostanee. We walked in the evening through some small patches of cultivation, with jungle all round, and a pleasing prospect of high woody hills; there were a great many mhowah-trees, not yet in blossom, though they would be so, we were told, in a fortnight or three weeks. They nearly resemble the oak in size, form of the branches, and colour of the leaves. Of the mhowah and its uses a good account is given in Sir John Malcolm's Central India. Its flower, besides the intoxicating liquor obtained from it by fermentation, when dried, nearly resembles a small raisin both in appearance and flavour. Its fruit, and the small pistachio nut which grows wild among these hills in great abundance, are the principal food of the wilder tribes of Bheels. The latter are said to be deleterious till roasted, or at all events they contain an oil so astringent as not to be eatable.

March 8.—A romantic road through a wood containing many fine trees, and displaying a reasonable show of verdure, brought us, about seven miles, to a small but well-built village named Kalingera. A majority of the houses which we had seen in the territory of Banswarra (I mean the Rajpoot houses, for the Bheel huts are wretched enough) are extremely well-built and respectable, of large bricks, frequently two stories high, and, with their out-buildings, and in their general style, possessing much of the exterior of an English farm. Kalingera has also a sort of manor-house, not unlike some of the dismal-looking zemindarree houses near Barrackpoor, the residence of a thakoor, the hereditary chief of this place and a small district round it. Its most remarkable building, however, is a Jain

temple, the largest and handsomest which I had yet seen, and which, being completely deserted, I had a tolerable opportunity to explore throughout. The entrance is under a sort of projecting porch by a flight of steps conducting to an open vestibule, supported by pillars, and covered by a dome. On each side of the entrance are some more steps, leading to an open verandah over the porch. To the right of the vestibule just mentioned is a small court, to its left a square hall, supported by pillars internally, and roofed with flat slabs of stone, laid across stone beams of unusual length, being twelve feet from pillar to pillar. Beyond the vestibule, and facing the entrance, I passed by an ascent of three steps into another square hall, also with a flat roof, but different from the last, as being open on the sides, and having a square platform, I apprehend intended for an altar, in the midst. To the right and left of this hall were others of the same size, but covered with domes; and beyond these, to the extreme right and left, were sanctuaries of about twelve feet square, surmounted by high ornamented pyramids, with their door-places richly carved, and having within, small altars like those in Roman Catholic churches, with vestiges of painting above them.

In the centre, and immediately opposite to the entrance, a dark vestibule led into a large square room also covered externally with a pyramid, and having within, in the middle, a sort of altar, or throne of marble, on which were placed four idols in a sitting posture, also of marble, and not ill carved. On either side of this apartment was a richly-carved niche, or small alcove, and beyond it, and still opposite to the entrance, another small vestibule led to an inner shrine about twelve feet square, also covered with a pyramid, having an altar at its furthest end, and a bas-relief of Parisnâth, surrounded by several smaller sitting figures, over it. The details of this room, however, I only saw imperfectly. It had no light but what came through its door, after traversing all the preceding apartments. It was very close and noisome, being full of bats, which kept flapping against

my face, and whose dung covered the floor of both rooms. Though the thannadar of the village very civilly brought me paper, pen, and ink, he had no torches, and without them it was neither pleasant nor profitable to remain long in such a place, in a country where it was sure to be a harbour for all unclean and noxious animals. I could, however, by the light which I had, see enough to satisfy me that the arrangement of the figures was pretty similar to that which I had seen in the Jain temple at Benares.

From the dome-roofed apartments to the right and left of the hall which has the altar in it, a double verandah extends, surrounding a court in which the two sanctuaries which I have just described are enclosed; the verandah to the court being open and supported by pillars. The exterior one has no opening to the country, but internally has a number of narrow doors corresponding with the intercoluminations of the other. It is also surmounted externally by a succession of small pyramids, and on its western side, and immediately behind the central sanctuary, is another chapel of the same kind with this last, covered with a similar pyramid, and approached by a very elegant portico, or vestibule, of a square form, supported by six pillars and as many pilasters.

In the further shrine is an altar, and a large painting over it, much defaced, of a colossal head with a beard and flowing locks, and so far as can be judged, a very venerable expression of countenance. This, as well as I can recollect, is different from anything which I saw at Benares, and may perhaps belong to some mystery which they did not think fit to disclose to persons of a different religion. The interior of the apartments had but little ornament except the images and bas-reliefs which I have mentioned; the exterior is richly carved, and the pyramids, more particularly, were formed in clusters of little canopies, as usual in the Hindoo buildings of these provinces, but more elaborately wrought than is often seen. On each side the doors of the different small sanctuaries are figures

of men with large staves in their hands, naked except a cloth round the waist, with very bushy hair, and a high cylindrical cap, such as is not now worn in India, but which exactly resembles that seen on the ancient figures at Persepolis and elsewhere in Persia. The similarity was so striking that Abdullah, of his own accord, pointed out one of these head-dresses as like that on the monument of Jumsheed Jum, and the prints which I have seen prove his recollection to be accurate. The domes are admirably constructed, and the execution of the whole building greatly superior to what I should have expected to find in such a situation. Its splendour of architecture, and its present deserted condition, were accounted for by the thannadar from the fact, that Kalingera had been a place of much traffic, and the residence of many rich traders of the Jain sect, who were all ruined or driven away by the Maharattas, at whose door, indeed, all the misfortunes of this country are, with apparent reason, laid.

The antiquity of the building I had no means of ascertaining. It is in too good repair for me to think it very old, and there are no inscriptions on its conspicuous parts; a Nagree date (1103) is visible on one of the stones in the pavement of the interior verandah, near the south-west corner, but I know not from what era this is reckoned, and the stone, from its situation, is not likely to have been selected to receive the date of the building. It may have been removed from some other edifice.

From Kalingera is about seven miles more of jungle to Tambresra, a village near which our tents were pitched under the shade of some fine trees, and near a cistern which still contained a little water. The situation was very beautiful, but made less agreeable than it might have been by an unlucky accident. Our little flock of sheep and goats were resting after their march under a spreading tree, when a monkey, who had come down to steal the shepherd's breakfast, and was driven back by him, in his hurried flight among the branches stumbled on a bees' nest which hung suspended in the air, and not

only got himself well stung, but brought out the whole swarm in fury against the poor unoffending animals beneath. Most of them were severely stung and bleated pitifully, but it was curious to observe the different conduct between the sheep and the goats. The former crowded all together, burying their noses in the sand, but with no apparent notion of flight or resistance; the latter ran off as fast as they could for shelter among our tents, pressing in for security as so many dogs would have done. They brought, however, such a swarm of their pursuers adhering to their coats and following them close, that their coming was very little to be desired, and we were forced to refuse them the hospitality which they would otherwise have received. Indeed, as it was, my tent was filled for a short time with bees, and several of the people were stung. We had good reason, however, to be thankful that they were the sheep and goats which were attacked, and not the horses; had the latter been the case, the consequence might have been very serious. From what I saw on this occasion I do not think the sting of the common Indian bee so severe as that of the European.

In the afternoon the thakoor of the district, who assumes the title of raja, came to see me. His residence is at Kishulghur, a little town about three coss from hence, and he has a very small and poor territory of fourteen or fifteen villages; his name is Gumber Singh, a strongly-built and handsome young man, though not tall, and with one of the most prepossessing countenances I have seen for some time. He was a mere rustic, however, and had the further disadvantage of an impediment in his speech, a consciousness of which, apparently, made him confused and diffident. His dress was plain, and his shield, sword, and large turban his only finery. He was attended by fifteen or twenty armed men, all on foot. I gave him a chair, pawn, and attar, and he in return would not allow his people to receive anything for a kid and some milk which they had furnished, the value of which indeed was not equal to half a rupee.

Grain, which at Banswarra had been sixteen seers the rupee, was here nineteen, which, I hoped, indicated that things were not so very bad in Guzerat as I had understood, since on the immediate border there was no deterioration. The thakoor, however, said that there was great dearth there, but that none of the people had, as yet, come to seek refuge in this country.

During the years of trouble, Malwah (except in the neighbourhood of fortified towns and among the most inaccessible mountains) was entirely depopulated. All the villagers hereabouts had emigrated chiefly into Berar, Candesh, and the Deccan, and some had become servants and camp-followers to the British army, till, within the last three or four years, they returned each man to his inheritance on hearing that they might do so in safety. Several instances of this kind, and of the inviolable respect paid in this part of India to the rights of the poorest freeholders thus returning, are mentioned by Sir John Malcolm.

We walked in the evening about the village, the situation of which is beautiful; its inhabitants consist of Bheels and low caste Rajpoots, who have a still for arrack, at which several of the encampment, unfortunately, drank but too freely. On the hill above were some noble mhowah trees, and under their shade some scattered Bheel huts, neater and better than any which I had seen. Each was built of bamboos wattled so as to resemble a basket; they had roofs with very projecting eaves, thatched with grass and very neatly lined with the large leaves of the teak-tree. The upper part of each gable end was open for the smoke to pass out. The door was wattled and fastened with a bamboo plait and hinges, exactly like the lid of a basket, and the building was enclosed with a fence of tall bamboo poles, stuck about an inch apart, connected with cross pieces of the same, and with several plants of the everlasting-pea trailed over it. Within this fence was a small stage elevated on four poles about seven feet from the ground, and covered with a low thatched roof. My people said

this was to sleep upon as a security from wild beasts, but I have no idea they could be in any danger from them within a bamboo fence and in a house of the same material, since it is well known that the tiger, from apprehension of snares, will hardly ever come near this sort of enclosure. It might be used as a sleeping-place for the sake of coolness or dryness, but as each of these houses seemed to stand in the centre of its own little patch of Indian corn, I should rather apprehend it was intended as a post to watch it from.

One of the Allahabad bearers who had been drunk at Banswarra on Sunday evening had not yet joined us, and his companions expressed considerable uneasiness about him. They did not apprehend that he had as yet come to any harm, but he was, they said, penniless, and without his clothes in a strange and far-distant country. They thought he was probably deterred from following us either by fear of my displeasure, or by a dread of passing the woods alone, and begged me to make use of my "great name" to procure, as the best thing which could befall him, his being seized by the police, and brought to me as a prisoner. This was precisely what I thought of doing, so that I was not sorry to close with their entreaties, as, in fact, his absence was by no means convenient to me. I sent, therefore, a description of the man to the cutwal of Banswarra by four of the police Sepoys, who are stationed at different thannas for the protection of the road, and who nearly resemble the sword-and-shield men whom we see round Calcutta, except that the police of Malwah have also matchlocks. These men had, at first, frequent affairs with the Bheels, and it was often necessary to call in the aid of regular troops. At Cheeta Talao, which is the frontier post of Guzerât, four years ago, a sharp engagement took place between fifty horse and one hundred infantry under the orders of Mr. Wellesley, and a large body of Bheels, in which seven horses and five men were killed by arrow-shots. At present matters go on smoothly in this neighbourhood, but last year Captain

Cobbe had a long and bloody campaign in the mountains south of Oodeypoor, in which many lives were lost on both sides, but which ended in the miserable Bheels having their fields wasted, their villages burnt, and so many of their people destroyed by famine, that they were supposed to be completely tamed. Captain Cobbe sent, therefore, a chobdar with offers of mercy; but so desperate had these wretched tribes become, and so bitter was their hatred of their persecutors, that they cut off the messenger's head, and fixed it on a bamboo, where the advancing party found it the next morning, the perpetrators of the deed having fled still further into the hills, where it was next to impossible for the lowland troops to pursue them. Since then it is said that Captain Cobbe has succeeded in engaging one tribe of Bheels to fight against their countrymen, but the result of this measure I have not heard, nor can I help thinking that a conciliatory policy has not yet been sufficiently tried, and that it is likely to answer better with these poor savages than mere severity.

March 9.—A march of fourteen miles through a thick forest, only interrupted by a few patches of corn round a Bheel hamlet, with a thanna named Doonga, about half-way, brought us to the rocky and beautiful banks of the river Anass, the bed of which is as broad as the Dee at Bangor, but which was now standing in pools, with every prospect of being quite dry before the present hot season is over. We here left Malwah and entered Guzerât. On the Guzerât side of the river is a police thanna of two thatched huts, with an elevated stage for a sentry, and the whole surmounted by a high fence of bamboo poles, after the manner of the Bheels. A little to the north of this, and near the confluence of the Anass and another considerable torrent named the Mhysrie, our tents were pitched in a situation which only wanted more water to make it the loveliest, as it was the wildest and most romantic, which I had seen since I left Kemaoon. The spot of our encampment was considerably elevated, and presented a small irregular lawn

dotted with noble trees of the peepul, mhowah, and toon species: beneath us, on two sides, was a rocky bank with brushwood, below this the two rivers, now, alas! hardly deserving the name, but, with their rocky and uneven beds, intersecting and bordering the clear black pools which yet remained in deeper and more shady spots; and, beyond them, hills, rocky and covered with wood, an apparently trackless and boundless wilderness so far as the eye could follow it. In seasons less thirsty than the present this would have been a delightful spot. As it is, we were fortunate in not being a week later, since, on asking about our farther route, I found that it was necessary to alter our destined halting-places in many instances from absolute want of water, and six or seven days later a caravan like ours would have been reduced to great distress, and probably obliged either to make marches which would have materially harassed the cattle, or to return by the way it came, at the risk of losing them all.

"Cheeta Talao," the name of this place, means Leopard's Rock, but we neither saw nor heard of any ferocious animal. Animals of all kinds, indeed, seem strangely scarce in these woods. Had there been many tigers, we must, in all probability, have seen them or heard their growls, travelling so much as we have done before daybreak, and pitching the tents in such wild and woody places. Nor have we seen any deer, or game of any description. The tiger, it is well known, requires a great deal of water, and is generally found in its neighbourhood; but the pools and cool reeds which yet remain in the Anass are sufficient, I should have supposed, to answer his wants. I am led therefore to suppose that the deer and other game have left the hills on account of the scarcity of forage, and that the tigers and leopards have followed them to the plains. Yet the cattle of the Bheels which we have fallen in with, though lean, as all the Indian cattle are at this time of the year, do not seem famished.

A few Bheel huts were seen scattered over the surrounding hills, in con-

formity with the practice which seems universal with these people, of fixing their habitations on a rising ground. A good many of their inhabitants assembled on one of the hills to look at the camp, but none came near it; and though Dr. Smith and I, during our evening's walk, fell in with three or four, they all made off as fast as they could, except one young man, who was, I apprehend, in the service of the police thannadar, and whom we found with his bow and arrows, watching a small patch of barley, the only cultivation which we saw. Our own supplies were brought partly from Doonga, partly from Jhalloda, distances of six and ten miles, and the horses got no gram till nearly nine o'clock at night.

Soon after I went to bed an alarm was given by one of the sentries, in consequence of a baboon drawing near his post. The character of the intruder was, however, soon detected by one of the suwaris, who, on the Sepoy's repeating his exclamation of the broken English, "who goes 'ere?" said with a laugh, "why do you challenge the lungoo? he cannot answer you!" These animals are, some of them, as large as a moderate pointer, and when creeping through the bushes might well enough be mistaken for a Bheel, especially as the robbers of this nation generally make their approaches on their hands and feet.

March 10.—From Cheeta Talao I had intended to go to Lemree, a distance stated by Captain Macdonald to be sixteen miles. But on learning that it was customary to stop at Jhalloda, and that it was a large place, I determined on halting there, and the rather since I was told that we could not get to a better place of halting on Saturday than Doodeah. In all this I was misinformed, as the event showed, but I had not now first to learn that in countries of this sort one must often learn one's way by actual experience. From Cheeta Talao our road lay through a deep and close forest, in the lower parts of which, even in the present season, the same thick milky vapour was hovering as that which I saw in the Terrai, and which is called "essence

of owl." We passed one or two places of this kind both yesterday and to-day, than which no fitter spots could be conceived, at a proper time of year, to shelter a tiger or communicate a jungle fever. Even now they were chilling cold, and the gloom and closeness of the ravines seen in the moonlight made them dismally wild and awful. At the end of about nine miles we crossed the bed of the Mhysree, and went past a thanna named Moorkhousla, and through a country partially cultivated, another mile to Jhalloda. We passed, both yesterday and this morning, caravans of waggons loaded with coco-nuts proceeding from Baroda to Malwah and the northern provinces. They were to bring back mhowah and corn, so that it appears that the present high prices in Guzerât have actually made it worth while to encounter the heavy transit duties.

We found also at Jhalloda a Charun, a very fine athletic-looking man, and apparently a person of some property, who had been on a speculation of the same kind to Indore, whither he had taken a number of horses, and was now returning with about forty bullocks laden with grain to his own country of Cattywar. When we arrived at Jhalloda we found him just leaving the ground where he had bivouacked for the night with his cattle round him, putting on his huge red turban, girding his loins, and hanging on his sword and shield. A servant stood by him with his matchlock, and a saees held his pony, while four or five other retainers, with matchlocks on their shoulders, were beginning to drive off the bullocks. Many of the more opulent Charuns practise the trade of horse-dealing, being very much protected in their journeys, against everybody but Bheels, by the supposed sanctity of their character. The Cattywar horses are among the best in all India, equal to those of Cutch in beauty, and much superior in the generosity of their blood and fineness of their temper, in which they almost equal the Arabs. Some of them are dun with black tiger-like stripes, and these are the most valued.

Jhalloda had been described to me

as a city, a name which it little deserves. It has a bazar, however, a mosque, a small pagoda, and some good, solidly-built brick houses, of a kind such as are not usually seen in the eastern districts of India, being of two stories high, with sloping tiled roofs, and very projecting eaves, which, from the smallness of their windows and other circumstances, put me a good deal in mind of our Shropshire malt-kilns. There is a large and handsome tank, not more than half full of water, but covered with multitudes of teal, the banks of which are shaded by some fine mangoe and ceiba trees. The crimson blossoms of the last were very beautiful, and both they and the mangoes were full of monkeys, chiefly of the lungoor kind.

I learned, to my surprise, that Jhalloda, Godra, and three other small towns in this neighbourhood, with their dependant hamlets and districts, belong to Sindia, who is also feudal superior of the Raja of Lunewarra. I was not previously aware that he retained any influence in Guzerât. His own territories here are called the district of Punjmahal, and had been till lately held in jaghire by one of his relations, who oppressed the people grievously, but had been just disgraced, as is said, by British influence, and after some ineffectual resistance, seized and carried to Gwalior. The maharaja's flag, striped red and white, is hoisted in the market-place, but the police of the neighbourhood, so far at least as the security of the road is concerned, appears to be vested in a moonshee of Captain Macdonald's, who came to pay his respects, and give me this information. Grain here, as we found from the bunyans who supplied the camp, was fifteen seers the rupee, and they said that we should find it dearer as we went on. They spoke of the crop now in the ground as never likely to come up, and said, which certainly agreed with our own observation, that the wheat and barley harvest which was now beginning would be dismally scanty.

A number of Bheels, men and women, came to the camp with bamboos in their hands, and the women with

their clothes so scanty and tucked so high as to leave the whole limb nearly bare. They had a drum, a horn, and some other rude minstrelsy, and said they were come to celebrate the Hoolee. They drew up in two parties and had a mock-fight, in which at first the females had much the advantage, having very slender poles, while the men had only short cudgels, with which they had some difficulty in guarding their heads. At last some of the women began to strike a little too hard, on which their antagonists lost temper and closed with them so fiercely that the poor females were put to the rout in real or pretended terror. They collected a little money in the camp, and then went on to another village. The Hoolee, according to the orthodox system, was over, but these games are often prolonged for several days after its conclusion.

In the evening I was alarmed by violent shrieks from the wife of one of the mohouts and her sister; the husband had been beating them with a large stick, and both were all bloody. I found, on examination, that the man had several serious grounds of complaint against them, but I admonished him severely for correcting them in such a manner, and threatened him with imprisonment at Baroda if such an offence occurred again. One of the women pretended to be very much hurt indeed, but she soon grew tired of shamming the insensible, and began to scold and scream away, declaring that she would never enter her husband's house again, a determination from which I had very little doubt she would relent as soon as her passion cooled, and the rather because in this strange land she had neither home nor harbour.

March 11.—The distance from Jhalloda to Leemree, our stage for this day, was little more than six miles, and had I been fully aware of all circumstances, might easily have been included in the yesterday's march. It lies through a wild country, though the jungle is not so close as that which we have lately traversed. One of the suwarr's horses dropped down and died on the road, to the great dismay of the

poor rider, who stated that his horse was his chief worldly wealth, and that the allowance made by a sort of regimental fund established for such emergencies would not buy him another. If he had lost it in battle, the Company would have given him two hundred rupees, but at present he would receive only one hundred and fifty from a stock-purse which all the irregular regiments keep up to meet casualties. Nor had he any means of procuring, at present, an animal to carry him in his long march. I felt, therefore, glad to be able to give him the Rawul of Banswarra's pony, which, though not tall enough for the ranks, would carry him perfectly well during his march, and the sale of which would afterwards come very handsomely in aid of his new purchase.

Leemree, or Neemree, for it seems to be pronounced both ways, is a good-sized village on the bank of the winding Mhysree, which we here crossed a second time; the water still formed many deep pools in parts of its rocky bed, in which were a good many fish. It was, however, as a countryman on the bank assured me, too putrid to be drinkable, and the camp was supplied from some small wells near the town. We overtook some Brinjarrees in this morning's march, carrying corn from the neighbourhood of Indore to Baroda. Soon after we arrived at our ground, a poor woman came to Dr. Smith, and complained that she had been robbed of all her property and beaten by the Bheels near the pass of Doodeah, which was about half-way in the stage which we were to go next morning. She added that, on her remonstrating, the plunderers threatened to take away her two children. A complaint nearly similar was brought to me in my evening's walk by an elderly man, the potail of the village, who said that he and some other people had had their wains stopped and plundered, and their oxen carried away, and on being reminded that they should have recourse to the officers of the maharaja, whose subjects they were, replied with some justice, "Why do you English keep a line of posts through our country, un-

less you will defend us in passing along the road?" I told them to send one of their number with me to Barreah, where a moonshee of the British Government resides, from whom I would endeavour to obtain justice for them. Dr. Smith had applicants for surgical aid both yesterday and to-day; the first was a very fine boy, who was brought by his parents with a dislocated shoulder, which had occurred six weeks ago. The second was also a boy, who had lost his sight in the small-pox, a case but too plainly hopeless. The poor child seemed very intelligent, but knowing nothing of the blessings of sight, seemed glad when he found that no operation was to be performed on him, but his father shed tears on learning that Dr. Smith could not help him.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of water which has prevailed here, forage does not seem scarce, and the cattle whom we met in carts were by no means in a starving condition; they are not equal to those of Marwar, but they greatly surpass the wretched bullocks of Bengal, and are superior even to the average of Hindostan. Leemree has a small ruined brick fort, and a little bazar, but nothing worthy of notice. For a small distance round the village the ground is cultivated, but all the further prospect is wilderness still. Near our tents many people, both men and women, were employed in cutting a barley-field. They reaped it with very small sickles, gathering it not by armsful, as in England, but by handsful, cutting each time no more than they could grasp in the left hand; the crop was very thin and poor, with starveling ears, and wretchedly short straw. I observed that here, as in Europe, gleaning is a privilege of the poor, and that a number of miserable-looking women and children followed the reapers, picking up what they left. I was much grieved to see so sad a prospect for the ensuing year, and even now it is painful to look forward to the distress to which most of these villages must be liable from the total drying up of their rivers and wells before the first rains can be expected.

March 12.—We marched between sixteen and seventeen miles, through a very wild and beautiful country, and down a long, steep, and ragged descent, carried along the projecting ridge of a hill, with glens on each side. From the top of this ghât I had expected a fine view of the rich and cultivated country, as it had been described to me, of Guzerât, but was surprised to see a fine prospect indeed, but still of wooded hill and valley, and so far as the eye could reach, no trace of human habitation, except one miserable thatched shed close to us, where a picket of police Sepoys was stationed. As we descended the hill, however, Bheel huts were seen scattered among the trees, and we successively passed a thatched thanna surrounded with a bamboo fence, a small village chiefly of Bheels, called Doodeah; and after crossing a little river, or rather the dry bed of one, arrived in a beautiful glade, surrounded with tall trees, in which our tents were pitched, near a part of the river which yet had water.

In consequence of the alleged misbehaviour of the Bheels in this neighbourhood, I had directed some additional precautions to be observed in keeping the caravan together, and the soldiers in readiness for action. We met with no thieves, however, nor was it likely that they would come in the way of such a party. Indeed we found the Brinjarrees travelling the road without any additional precaution; they, however, are all armed, and such stout fellows that the thieves must be numerous and bold who would have anything to say to them. The waggons, likewise, of whom we met another large party, can travel through very wild countries in much security; they go in numbers, have mostly swords and shields, and often join their purses to hire an escort of Bheels, who, when trusted, are generally both brave and trustworthy. By day we frequently met them proceeding with an advanced and rear guard of these naked bowmen, and at night they draw their waggons into a circle, placing their cattle in the centre, and connecting each ox to his yoke-fellow, and at

length to the wain, by iron collars riveted round their necks, and fastened to an iron chain, which last is locked to the cart-wheel. It is thus extremely difficult to plunder without awaking them; and in addition to this, where the place is supposed to require it, one of their number stands sentry. Besides coco-nuts, we found they were carrying tobacco northwards.

March 13.—This day being Sunday, I was happy to be able to halt, an order which I believe was very acceptable to all the men and animals in the camp, who, after our late stony roads, were alike showing symptoms of fatigue. I read prayers as usual in the morning; and in consideration of the greatly advanced price of provisions, which was now a rupee for fourteen seers of flour, I paid the bunyans for furnishing a seer of flour, or day's meal, to every person in the camp. In the course of the afternoon I had the happiness to receive a packet of letters, forwarded by Mr. Williams, resident at the court of Baroda, containing a favourable account of my wife and children, and letters from my mother and sister. I dreamt of Hodnet all night!

March 14.—We were met, almost immediately on our setting out this morning, by two suwarrahs in the service of the Raja of Barreah, who came to act as guides. We followed them among some romantic woody hills, and through some of the thickest jungle which we have traversed, to a small plain, or more open spot, with a thanna and village, named Jerreah, ten miles from Barreah. This is the usual halting-place, but the wells are now insufficient for so large a party as mine, and I therefore had settled to go on to the city, which is five miles further, and not more than two or three out of the direct road. In our way we were met by Captain Macdonald's moonshee, in charge of this part of the road, a Musulman, and native of Allahabad, accompanied by a crowd of very shabby horsemen, among whom he presented one to me as the kamdar of the Raja of Barreah, and sent on his master's part to meet me. The moonshee was well mounted and gaily dressed, with sword,

dagger, shawl, inlaid trappings, and all the usual insignia of a Mohammedan gentleman. All the rest, the kamdar among them, were wrapped up in coarse cotton cloth, on sorry horses, and had, with their long spears, buffalo-hide shields, and bare legs and heels, pretty exactly the appearance of the Abyssinian troops described by Bruce. Several men, naked all but the waistcloth, followed, with matchlocks on their shoulders, and the procession was closed by a number of Bheel archers, differing in no respect from those whom we had seen on the mountains. The only mark of state, and this is Abyssinian also, was that the "nagari," or great kettle-drum, was carried at their head, and beat with single dubs, from time to time. Here the Rajpoot red turban loses its consequence, the reigning family of Baroda being Maharattas, to which race, apparently, the horsemen whom we met to-day belonged. This will, in a great measure, account for their shabby appearance, the Maharatta pretty generally affecting a soldierly plainness, and to despise all show and parade. This, however, is not the only instance in which a neglect of appearances seems to exist in Guzerât. The hurkaru who brought Mr. Williams's letter was a mere beggar in his dress, and so dirty as even beggars are seldom seen in Hindoostan or Bengal. Yet on being asked what situation he held about the residency, he described himself as a servant in regular pay, and receiving no less than eight rupees a month! On such wages, and in such a situation, it would go hard indeed with a Hindoostanee but he would have decent clothing, shoes, a sword with silver or plated hilt, and an embroidered belt. The old man, however, for such he was, was cheerful and intelligent. He had brought the letter on foot from Baroda, in two days and a night,—professed to know the straightest roads all over Guzerât, and as the value of his rags did not exceed many pice, and nobody could suspect him of being a government functionary, he was probably one of the best messengers who could be employed in a country so

wild, and in so much anarchy, as this has usually been.

Barreah stands very prettily in the midst of woody hills. Among the few fruit-trees which are immediately about its gates, I saw some coco-palms, the first which I had seen since I left Bengal, and a proof that we were again approaching the sea.

The raja, a child of twelve years old, with a cousin a little older, the kamdar mentioned before, and a number of ragged attendants, came to see me in the evening. He was carried in a handsome palanquin, had the nagari and neshan of state carried before him, and was himself a pretty little boy, with an intelligent countenance, and neatly dressed, with sword, shield, and dagger, suited to his age, and a large red turban. His name is Prit'hee Lall Singh, and he is a Rajpoot, though those with him were Maharattas or Bheels, and he appeared to have few of his own caste either in his court or territory, both which showed marks of much poverty. I received him with military honours, seated him on a chair at my right hand, and placed his cousin on another at my left. These attentions were more intended to please the boy's followers than himself, and as a proper means of keeping up his consequence in their estimation. But though I suppose he was hardly old enough to care about forms, I was amused to see how much the novelty of the sight delighted him, particularly the red coats and muskets of the Sepoys, who are rarities in these secluded valleys. He listened, too, with much more interest and animation than is generally displayed by the upper ranks of Hindoos in conversation, to the account which Dr. Smith gave him of the cities which I had visited, and of my intended long voyage by sea, and by the way of Lanca to Calcutta. The sea is called, by all the natives of Central India, "kala panee" (black water), and they have the most terrible ideas of it and the countries beyond it. Sir John Malcolm relates, in his account of Malwah, that when Cheetoo, the Pindarree chief, was flying in hopeless misery from the English, he

was often advised by his followers to surrender to their mercy. He was possessed, however, by the idea that he should be transported, and this notion was to him more hideous than death. These men, who all one after another came in and obtained pardon, said that during their captain's short and miserable sleep, he used continually to murmur, "kala panee!" "kala panee!" Thus haunted, he never would yield, till at length all his people, one by one, had forsaken him in the jungle, and a mangled body was found in a tiger's lair, which the sword, the ornamented saddle, and a letter-case, containing some important papers, and a general's commission from the ex-Raja of Nag-poor, proved to have been once the scourge of Central India! A nearly similar case, Dr. Smith said, had fallen under his own knowledge, of a Bheel chief, who, for murder and robbery, was sent to be confined at Allahabad. He was very anxious during the march to obtain spirituous liquors, which the officer commanding the escort, out of compassion, frequently supplied him with. When, however, he was drunk, he would never be pacified with the assurance that he was only to be confined at Allahabad, and used to cry and rave about "kala panee!" invoking "Company Sahib" to be merciful, and kill him, that he might be burned in Hindostan. With such feelings, they may well listen with astonishment to the long voyages which we voluntarily take, and of the strange lands which must lie beyond this frightful barrier.

The kamdar told us that Barreah had suffered grievously during the years of trouble; but that their late raja was a valiant man, and his little country being strong and easily defended, he had never paid tribute either to maharaja or Pindarree, unless actually constrained by force, and had always revolted again as soon as the pressure of a present and victorious army was withdrawn. The kamdar's own name, he said, was Nuttoo Baee. After sitting some little time, an event, of which I had been from the first apprehensive, occurred, and I was told by the kamdar that the raja had brought

a horse, of which he begged my acceptance. I fought it off as long as I could, urging, with great truth, that it would really put me to difficulty, that I could not take it on ship-board, and did not know what I should do with it. The people present all said it was "namoobaruk" (unlucky) to send me away without a present, and at last the little raja rose, and, joining his hands, said, "Lord Sahib, for my sake, take this horse." I was therefore obliged to yield, and was glad to believe that the present I had prepared for him, while I could very well spare it, was handsome, and likely to be useful to him. It consisted of three pieces of English flowered muslin, and a gilt dagger in a red and yellow velvet sheath, which I stuck in the little fellow's sash, and which appeared to please him greatly. The horse was now brought, and turned out to be really a very pretty Cutch pony, old certainly, and in bad condition, but still equal to some service.

The raja now took his leave, and went off with his cousin in the palanquin. The kamdar, and another man who said he was a shroff, or banker, remained, and took some pains to explain a transaction in which they had been concerned, in regard to certain arrears of the tribute paid by them to the British Government. The late kamdar, now in prison, had detained, they said, for two years back, the balance which he ought to have remitted to Mr. Macdonald, having been encouraged to do so by a report that the Raja of the Burmahs had already taken Calcutta. The shroff then present had detained some part of his effects, but had applied them, if I understood right, to the payment of a debt to himself. He had, however, no share in the treasonable or fraudulent part of the transaction. I said that I would speak favourably of them in my letter to Captain Macdonald; and his moon-shee afterwards told me that Captain Macdonald thought highly of the present kamdar, and had treated him with marked kindness and confidence. Both kamdar and shroff gave a dismal account of the distress of Barreah, and

the neighbouring countries. In the small and barren territory of the raja, containing about two hundred and seventy villages, a very large proportion were almost without inhabitants; and in the course of our afternoon's walk through the little town, I for the first time saw some of the horrors of an Indian famine. The town had been, to all appearance, neat and substantially built, but a great many houses were uninhabited, and falling to decay. The cattle which they were driving in from the jungle for the night were mere skeletons, and so weak that they could hardly get out of the path. There were few beggars, for it seemed as if they had either died off or gone to some other land; but all the people, even the bunyans, who generally look well fed, were pictures of squalid hunger and wretchedness; and the beggars who happened to fall in my way, alas! I shall never forget them! for I never before could have conceived life to linger in such skeletons. To one of these, an elderly man, naked except a little rag fastened with a packthread round his waist, I gave all the pice I could collect from my own pocket or the servants who were with me; and after all, they, I am sorry to say, amounted to only two or three anas. The man clasped them in his hands, burst into a ghastly laugh, and ran off as if in a hurry to buy food immediately. A little further was a still more dreadful figure, a Bheel, who did not beg, but was in a state of such visible starvation that I called to him, and bid him go to the khânsaman for something to eat. I followed him to my tents, and found that he had already had some scraps given him by the sweeper. I added to these a shoulder of mutton and a seer of flour, as well as, I am ashamed to say *how* little money, all which the poor wretch tried to fold in the rag which he took from his loins. He seemed quite past everything, and even indifferent to what I was doing for him. Some famishing children now came up, a poor man who said he was a butcher, but had no employ, and a black, who described himself as a Mussulman fakir, and a native of Ma-

suah in Abyssinia. I gave a few anas to each, reproaching myself all the time for giving so little, but apprehending that I should shortly have half the population round me, and that if I gave what I felt inclined to do, I should not leave myself enough for my own expenses to Baroda, as well as for the many similar objects of distress which I might see by the way.

The misery of this immediate neighbourhood has been materially augmented by superstition. The calamity is want of water, yet there is a fine boolee close to the city, which, even now, is nearly full, but of which no use is made. A man fell into it and was drowned, two years ago, and the people not only desisted from drinking the water themselves (which for a certain time was not unnatural), but from giving it their cattle, or irrigating their ground from it. For want of being stirred it is now, of course, putrid and offensive, but would soon recover if drawn off liberally for the fields, and become again useful both for beast and man. But they would starve, and in fact, were starving, rather than incur this fancied pollution. The agricultural implements, and everything else in this country, seem behind those of their Hindoostanee neighbours. The carts and ploughs are ruder and worse constructed, and their wells have not even the simple machinery, if it deserves the name, for raising the water, which I never saw one without in Upper India, and which is always found in the wildest parts of Malwah, and the valley of the Nerbudda. We were as yet, however, in the jungles, and it would not have been fair to judge of Guzerât in general from the specimen which we now had seen.

March 15.—From Barreah we went to Damma Ka Boolee, a cistern in the jungles, constructed by a person named Damma Jee, whose name it bears, by which is a small police thanna. About five miles further we crossed the dry and rocky bed of a river Mhysree (the second of the name), on whose banks our tents were pitched, in a romantic situation, near a scattered village. Immediately adjoining the houses, and in

some parts of the bed of the river, were marks of a crop having been recently reaped, from fields, or rather small gardens, with high bamboo fences. This was almost the only approach to cultivation which we had seen since we entered the territories of Barreah, whose young sovereign, poor little fellow, would indeed have a "noble grist" if mhowah-trees were mangoes, and jungle-grass corn.

The head man of the village said he was a Kholee, the name of a degenerate race of Rajpoots in Guzerât, who, from the low occupations in which they are generally employed, have (under the corrupt name of Coolie) given a name, probably through the medium of the Portuguese, to bearers of burthens all over India. In Guzerât, they are described in Hamilton's "Gazetteer," as distinguished by their uncleanness, ferocity, and predatory habits, and as giving a great deal of trouble to Government. This person, however, was of decent manners and appearance. Our supplies of every kind were brought with us from Barreah, so that we had no occasion to give him any trouble, firewood being at hand under these dry shrivelled trees for everybody who chose to get it. To obtain water in sufficient quantity for the camp, it was necessary to dig three or four feet in the sand of the river's bed, when water soon rose to the surface. The other inhabitants of the village and neighbourhood were Bheels, but it gave me pleasure to see that these lowland Bheels (notwithstanding the barrenness of the soil, and the actual distress of the country) were in seeming better plight than those we had met in the hills, to say nothing of the wretched beggars of Barreah. Their dwellings were larger, they had more ample mantles, that is, the dirty cotton cloth which covered their heads and shoulders reached generally to their hips. Many of them had swords and shields, others a small but neatly-made hatchet, and one man, who was our guide through the wood to-day, and had a blanket of red baize flung over his shoulders, as he trotted along the rugged road before my horse's head, reminded me

exceedingly of the pictures of a North American Indian. He was one of the servants of the police thanna, so that the Company's pay had probably put him in better plight than most of his neighbours.

Near this village was the finest banyan-tree which I had ever seen, literally a grove rising from a single primary stem, whose massive secondary trunks, with their straightness, orderly arrangement, and evident connexion with the parent stock, gave the general effect of a vast vegetable organ. The first impression which I felt on coming under its shade was, "What a noble place of worship!" I was glad to find that it had not been debased, as I expected to find it, by the symbols of idolatry, though some rude earthen figures of elephants were set up over a wicket leading to it, but at a little distance. I should exult in such a scene, to collect a Christian congregation. The banks of the Mhysree are steep and rocky, and the granite rock is seen everywhere through the country, peeping out, or rising in large insulated masses, above the scanty soil.

March 16.—Another march of about eight miles through jungle, as usual, brought us to Aradiah, a poor deserted village, whence, through a more open country, we went four and a half more to Mullaow. Both these places belong to Sindia, and the latter has been a large village, but is now almost unpeopled, by the tyranny of Sindia's governor, Puttun-kar, and by this year of famine. We met a herd of cows on entering the place, mere anatomies, and so weak, that when one of them fell in crossing the ruts of the road, she could not rise again. The country is here adapted for rice-cultivation, the water for which, in more auspicious years, has been supplied from a large artificial tank. This is not now quite dry, but is so low beneath its banks as to be inapplicable to irrigation, and the fields, when I saw them, were perfectly waste and bare, and their soil the colour and consistency of a sandy turnpike-road. Flour was dearer than even at Barreah, being here only eleven seer for the rupee, and there was no gram to be obtained.

except the inferior sort, called "motee," which made two of the horses ill, though it is a common provender in many parts of India.

I this day unexpectedly found the raja's little horse very useful, Cabul having unfortunately hurt himself by his endeavours, when picketed, to get away from an elephant which broke loose and came too near him, and the suwarree elephant being, by the abominable carelessness of the mohout, saddlegalled. The raja's horse had been described to me as very wild and ill-tempered, but I found that his restiveness had only arisen from the excessively severe bit with which the natives ride, and in my bridle he went perfectly well. Like all the horses used by men of rank in India, he would not trot, but had an elastic springy amble, graceful in itself, and agreeable to the rider, but ill calculated for a long stage, since it must knock up the horse much sooner than the usual paces of English travelling.

We had now apparently left the hills; there was still, however, one very fine insulated mass of rock on our left, with a large fortress on the top, called Powaghur. It belongs to Sindia, to whom also belongs the city of Champancer, at its base. I here received letters again from Baroda, brought by two miserably ragged and dirty men, who called themselves servants of the resident! They had not even the common brass lotee for drinking, which few beggars are without in the eastern and northern provinces, but merely a gourd-shell, and instead of the spiked and painted staff which there every common dāk-messenger carries, had long ragged staves plucked out of some hedge, while their rags were scarcely enough to answer the purposes even of Indian decency. All the people, indeed, whom we see, now that we are arrived in the plains, are in appearance, cleanliness, clothes, and even stature, inferior to those both of Hindostan and Bengal. The language differs much less than I expected, but there are several Arabic words, which, no less than the Abyssinian beggar I met at Barreah, remind me that I am drawing near a coast

which has been long and inseparably connected, by commerce and other ties, with Arabia and Africa. I saw no coco-trees to-day, but the tara-palms are numerous.

A great man, a relation of Sindia's, who was on a journey, took up his quarters at Mullaow to-day. His coming was announced by the sound of the nagari, and by a trumpet so exactly resembling that which ushers in Mr. Punch, that I could have thought that he had arrived in person. In the morning, however, when my drum and fife beat the reveillé, the band of the Maharatta chieftain tried to imitate them, but with little success. I did not learn his name, indeed I was very closely occupied with some absurd tracasseries of which I had just received accounts, which seem likely to give me a good deal of trouble, respecting some of the good people of my diocese in Southern India. It is enough to make one sad, if not angry, to see how many by-ends, how many personal rivalries, and how many mutual suspicions of ill intentions, are allowed to mix even in the noblest of all works, by men who profess to be, and I believe mainly are, actuated by the same motives. Now must I speak all these men fair, to prevent their coming to an open schism, and very probably offend them all, because I cannot, and will not, go so far on either side as its supporters wish me.

March 18.—From Mullaow to Kunjerree is a march of twelve miles, the greater part still jungle, and the rest seems desolate and abandoned by its cultivators. Yet the soil in better years, and when water is abundant, seems well calculated for rice; there are many groves of fruit-trees and tara-palms, and a number of small streams, which, properly and substantially dammed up, as has been done in Rajpootana and Meywar, might have in a great measure secured these districts from the miseries of the present year. But everything seems to show that we are in one of the least improved, as it has been, till very lately, one of the most anarchical and disturbed parts of India. We passed a large number of

Brinjarrees who were carrying salt into Malwah, and were to bring back corn. They differed in some respects from their more northern brethren. Most of these last have matchlocks, but the Guzerâttees had all bows (of the Bheel construction, but larger and stronger), arrows, sword, and shield, except one man who had a sword and broad partizan or halbert. Even the children had, many of them, bows and arrows suited to their strength, and I saw one young woman equipped in the same manner. The men were very scantily clothed, but fine-looking and powerful, though not tall, fellows, and the females were the largest and most masculine whom I have yet seen in India. They a little resembled the *mug*-women, not of Arracan, but of Shropshire and Staffordshire, in their firm step and erect carriage, and though toasted by the sun to a thorough brick-colour, and with much coarseness of feature, were not so black as the Bengalees. Their dress was a roll of red cloth, wrapped round their bodies like the natives of the South Sea Islands, and a red mantilla, like a veil, which covered their heads, shoulders, and breasts, and showed only the lower part of their coarse sinewy arms, except when they raised them to beat the cattle out of their way. They had all bracelets of red sealing-wax, and massive anklets of white metal, like silver; they had also metal rings in their noses.

At Kunjerree, which is still in Sindia's limit, I found that the maharaja, in all this part of his territory, was seldom called by his proper name, Dowlut Raow, but by the Arabic and Mussulman appellation which, singularly enough for a Hindoo, he has assumed within these few years, of "Ali Jah,"—"Exalted of the Lord." The fort of Powaghur was the residence of the late governor, Puttun-kar, whose family are said to be still living there. He himself is gone to Gwalior, but whether actually as prisoner or not we heard different statements; the country people said that he was, probably because they hoped so. The Brahmins, he also being a Brahmin, denied it,

The present governor of the province, Gungadur Appajee, is residing at Godra.

We were overtaken this morning by the principal moonshee of the residency, a shrewd Maharatta Brahmin, accompanied by two others, aides-du-camp to the Guicwar, who had some days been in quest of me with letters, having marched to meet me via Godra, and thus gone as far as Doodeah before they found their mistake. They had with them two of Mr. Williams's chobdars, and two of the raja's, with divers irregular horse, a standard, negari, and four regular cavalry. There was a good deal of parade, but not equal in grave and orderly magnificence to what I had seen in Hindostan. Still I found that in Guzerât, as well as elsewhere in India, pomp *was* attended to. I was agitated with a delight, not unmingled with painful anxiety, on hearing that my dear wife was probably already at sea, on her way to meet me, with one of my little ones, having been compelled, alas! to leave the other in Calcutta.

March 18.—From Kunjerree to Jerrdda is twelve miles, through an open, and in less unfavourable years, a well cultivated country. Even now I saw some fields of flourishing sugarcane watered from wells, on examining

which I found, to my surprise, that the water was very near the surface, and that had the people possessed more capital, for industry I do not suspect them of wanting, they might have in a great degree defied the want of rain. We found Archdeacon Barnes's tent here, and he himself arrived at breakfast-time. I had not seen him since he left Oxford, and found him less changed by the lapse of seventeen years, ten of them spent in India, than I expected. In other respects he is scarcely altered at all, having the same cheerful spirits and unaffected manner which he used to have when a young Master of Arts. From him I learned that Mr. Williams and the Guicwar Raja both meant to come out to meet me the next day, at some little distance from Baroda.

I walked in the afternoon with him and Dr. Smith, to look at the Maharatta horse, who had accompanied the raja's vakeel and Mr. Williams's dewan. They were fifty in number, the horses much better, both in size and spirit, than those usually ridden by the irregular cavalry of Hindostan, the men inferior in height, good looks, and dress; the arms and appointments of both pretty nearly the same; some had spears, most had matchlocks, shields, and swords.

CHAPTER XXV.

BARODA TO BOMBAY.

Entrance into Baroda—Namdar Khán—Cantonment—Church—Character of the Guicwar—Consecration of the Church—Visit to the Guicwar—Visits from Natives—Guicwar returns the Visit—Departure from Baroda—Crossing the Mhye—Kholees—Swaame Narain—Hot Winds—Interview with Swaame Narain—Arrival at Kairah—Insalubrity of Climate—Jain Temple—Departure from Kairah—Difficulty in crossing the Mhye—Broach—Banyan-tree in an Island on the Nerbudda—Surat—Embarkation—Arrival at Bombay.

MARCH 19.—From Jerrdda to Baroda is thirteen miles over a bare and open country, the roads much cut up. Expecting to meet "great men" we made our march in regular order, the nagari beating and Maharatta standard flying before us, followed by my chobdars and a chobdar of the resident's, who gave the word for marching in a sort of shrill cry, "Chûlô Maharatta!" "Forward, Maharattas!" The vakeels and the dewan followed with the chief part of my escort. After marching about eight miles, we were met by a body of horse in Persian dresses, under a young officer splendidly mounted on a dapple grey Arab horse, with the most showy accoutrements which I had seen in India, and a shield of rhinoceros-hide as transparent as horn, and ornamented with four silver bosses. He announced himself as sent by the resident to inquire after my health, and advanced in a very graceful manner to embrace me. Foreseeing that I should probably have these sort of ceremonies, I had chosen for the day my little Barreah horse, to whom my servants had given the name of Rawul, who having received his breeding at a native court, understood these ceremonies better, and endured them more patiently than either Cabul or Nedjeed would have done. After this ceremony, and a little more conversation with the dewan, the young officer, who was evidently a dandy of the first brilliancy in his own way, began to ride before me,

showing off his horse and horsemanship in all the usual manège of the East, curvetting, wheeling, galloping forwards, and stopping short. He did all this extremely well, but some of his followers in imitating him were not so skilful or so fortunate, and one of them got a pretty rude fall in crossing some of the deep ruts with which the road was intersected. This gave me a good excuse for desiring them to ride gently, a measure desirable on more accounts than one, since the dust was almost intolerable. About a mile further Mr. Williams met us, with several other gentlemen, and an escort of regular troopers, one of whom carried an union-jack before him, a custom which is common, he told me, in Guzerât and the Deckan, though not practised, as far as I have seen, in other parts of India. He told me that "his highness" had just left his palace as he passed the gate of the town, and that we should find him without the gates under some trees. We therefore quickened our pace as much as was compatible with the comfort of our attendants on foot, and with the movements of the suwarree elephant, who was, I found, considered as an essential part of the show, and was directed to follow me closely, though with an empty howdah. On the spot designated we found a numerous body of cavalry, camels, whose riders had each a large bundle of rockets, and infantry armed with matchlocks and swords, of whom

a large proportion were Arabs. These troops made a long lane, at the end of which were seen several elephants, on one of which, equipped with more than usual splendour, I was told was the maharaja. The whole show greatly exceeded my expectations, and surpassed anything of the kind which I had seen, particularly as being all Asiatic, without any of the European mixture visible in the ceremonies of the Court of Lucknow. We here dismounted and advanced up the lane on foot, when different successive parties of the principal persons of the city advanced to meet us, beginning with a young man whom Mr. Williams introduced to me as secretary to the raja and son of the Brahmin vakeel Shastree, whom the Peishwa, Bajee Rao, murdered by the advice of Trimbuk-jee, and thence proceeding through the different gradations of bankers and financial men, military officers (of whom many were Patans), according to their ranks, vakeels of foreign states, ministers, ending with the prime-minister (all of whom were Brahmins), the raja's brother-in-law, his nephew, a little boy of six years old, the raja's brother, the heir-apparent, a child also of about six, and the maharaja himself, a short stout-built young man, of twenty-seven years old. The usual forms of introduction and inquiries after health followed, and his highness, after asking when I would come to see him, for which I fixed Monday evening, remounted his elephant, and we proceeded different ways into the city, which is large and populous, with tolerably wide streets and very high houses, at least for India, chiefly built of wood, which I had not seen for a long time, with tiled sloping roofs, and rows along the streets something like those of Chester. The palace, which is a large shabby building, close to the street, four stories high, with wooden galleries projecting over each other, is quite a specimen of this kind. There are some tolerable pagodas, but no other building which can be admired. The streets are dirty, with many swine running up and down, and no signs of wealth, though, as I was told, there

was a good deal of its reality, both among the bankers and principal tradesmen. The residency is a large ugly house without verandahs, and painted blue, as stuccoed houses sometimes are in England. It was at this time under repair, and Mr. Williams, with his sister, was encamped in a grove of mangoes about a mile from the city; our tents were pitched near his. In passing through the city I saw two very fine hunting tigers in silver chains, and a rhinoceros (the present of Lord Amherst to the guicwar) which is so tame as to be ridden by a mohout, quite as patiently as an elephant. There were also some very striking groups of the native horsemen, who thronged the street like a fair; one of them, a very tall and large man on a powerful horse, was cased completely in chain armour, like the figure representing a crusader at the exhibition of ancient armour in Pall-Mall. He had also a long spear shod with silver, a very large shield of transparent rhinoceros hide, also with silver studs, and was altogether a most showy and picturesque cavalier. Many of the others had helmets, vant-braces, gauntlets, &c., but none were so perfectly armed as he was.

During our ride Mr. Williams introduced to me more particularly the officer with the splendid equipment who came to meet me, by the name of Namdar Khân, a native of Persia, and commander of the residency escort. He had been aide-de-camp to Sir John Malcolm during the Pindarree war, and was a man of very distinguished and desperate bravery, though, certainly, the greatest coxcomb, as he was also one of the handsomest young men I ever saw. Nothing could exceed the smartness of his embroidery, the spotless purity of his broad belts, the art with which his eyelids were blackened with antimony, his short curling beard, whiskers, and single love-lock, polished with rose-oil, or the more military and becoming polish of his sword, pistols, and dagger; he held his bridle with his right hand, having lost the other by the bursting of a gun. He had, however, an artificial hand made in Baroda, which, so far as show was

concerned, and when covered like the other with a white military glove, did very well, but which enhanced the merit of its wearer's excellent horsemanship, since it must have made the management of his charger more difficult. In his instance, and in that of many other natives of rank, who had been introduced to me this morning, I already perceived what I had afterwards abundant opportunity of observing, that they associated with Europeans and were treated by them on much more equality and familiarity than is usual in Hindostan. Some of this may arise from the frank and friendly manner which distinguishes Mr. Williams individually, as well as the unusual fluency with which he speaks Hindoostanee. But I apprehend that more may be attributed to the lively temper and neglect of forms which are general among the Maharattas themselves, and which are remarkably opposed to the solemn gravity of a Mussulman court, as well as to the long and recent wars in which the guicwar and the English have been allies, and in which the principal officers of both nations were forced into constant and friendly intercourse.

In the evening I drove out with Mr. and Miss Williams to see the cantonment and the church. The former reminded me of one of the villages near London, having a number of small brick houses with trellis, wooden verandahs, sloping tiled roofs, and upper stories, each surrounded by a garden with a high green hedge of the milk-bush. The effect is gay and pretty, but I doubt whether the style of architecture is so well suited to the climate as the common "up-country" bungalow, with a thatched roof and a deep verandah all over. The church is a small but convenient and elegant Gothic building, accommodating about four hundred persons extremely well, and raised at an expense of not more than 12,000 Bombay or 10,000 sicca rupees. House-rent and building seem cheap on this side of India, but everything else excessively dear. The best houses in Bombay may be got for 350 rupees a month, and the best house in Baroda

cantonment for 50; on the other hand provisions are twice, and wages almost three times the rate usual in the upper provinces, and though fewer servants are kept, the diminution in this respect is not enough to make up the difference. Most of the household servants are Parsees, the greater part of whom speak English. They are of lighter complexion than the majority of their eastern neighbours, and in dress, features, and countenance, nearly resemble the Armenians. They are good waiters, but less respectful, and I think less cleanly than their brethren in the east. Instead of "Koeë hue," who's there? the way of calling a servant is, "boy," a corruption, I believe, of "bhae," brother.

The Bombay Sepoys were long remarkable for their very low stature; at present they have had so many recruits from Hindostan that the difference is greatly removed, and their grenadier companies have a full proportion of tall men among them. Their battalion companies are, indeed, still under-sized. Nor have they, like the regiments in Hindostan, drawn recruits from the purer castes alone. Many of their number are Kholees, some are Boras, and no inconsiderable number Jews, of whom a great many are found on the coast of Catteywar, Cambay, &c. Their pay and allowances are considerably better than those of the Bengal Presidency, and, altogether, the taller men among them have more the appearance of English troops than even the fine strapping soldiers of Hindostan. They are said, indeed, to fall far short of these in sobriety and peaceable temper and obedience to their officers. In bravery they are surpassed by no troops in the world, and this is fortunate, since no army can have a more troublesome country to manage.

The guicwar is said to be a man of talent, who governs his states himself, his minister having very little weight with him, and governs them well and vigorously. His error is too great a fondness for money, but as he found the state involved in debt, even this seems excusable. His territory is

altogether considerable, both in Cutch, Catteywâr, and Guzerât, though strangely intersected, and cut up by the territories of Britain, Sindia, and several independent rajas. Those of Lunewarra and Doongurpoor, which used to hold of Sindia, now pay him tribute also, as do the Rajas of Palhanpoor and Catteywâr. Still his income, amounting to no less than eighty lacs, or nearly 800,000*l.*, exceeds greatly anything which might have been expected from the surface under his rule, and the wild and jungly nature of some parts of it, and can only be accounted for by the remarkable population and fertility of those districts which are really productive. Out of these revenues he has only three thousand irregular horse to pay, his subsidiary force being provided for out of the ceded territory, and he is therefore, probably, in more flourishing circumstances, and possesses more real power than any sovereign of India except Runjeet Singh. Sindia, and, perhaps, the Raja of Mysore, might have been excepted, but the former, though with three times his extent of territory, has a very imperfect control over the greater part of it, and, indeed, cannot govern his own house: and the latter is, apparently, intent on nothing but amusing himself, and wasting his income on costly follies of state-coaches and gimcracks, to which the guicwar wisely prefers the manner of living usual with his ancestors.

On *Sunday, March 20*, I consecrated the church, preached, and administered the sacrament. The chaplain is Mr. Keays, a young man who is well spoken of, and seems to like his situation; he and his family have as yet enjoyed good health, though Guzerât is reckoned one of the worst climates in India, being intensely hot the greater part of the year, with a heavy thickness of atmosphere which few people can endure. It is in the same latitude with Calcutta, and seems to be what Bengal would be without the glorious Ganges.

March 21.—The morning of this day I was busily employed in preparing for the discharge of all my Hindoostanee people, who were impatient

to return, together with their elephants and camels. Mr. Williams kindly assured me that all necessary aids of the sort would be forthcoming from the commissariat.

In the evening we went, in all the state which we could muster, to pay our visit to the guicwar, who received us, with the usual Eastern forms, in a long narrow room, approached by a very mean and steep staircase. The hall itself was hung with red cloth, adorned with a great number of paltry English prints, lamps, and wall-shades, and with a small fountain in the centre. At the upper end were cushions piled on the ground as his highness's musnud, with chairs placed in a row on his left hand for the resident and his party. The evening went off in the usual form, with Nâch girls, Persian musicians, &c., and the only things particularly worthy of notice were, that his highness went through the form of giving the resident and myself a private audience in his own study, a little hot room up sundry pair of stairs, with a raised sofa, a punkah, and other articles of European comfort, as well as two large mirrors, a print of Buonaparte, and another of the Duke of Wellington. He there showed me a musical snuff-box with a little bird, in which he seemed to take much pride, and an imperfect but handsome copy of the Shah Nameh, of which he desired me to accept. The rest of our conversation consisted of inquiries after the Governor-General, the war, the distance from Calcutta, and other such princely topics, till, a reasonable time for our consultation having elapsed, we returned down stairs again. The next thing that struck me was the manner in which the heir-apparent, the little boy before mentioned, made his appearance in the durbar, announced by nearly the same acclamations as his father, and salaming, as he advanced, to the persons of rank, with almost equal grace, and more than equal gravity. After bending very low, and touching the ground before his father's seat, he went up to Mr. Williams with the appearance of great pleasure, climbed upon his knee, and asked him

for a pencil and paper, with which he began to scribble much like my own dear little girl. The third circumstance I remarked was the general unconstrained, and even lively conversation which was carried on between the raja, his courtiers, and Mr. Williams, who talked about their respective hunting feats, the merits of their elephants, &c., much as, *mutatis mutandis*, a party in England might have done. The raja was anxious to know whether I had observed his rhinoceros and his hunting tigers, and offered to show me a day's sport with the last, or to bait an elephant for me, a cruel amusement, which is here not uncommon. He had a long rallying dispute with one of the thakoors as to an elephant which, the raja said, the thakoor had promised to give him for this sport; and I do not think he understood my motives for declining to be present at it. A Mussulman, however, who sat near him, seemed pleased by my refusal, said it was "very good," and asked me if any of the English clergy attended such sports. I said it was a maxim with most of us to do no harm to any creature needlessly; which was, he said, the doctrine of their learned men also. Mr. Williams told me that this sort of conversation, which was very little disturbed by the most strenuous efforts which the poor singers and dancing-girls could make to attract attention, was characteristic of a Maharatta durbar, and that he had known the most serious business carried on by fits and starts in the midst of all this seeming levity. At last, about eight o'clock, the raja told us that he would keep us from our dinner no longer; and the usual presents were brought in, which were, however, much more valuable than any which I had seen, and evidently of a kind very few of which were within the compass of my redeeming from the Company. About nine we got back to dinner, hungry enough, and a little tired, but for my own part both amused and interested.

The raja offered to return my visit next day; but knowing that Tuesday is, in the estimation of all Hindoos, unlucky I named Wednesday in prefer-

ence, telling him my reason. He answered very politely, that he should account every day lucky in which he had the opportunity of cultivating my acquaintance, but was evidently well pleased. He had already, out of civility, and in consequence of being informed that I received no visits on Sunday, waived one prejudice in my favour; since the day on which I arrived, being the last day of their month, was one on which he usually never stirred from home.

I forgot to mention that before breakfast this morning I rode to see a tomb in the neighbourhood, of tolerable Mussulman architecture, but much dilapidated, and really not worth dismounting for. Its apparent estimation in the eyes of the inhabitants of Baroda gave me but an humble idea of the ruins of Ahmedabad.

March 22.—I was busy all day writing, and have nothing particular to record, except that the hot wind had now set in very decidedly, and was oppressive, though in my own tent, and by the help of tatties, I escaped better than most people. A tent, overshadowed as mine fortunately is by thick trees, is an excellent house for such weather, and better than any rooms in the small house which, during the daytime, Mr. and Miss Williams occupy. But the English of this presidency do not seem to manage the hot weather so well as those of Bengal and Hindostan.

March 23.—Several of the principal thakoors of the court, as well as some Patan military chiefs, and some wealthy shroffs of the city, sent messages to Mr. Williams to express a desire to call on me, and become better acquainted than was possible at a public durbar. This was a sort of interest, Mr. Williams said, which he had never known them show before; and he therefore proposed that I should give up the morning to see native company, good-naturedly promising to stay with me, both to introduce my visitors, and to help my imperfect knowledge of the language. About twenty persons called, comprising the greater part of those to whom I had been introduced the day of my arrival. Three of them were very

young men, or rather boys, the sons of the late minister, Shastree, who, as I have already stated, was assassinated at Poonah by the suggestion of Trimbukjee. The youngest, a very fine and interesting lad, was learning English, which he spoke very well and with but little foreign accent. I asked him what English work he studied, and he answered, "I am reading the book of *Elegant Extracts*." His tutor is a Parsee. Some little time since he had picked up, Mr. Williams said, a New Testament, and read it with delight; till his Brahmin gooroo, finding the nature of the book, took it from him. This is the first instance of such jealousy which has fallen in my way, and for this, I suspect that the insinuations of the Parsee tutor (all of whose nation are very suspicious about Christianity) were rather to blame than the prejudices of the simple Hindoo. I hope to send him another book from Bombay, which may offend prejudice less, and yet may eventually, by God's blessing, be of some use to him.

There were two or three Patans, who asked many questions about the present state of Rohilcund, and listened with great interest to the account which I gave them of the improvements making and intended to be made at Bareilly, the repair of Hafez Rehmut's tomb, and the appropriation of the town duties to these and other local purposes. One of these men, who holds a high military command, but whose name has escaped me, was a relation to the tussildar of Futehgunge, and a very well-bred and sensible man. He came earliest and sate longest, and, from his pure Hindoostanee, I understood him the best of the whole party. He, and another of his countrymen, gave me very affectionate embraces at parting, saying, "Do not forget Rohilcund and Guzerât." Fond as they seemed of the former country, they did not appear to have any intention of returning thither. A Catteywâr raja asked much about Meru and Badrinâth, and meandered on, at some length, about Indra's Heaven which lay beyond them. I did not understand much of his story, which was at length cut short by some

contemptuous ejaculations of his Mussulman neighbour from Rohilcund, who said that he remembered the hills very well, but that all this was nonsense. Mr. Williams observed that the Lord Sahib had also seen "Kâf." "Ay," said the Mussulman, "those *are* famous hills! There is the Mount Al Judi (Ararat), and the ark of Huzrut Noah (St. Noah) may be seen there to this day. There are also Hajiuge and Magiuge (Gog and Magog)." I told him that I had seen Kâf, but had not been so far as Mount Ararat; though I believed that the "burra Sahib" (Mr. Williams) had seen it, which he confirmed, having been in Persia with Sir John Malcolm; but that I had seen Kâf from Russia, which lay on the other side. Another Mussulman here expressed a surprise, which was both natural and showed his intelligence. "Did you see it in this journey? I thought that both Kâf and Russia were at a very great distance from any part of Hindostan." I explained to him, of course, where my former travels had been, and found that he was well acquainted with the names both of Russia and Ustumboul, which last he explained, of his own accord, to be "Cunstuntinoopla," though he did not seem to know much about their relative situations. This was a young man, whom the other called "Nawâb," but whose name I could not catch. He asked after "Duke Wellington," and said that his father had been well known to him during the war in the Deccan. Mr. Williams asked the Catteywâr raja some questions respecting a new sect of Hindoos which had arisen in his neighbourhood, and which he told me at the same time, in English, that this raja had attempted to put down by force of arms, but had not been allowed to do so. He answered in rather a fretful tone, that "there were too many of them," and in reply to a question, what their religion was?—that "they had no religion at all, but a hatred of their superiors, and of all lawful authority." I asked this orthodox old gentleman if he could give me any information about the vagabond pilgrims whom I met near Gurmukteser, and who described

themselves as coming from the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad. He said that by my account of them they were not true Hindoos; but that there were many wild people in the district who professed a sort of Hindooism. Those whom I encountered were probably pilgrims; and if I had drawn a line in the sand across their path, they would have been obliged to go round one of its extremities, not daring to step over it. I asked if the character which they bore of being "Thugs" was deserved? He seemed never to have heard of the name, which was, however, perfectly understood by the Patans. I conclude, therefore, that the practice is not so common in these provinces as it is said to be farther north.

About sunset the raja came in state, and was received accordingly by Mr. Williams in a very large dinner-tent, where nearly the same forms took place, *mutatis mutandis*, as occurred during my visit to him. The little boy was put on my knee to-day, partly, I believe, as a compliment, and partly to give the guicwar an opportunity of talking over some private business with Mr. Williams (as I afterwards learned), whom he informed in a low voice, that he had a daughter a year older than this little boy, whom, consequently, it was high time he should bestow in marriage; that he had an excellent match for her in the son of a raja in the Deckan, but that he had no money to pay the necessary expenses; and hoped, therefore, that the Government would join him in a security for five lacs of rupees, in order that he might obtain them at more reasonable interest than he could otherwise hope to do. Mr. Williams, in the same voice, told him that the Government, he much feared, would never consent to such a measure; on which the raja came down in his request to four and even three lacs, his wish to obtain which last sum Mr. Williams promised to transmit to Government. This, Mr. Williams afterwards told me, is a specimen of the way in which important business was often introduced and discussed in the midst of crowds and ceremonial parties. On my observing that the wish to obtain

money did not tally with all which I had heard of the raja's wealth and covetousness, he answered that the raja always distinguished his personal savings from the national property; that he expected his daughter to be portioned out by the state; but that if he could get sufficient security, he was able and likely, under a borrowed name, himself to lend the money. While this conversation was going on, I was doing my best to entertain my little friend, to whom, in addition to the present destined for him on account of the Company, I gave a huge native coloured drawing on vellum, of the Howa Mahil at Jyepoor, with which he seemed greatly pleased, and which, by the explanation of the different objects which it contained, afforded more conversation than it would have been otherwise easy for me to keep up with him, though he was really a lively and forward boy. He was fond of riding both horses and elephants, but the "sir-car," sovereign (meaning his father), had not yet taken him out hunting. He had begun to read and write in Maharatta, but in no other language, and was fonder of drawing pictures than letters, the same word, "likna," being used both for drawing and writing. His father, who, engaged as he was on the other side, contrived very dexterously to bestow all necessary attention on me, bid him ask me about my journey, but I do not think he knew any of the names of places which I mentioned, except, perhaps, Calcutta and Delhi. All the rest of the world was, in his vocabulary, "Belattee."

There was a good deal of Persian singing and instrumental music, the character of which does not seem a want of harmony, but dullness and languor. The airs were sung sotto voce; the instruments, chiefly guitars, were low-toned and struck in a monotonous manner; and the effect intended to be produced seemed rather repose and luxurious languor, than any more ardent or animated feeling. One man, a native of Lucknow, had a good natural voice, and two of the women sang prettily. The tunes had first parts only. The Nâch women were, as usual,

ugly, huddled up in huge bundles of red petticoats; and their exhibition as dull and insipid to an European taste as could well be conceived. In fact nobody in the room seemed to pay them any attention, all being engaged in conversation, though in an under voice, and only with their near neighbours. About eight the raja went away; and we sate down to dinner, but not till I had discovered that the greater part of the camels which the raja had promised to lend me for my journey had not yet arrived, and that it would be impossible for me to send off, as I had intended, my baggage and servants that night. I now regretted that I had dismissed the Hindoostanee elephants and camels, but there was no use in repining.

March 25.—This morning Dr. Smith and I were up at four o'clock, and, with a good deal of exertion, succeeded in assembling the camels and bearers and fairly setting our servants on their way. We ourselves remained till the evening, and then set off to join the camp. Archdeacon Barnes accompanied me, and Mr. Williams and several other gentlemen rode out with me three or four miles to a boolee, at which I found, to my surprise, that, in addition to the four Bombay troopers whom he had sent me before, we were joined by Bappojee Maharatta (his *deewan*) with six silver-sticks and spear-men, and above fifty *guicwar* horse, with their standard and *nagari*. I pleaded that these were really unnecessary, considering the numerous guard of Sepoys, fifty men, whom I had sent on with the baggage. He answered, however, that though less might suffice in Hindostan, here these outward forms were both desirable and necessary! To this I could say nothing, and proceeded on my march; though I could not help thinking that since the days of Thomas à Becket, or Cardinal Wolsey, an English bishop had seldom been so formidably attended. From Mr. Williams I had received in every respect very gratifying attention and kindness; and it was a great satisfaction to me to know that he intended to visit Bombay at the same time with

myself, and that my dear wife also would know and like him.

Our road for about eight miles lay over a highly cultivated country, with many round-topped trees and high green hedges; the villages, which were numerous, were all more in the European than the Indian style; and, to complete the likeness, had large stacks of hay in their neighbourhood piled up and thatched like those in England. The custom of keeping hay as fodder does not exist in any other part of India which I have seen, but is here universal. As day closed we left the open country, and entered some extremely deep and narrow ravines, with sides of crumbling earth, the convexity of which was evidently the work of the waters of the monsoon in their annual course to the Mhye. The summits of these steep banks were overgrown with brushwood; nor could a more favourable place be desired to favour the spring of a tiger, or the arrows of an ambushed band of robbers. Our numbers, our noise, and the torches which some of the servants carried during this part of our journey, were enough, I should conceive, to keep either description of ferocious animals at a distance. Both kinds, however, are very abundant along the banks of the Mhye and in its neighbourhood; passengers had been very recently stopped and plundered here by Bheels; and two months ago a tiger had carried off a man from a numerous convoy of artillery on its march to Kairah. On the whole, as one of the party observed, "on a road like this, and in such a country, too many guards were better than too few." After about four miles and a half of this kind of road, we arrived on the banks of the Mhye, high, precipitous, and woody, with a broad bright stream, in spite of all the recent drought, wandering in a still wider bed of gravel and sand. Here, too, I found that the watchful kindness of Mr. Williams had provided for us, in giving notice of my coming to the collector of the Kairah district, who had sent some fishermen acquainted with the ford, and a body of Bheels in the pay of the police, to assist us in

crossing, and guide us to the encampment, which was about three miles further, at a village called Wasnud.

Nothing could be more picturesque than this "passage of the Granicus." The moon was sufficiently bright to show the wild and woodland character of the landscape, and the brightness and ripple of the water, without overpowering the effect of the torches as they issued from the wood, and the other torches which our guides carried, and which shone on groups of men, horses, and camels, as wild and singular as were ever assembled in the fancy of a *Salvator Rosa*. I thought of *Walter Scott's* account of the salmon fishing; but this show exceeded that as much as the naked limbs, platted elf-locks, and loose mantles of the *Bheels*, with their bows, arrows, and swords, the polished helmets of our regular troopers, the broad, brocaded, swallow-tailed banner of the *guicwar*, and the rude, but gorgeous chivalry of his cavaliers on long-tailed horses and in long cotton caftans, their shields behind their backs, their battle-axes pendant from their saddle-bows, and long spears or *harquebuzes* with lighted matches over their shoulders, surpassed the most picturesque assortment of *hoden grey*, blue bonnets, and fish-spears. The water, though broad, was nowhere deep. It ran, however, with a brisker stream than from having seen its exhausted condition nearer to its source I had expected. But on this side of *Cheeta Talao* it receives many other mountain streams: and some of these, it is reasonable to suppose, have escaped better in the general drought, and saved the credit of their suzerain before his appearance in the court of *Neptune*.

We arrived at Wasnud heartily tired, both man and beast; the heat of the day had been intense, and our evening march had led us through places where no breeze blew; my little Arab horse, *Nedjeed*, as soon as he saw the comfortable bed of straw provided for him, sank down on it like a dog, and was asleep before the saddle was well off his back. The *Bheels* were to be our watchmen as well as guides; and their shrill calls from one to the other were

heard all night. We were told not to be surprised at this choice, since these poor thieves are, when trusted, the trustiest of men, and of all sentries the most wakeful and indefatigable. They and the *Kholees*, a race almost equally wild, are uniformly preferred in *Guzerât* for the service of the police, and as *durwans* to gentlemen's houses and gardens. All such persons are here called *Sepoys*, and with more accuracy than the regular troops, inasmuch as their weapons are still really the bow and arrow, "sip," whence the Asiatic soldier derives his appellation.

March 25.—We resumed our march at the usual hour, and went, through a well-cultivated, enclosed, and prettily wooded country, eleven miles to *Emaad*, a small village with a large tank not quite dry. In our way we were met by twenty of the *chuprassees*, or, to use the language of the country, the *Sepoys*, of the collector, *Mr. Williamson*, all of the *Kholee* caste, rather short, but broad-set and muscular men, with a harshness, not to say ferocity, in the countenances of many of them, which remarkably differed from the singularly mild and calm physiognomy usually met with in the other side of India. They were well and smartly dressed in green and scarlet kirtles, with black turbans, had every man his small round buckler and sheaf of arrows at his back, his sword and dagger by his side, and long bow in his hand, and, excepting in their dusky complexions, were no bad representatives of *Robin Hood* and his sturdy yeomen. About half-way we were overtaken by *Mr. Williamson* himself, who rode with us to our camp, as did also *Captain Ovens*, who was encamped near, and employed in taking a survey of the country. This gentleman brought with him some specimens of his maps, which are extremely minute, extending to the smallest details usually expressed in the survey of a gentleman's property in England, with a copious field-book, and a particular statement of the average number of farms, tanks, hills, orchards, &c., in each townland. The execution of the maps is very neat, and their drawing said to be wonderfully

accurate, though the mapping, measurement, and angles are, as well as the drawing, by native assistants. All which Captain Ovens seems to do is generally to superintend their operations, to give them instruction in cases of difficulty, to notice any error which he may discover in their calculations, and to cover with ink, and finish for the inspection of Government, the maps which they delineate in pencil. Their neatness, delicacy, and patience in the use of the different instruments and the pencil, he spoke of as really extraordinary; and he was no less satisfied with their intelligence, acuteness, and readiness in the acquisition of the necessary degree of mathematical science. From these gentlemen I gleaned several interesting facts about the inhabitants of this country.

Its wilder parts are pretty generally occupied by the Bheels, concerning whom I am able to add little to what I said before. The other and more settled inhabitants are either Mussulmans, of whom the number is but small; Hindoo bunyans; Rajpoots of a degenerate description, and chiefly occupied in cultivating the soil; Maharattas, who are not by any means numerous, except in and about the guicwar's court; and Kholees, or, as they are pretty generally called, Coolies. These last form perhaps two-thirds of the population, and are considered by public men in Guzerât as the original inhabitants of the country, a character which, I know not why, they refuse to the Bheels, who here, as in Malwah, seem to have the best title to it. I suspect, indeed, myself, that the Coolies are only civilized Bheels, who have laid aside some of the wild habits of their ancestors, and who have learned, more particularly, to conform, in certain respects, such as abstinence from beef, &c., to their Hindoo neighbours. They themselves pretend to be descended from the Rajpoots, but this is a claim continually made by wild and warlike tribes all over India, and it is made, more particularly, by the Puharree villagers at the foot of Rajmahal, who have embraced the Hindoo religion; and that the Coolies them-

selves do not believe their claim, is apparent from the fact that they neither wear the silver badge, nor the red turban. Be this as it may, they are acknowledged by the Hindoos as their kindred, which the Bheels never are; and though their claim of being children of the sun is not allowed by the Rajpoots who live among them, there have been instances in which intermarriages have taken place between Maharattas of high rank and the families of some of their most powerful chieftains.

Their ostensible and, indeed, their chief employment, is agriculture, and they are said to be often industrious farmers and labourers, and, while kindly treated, to pay their rent to Government as well, at least, as their Rajpoot neighbours. They live, however, under their own thakoors, whose authority alone they willingly acknowledge, and pay little respect to the laws, unless when it suits their interest, or they are constrained by the presence of an armed force. In other respects they are one of the most turbulent and predatory tribes in India, and with the Bheels, make our tenure of Guzerât more disturbed, and the maintenance of our authority more expensive there than in any other district of the Eastern empire. The cutcherries, and even the dwelling-houses of the civil servants of the Company, are uniformly placed within, instead of without, the cities and towns, a custom ruinous to health and comfort, but accounted a necessary precaution against the desperate attacks to which they might otherwise be liable. The magistrates and collectors have a larger force of armed men in their employ than any others of the same rank whom I have met with; and the regular troops, and even the European cavalry, are continually called out against them. Yet in no country are the roads so insecure,—in none are forays and plundering excursions of every kind more frequent; or a greater proportion of, what would be called in Europe, the gentry and landed proprietors addicted to acts of violence and bloodshed. In these plundering parties they

often display a very desperate courage; and it is to their honour, that, rude and lawless as they are, they do not apparently delight in blood for its own sake, and neither mutilate, torture, nor burn, the subjects of their cupidity or revenge, like the far worse "decoits" of Bengal and Ireland.

They are hardy, stout men, particularly those of the Catteywâr and Cutch districts. Their usual dress is a petticoat round the waist, like that of the Bheels, and a cotton cloth wrapped round their heads and shoulders, which, when they wish to be smart, they gather up into a very large white turban. In cold weather, or when dressed, they add a quilted cotton kirtle, or "lebada," over which they wear a shirt of mail, with vant-braces and gauntlets, and never consider themselves as fit to go abroad without a sword, buckler, bow and arrows, to which their horsemen add a long spear and battle-axe. The cotton lebada is generally stained and iron-moulded by the mail-shirt, and, as might be expected, these marks, being tokens of their martial occupation, are reckoned honourable, insomuch that their young warriors often counterfeit them with oil or soot, and do their best to get rid as soon as possible of the burgher-like whiteness of a new dress. This is said to be the real origin of the story told by Hamilton, that the Coolies despise and revile all cleanly and decent clothing as base and effeminate. In other respects they are fond of finery; their shields are often very handsome, with silver bosses, and composed of rhinoceros-hide; their battle-axes richly inlaid, and their spears surrounded with many successive rings of silver. Their bows are like those of the Bheels, but stronger, and in better order; and their arrows are carried in a quiver of red and embroidered leather. In their marauding expeditions they often use great secrecy, collecting in the night at the will of some popular chieftain, communicated generally by the circulation of a certain token, known only to those concerned, like the fiery cross of the Scottish Highlanders. They frequently leave their families in com-

plete ignorance as to where or why they are going; and the only way in which, should one of their number fall in battle, the survivors communicate his loss to his widow or parents, is by throwing before his door some sprigs of the peepul, plucked and disposed in a particular form.

On other occasions, however, their opposition to law has been sufficiently open and daring. The districts of Cutch and Catteywâr have ever been, more or less, in a state of rebellion; and neither the regency of the former state, nor the guicwar, as feudal sovereign of the latter, nor the English Government in the districts adjoining to both which are under their control, have ever got through a year without one or more sieges of different forts or fastnesses.

Some good had been done, Mr. Williamson said, among many of these wild people, by the preaching and popularity of the Hindoo reformer, Swaamee Narain, who had been mentioned to me at Baroda. His morality was said to be far better than any which could be learned from the Shaster. He preached a great degree of purity, forbidding his disciples so much as to look on any woman whom they passed. He condemned theft and bloodshed; and those villages and districts which had received him, from being among the worst, were now among the best and most orderly in the provinces. Nor was this all, insomuch as he was said to have destroyed the yoke of caste,—to have preached one God, and, in short, to have made so considerable approaches to the truth, that I could not but hope he might be an appointed instrument to prepare the way for the Gospel.

While I was listening with much interest to Mr. Williamson's account of this man, six persons came to the tent, four in the dress of peasants or bunnians, one, a young man, with a large white turban, and the quilted lebada of a Coolie, but clean and decent, with a handsome sword and shield, and other marks of rustic wealth; and the sixth, an old Mussulman, with a white beard, and pretty much the appearance, dress,

and manner of an ancient serving-man. After offering some sugar and sweetmeats as their nuzzur, and, as usual, sitting down on the ground, one of the peasants began, to my exceeding surprise and delight, "Pundit Swaamee Narain sends his salam," and proceeded to say that the person whom I so much desired to see was in the neighbourhood, and asked permission to call on me next day. I, of course, returned a favourable answer, and stated with truth, that I greatly desired his acquaintance, and had heard much good of him. I asked if they were his disciples, and was answered in the affirmative. The first spokesman told me that the young man now in company was the eldest son of a Coolie thakoor, whose father was one of the pundit's great friends, that he was himself a Rajpoot and a ryut, that the old man in green was a Mussulman Sepoy in the thakoor's service, and sent to attend on his young master. He added, that though of different castes, they were all disciples of Swaamee Narain, and taught to regard each other as brethren. They concluded by asking me when I was to go next day, and appointed, in their teacher's name, that he would visit me at Nerriad in the forenoon; they then took their leave, I having first embraced the thakoor, and sent my salam both to his father and to his gooroo.

On asking Mr. Williamson about the state of knowledge in this province, and the facility which it afforded for establishing schools, he said that there were large schools in most of the principal towns, where the children of the bunyans learnt writing, reading, accounts, and such portions of the national religion as their caste is allowed to receive. But there was no gratuitous instruction; and the ryuts from poverty, and the Coolie thakoors from indifference, very seldom, if ever, sent their children. They had no objection, however, except that of expense; and he did not doubt that if Government, or any religious society, would institute schools, they would be attended with thankfulness and punctuality.

I asked him if the Government were

popular; he did not think that it was particularly otherwise, and ascribed the various tumults and rising of the Guzerâtees to their famines, which frequently reduced whole families and villages to the state of "broken men," and to their long previous habits of misrule and anarchy, rather than to any political grievances. The valuation of their lands, he said, was moderate; it was only from year to year, but in a country where the crops are so precarious, a longer settlement was not desired by the people themselves. Even according to the present system, Government were often compelled to make great abatements, and, on most occasions, had shown themselves indulgent masters.

The greatest evil of the land here, as elsewhere in India, is the system of the Adawlut Courts, their elaborate and intricate machinery, their intolerable and expensive delays, and the severity of their debtor and creditor laws. Even in the Adawlut, however, a very essential improvement had been introduced by Mr. Elphinstone in discarding the Persian language, and appointing all proceedings to be in that of Guzerât. Still there remained many evils, and in a land so eaten up by poverty on the one hand, and usury on the other, the most calamitous results continually followed, and the most bitter indignation was often excited by the judgments, ejectments, and other acts of the Court, which, though intended only to do justice between man and man, yet frequently depopulated villages, undid ancient families, pulled down men's hereditary and long-possessed houses over their heads, and made the judges hated and feared by the great body of the people as practising severities in the recovery of private debts, which none of the native governors, however otherwise oppressive, either ventured to do, or thought of doing. One good effect has, indeed, followed, that by making a debt more easy to recover, the rate of interest has been lessened. But this is a poor compensation for the evils of a system which, to pay a debt, no matter how contracted, strips the weaver of his loom, the husbandman of his plough,

and pulls the roof from the castle of the feudal chieftain, and which, when a village is once abandoned by its inhabitants in a time of famine, makes it next to impossible for those inhabitants, who are all more or less in debt, to return, in better times, to their houses and lands again.

The hot wind blew fiercely all the day, and, though it ceased at night, was followed by a calm more close and oppressive still. I had certainly no conception that anywhere in India the month of March could offer such a furnace-like climate. The servants all complained of it, and hoped that I should not stay long in this province; if I did, they were sure that we should all die: and in truth their apprehensions seemed not altogether unreasonable. Here, indeed, I was far, very far from regretting that my wife and children were not with me; and I rejoiced, on the other hand, that as Guzerât was some time or other to be visited, I was now getting over the most remote, most expensive, and certainly not the most interesting or most healthy part of my diocese, in the only visitation journey (I hope) during which I am likely to be separated from them.

The fertility of Guzerât, in favourable years, is great, particularly in sugar and tobacco; and the revenue of the collectorate at Kairah is said to exceed at such times thirty-seven lacs, an enormous sum for so small a district, but from which many deductions must be made on account of the strangely frequent drought to which this part of India is liable, and the very large police and military establishments which its disordered state, and the martial habits of the people, require.

March 26.—We marched to Nerriad, a large and well-built town, containing, as its cutwal told me, about 15,000 people. The neighbourhood is very highly cultivated, and full of groves of fruit-trees, and large tanks. Of the latter, the greater number are, unhappily, now dry. We were lodged, by Mr. Williamson's order, in his cutcherry, a part of which is used for the occasional reception of himself and friends. It consists of an enclosure

surrounded by a high wall and buildings of various descriptions in the heart of the town, and calculated to hold and shelter, conveniently, a considerable number of horses and people. The bungalow itself, as it is called, is a tall, long, shallow building, containing on the ground-floor two dark and close apartments, with a staircase between them, and above, two more, full of windows, without verandahs or any other means of shutting out the sun or hot wind, and so near the tiled roof, that nothing could well be hotter in weather like the present, and we much regretted that we had not adhered to our old system of pitching the tents, with tatties, outside the town. The heat was great all day, and even before the sun was up.

About eleven o'clock I had the expected visit from Swaamee Narain, to my interview with whom I had looked forward with an anxiety and eagerness which, if he had known it, would, perhaps, have flattered him. He came in a somewhat different style from all which I expected, having with him near two hundred horsemen, mostly well armed with matchlocks and swords, and several of them with coats of mail and spears. Besides them he had a large rabble on foot, with bows and arrows; and when I considered that I had myself more than fifty horse, and fifty musquets and bayonets, I could not help smiling, though my sensations were in some degree painful and humiliating, at the idea of two religious teachers meeting at the head of little armies, and filling the city, which was the scene of their interview, with the rattling of quivers, the clash of shields, and the tramp of the war-horse. Had our troops been opposed to each other, mine, though less numerous, would have been, doubtless, far more effective, from the superiority of arms and discipline. But, in moral grandeur, what a difference was there between his troop and mine! Mine neither knew me, nor cared for me; they escorted me faithfully, and would have defended me bravely, because they were ordered by their superiors to do so, and as they would have done for any other stranger

of sufficient worldly rank to make such an attendance usual. The guards of Swamee Narain were his own disciples and enthusiastic admirers, men who had voluntarily repaired to hear his lessons, who now took a pride in doing him honour, and who would cheerfully fight to the last drop of blood rather than suffer a fringe of his garment to be handled roughly. In the parish of Hodnet there were once, perhaps, a few honest countrymen who felt something like this for me; but how long a time must elapse before any Christian teacher in India can hope to be thus loved and honoured! Yet surely there is some encouragement to patient labour which a Christian minister may derive from the success of such men as these in India,—inasmuch as where others can succeed in obtaining a favourable hearing for doctrines, in many respects, at variance with the general and received system of Hindooism,—the time may surely be expected, through God's blessing, when *our* endeavours also may receive their fruit, and our hitherto almost barren Church may "keep house and be a joyful mother of children."

The armed men who attended Swamee Narain were under the authority, as it appeared, of a venerable old man, of large stature, with a long grey beard and most voluminous turban, the father of the young thakoor who had called on me the day before. He came into the room first, and after the usual embrace, introduced the holy man himself, who was a middle-sized, thin, plain-looking person, about my own age, with a mild and diffident expression of countenance, but nothing about him indicative of any extraordinary talent. I seated him on a chair at my right hand, and offered two more to the thakoor and his son, of which, however, they did not avail themselves without first placing their hands under the feet of their spiritual guide, and then pressing them reverently to their foreheads. Others of the principal disciples, to the number of twenty or thirty, seated themselves on the ground, and several of my own Mussulman servants, who seemed much interested in what was

going on, thrust in their faces at the door, or ranged themselves behind me. After the usual mutual compliments, I said that I had heard much good of him, and the good doctrine which he preached among the poor people of Guzerât, and that I greatly desired his acquaintance; that I regretted that I knew Hindoostanee so imperfectly, but that I should be very glad, so far as my knowledge of the language allowed, and by the interpretation of friends, to learn what he believed on religious matters, and to tell him what I myself believed, and that if he would come and see me at Kairah, where we should have more leisure, I would have a tent pitched for him and treat him like a brother. I said this because I was very earnestly desirous of getting him a copy of the Scriptures, of which I had none with me, in the Nagree character, and persuading him to read them; and because I had some further hopes of inducing him to go with me to Bombay, where I hoped that by conciliatory treatment, and the conversations to which I might introduce him with the Church Missionary Society established in that neighbourhood, I might do him more good than I could otherwise hope to do.

I saw that both he and, still more, his disciples, were highly pleased by the invitation which I gave him; but he said, in reply, that his life was one of very little leisure, that he had 5000 disciples now attending on his preaching in the neighbouring villages, and nearly 50,000 in different parts of Guzerât, that a great number of these were to assemble together in the course of next week, on occasion of his brother's son coming of age to receive the Brahminical string, but that if I staid long enough in the neighbourhood to allow him to get this engagement over, he would gladly come again to see me. "In the mean time," I said, "have you any objection to communicate some part of your doctrine now?" It was evidently what he came to do, and his disciples very visibly exulted in the opportunity of his, perhaps, converting me. He began, indeed, well, professing to believe in one only God, the Maker

of all things in heaven and earth, who filled all space, upheld and governed all things, and more particularly dwelt in the hearts of those who diligently sought him; but he alarmed me by calling the God whom he worshipped Krishna, and by saying that he came down to earth in ancient times, had been put to death by wicked men through magic, and that since his time many false revelations had been pretended, and many false divinities set up. This declaration, I say, alarmed me, because, notwithstanding the traits of resemblance which it bore to the history of our Lord, traits which are in fact to be found in the midst of all the uncleanness and folly in the popular legends respecting Krishna, I did not like the introduction of a name so connected with many obscene and monstrous follies. I observed, therefore, that I always had supposed that Hindoos called the God and Father of all, not Krishna, but Brihm, and I wished, therefore, to know whether his God was Brihm, or somebody distinct from him? The name of Brihm appeared to cause great sensation among his disciples, of whom some whispered with each other, and one or two nodded and smiled, as if to say, "that is the very name." The pundit also smiled and bowed, and with the air of a man who is giving instruction to a willing and promising pupil, said, "a true word it is that there is only one God, who is above all and in all things, and by whom all things are. Many names there may be, and have been, given to him who *is* and is *the same*, but whom we also as well as the other Hindoos call Brihm. But there is a spirit in whom God is more especially, and who cometh from God, and is with God, and is likewise God, who hath made known to men the will of the God and Father of all, whom we call Krishna and worship as God's image, and believe to be the same as the sun 'Surya.'"

I now thought a fair opportunity was given me, and said, with rather more fluency than I had hoped to do, "O pundit, it is a true saying and to be received of all men, that God is everywhere, that there is no other besides

him; that he dwells in the heart, and prompts every good thought and word." "Ullah Acbar!" said one of the Mussulmans. "It is also true, as you have well said, that it is by his Word, whom we call his Son, who is with the Father, and in whom the Father dwells, that the invisible God has made himself and his will known to mankind." Here one of the Mussulmans left the room; perceiving which, and being anxious to keep the remainder a little longer, I said, addressing the old Mussulman Sepoy who came with the thakoor, "You, sir, know what I mean, for you know what Mohammed has written of Jesus the son of Mary, that he was the Breath of God, and born of a virgin. But is not the breath of a man the son of his mouth? is not the word of a man his breath, reduced to form and produced by him? When, therefore, we say that Jesus son of Mary is the Son of God, we mean that he is his Word, his Breath, proceeding from him, and one with him from all eternity. But we cannot believe," I returned to the pundit, "that the sun which we see in the sky can be either God, or that Word who is one with him, since the sun rises and sets, is sometimes on this side of the world, and sometimes on that. But God is everywhere at once, and fills all things." The pundit replied, if I understood him right, that the sun is not God, but even as God for brightness and glory. But he said that their belief was, that there had been many avatars of God in different lands, one to the Christians, another to the Mussulmans, another to the Hindoos in time past, adding something like a hint, that another avatar of Krishna, or the Sun, had taken place in himself. I answered, "O Pundit-jee! God has spoken in many ways and at many times by prophets; but it is hard to believe that a single avatar might not be sufficient for the whole world. But on this and many other points, we may, if it please God, talk hereafter." I then asked if he could read the Persian character, and on his answering in the negative, I expressed my concern that I had no copies of our Sacred Books with me in the Nagree, but said that if he would

accept a volume or two, by way of keeping me in his remembrance, I would send them to him either from Kairah or Bombay. I then asked him in what way he and his followers worshipped God, and finding that the question seemed to perplex him, I made Abdullah read the Lord's Prayer in Hindoostanee to show what I meant, and as a specimen of what we repeated daily. I found, however, that he supposed me to ask in what form they worshipped God, and he therefore unrolled a large picture in glaring colours, of a naked man with rays proceeding from his face like the sun, and two women fanning him; the man white, the women black. I asked him how that could be the God who filled everything and was everywhere? He answered that it was not God himself, but the picture or form in which God dwelt in his heart: I told him, as well as I could (for to say the truth my fluency had begun to fail), what Christians and Mussulmans thought as to the worship of images; but did not decline receiving some paltry little prints of his divinity in various attitudes, which I said I should value as keepsakes. I asked about castes, to which he answered, that he did not regard the subject as of much importance, but that he wished not to give offence; that people might eat separately or together in this world, but that above "oopur," pointing to heaven, those distinctions would cease, where we should be all "ek ekhee jât" (one like another). A little further conversation of no great consequence followed, which was ended by my giving attar and pawn to the pundit, the two thakoors, and some of the other more distinguished disciples, whom he pointed out to me. We mutually took down each other's names in writing. I again pressed him to let me see him once more before I left the country, which he promised if possible; and we bade adieu with much mutual good-will, and a promise of praying for each other, which by God's help I mean to keep. On the whole it was plain that his advances towards truth had not yet been so great as I had been told, but it was also apparent that he had obtained a

great power over a wild people, which he used at present to a good purpose; and though I feared to alarm him by beginning too rashly, I could not but earnestly desire further means and opportunity of putting him in a yet better way than he was now pursuing; but I thought from all which I saw that it would be to no advantage to ask him to accompany me to Bombay.

In the evening Dr. Barnes and I proceeded eleven miles more in our palanquins to Kairah, bearers having been sent from that place to meet us. There is no regular system of dak here, nor (that I can learn) in any part of this presidency. Bearers, or "hamauls," as they call them by an Arabic word, are hired at the different large towns either by the trip or by the day; and if relays are required, they must be sent out from some of these towns on purpose. The expense is very great in comparison with the rate of travelling in other parts of India. My journey of eleven miles cost me fifteen Baroda rupees, or twenty-five shillings, and that without carrying a single article of clothes, or anything save my writing-desk and pistols. The night was but little cooler than the day had been, and the road very dusty. It was moonlight, however, and I could therefore observe that the country was of the same highly cultivated, strongly enclosed, woody, and English character which we had seen the whole way on this side of the Mhye.

About ten o'clock we reached Kairah, and were conducted to the bungalow of Mr. Goode, the clergyman, who received us very hospitably, and had prepared a bed for me in an empty bungalow separated from his only by a small field. Both of these were very neat and even pretty dwellings, but constructed with much less regard to the climate than is usual on the other side of India. Here the windows are generally small and without glass, so as neither to admit any great body of air when it is cool, nor to exclude the hot wind; they have low ceilings too, and are roofed with tiles, on which the sun beats with great power. Nor are the verandahs so well constructed, in

my opinion, as those of Hindostan. The servants are either Parsees or Portuguese, and the English language is much more generally understood and spoken among them than in the northern and eastern provinces. From Saturday the 26th of March to Monday the 4th of April I remained at Kairah, during which time I received great civility and kindness from Mr. Goode the chaplain, Major Sale of the 4th light dragoons, at this time commanding officer, and the other gentlemen of the station. On Sunday I consecrated the church, which is a large and solid but clumsy building, lately finished. On Wednesday I confirmed about seventy persons, and on Friday and Sunday (Good Friday and Easter Day) I preached. On Saturday, before evening service, I consecrated the burial-ground, and in the course of that day visited the regimental school, the station library, and hospital.

The cantonment of Kairah stands about a mile and a half from a small city of the same name, with a river between them, crossed by a considerable wooden bridge, but now in most places fordable. It is extensive, and, I think, well laid out, with good barracks and an excellent hospital, which has only the defect of being built round a square,—a plan which robs one-half the range of all benefit from the breeze. By this form, however, it is more conveniently and easily guarded; and the patients are secluded from any injurious intercourse with their comrades, as well as from access to spirituous liquors. To the prevention of this latter danger even while the men are in health, a greater, or at least, a more successful attention seems to be paid in this cantonment than in any other which I have visited. No dram-shop is allowed within its bounds, and the only one which was tolerated, even in the neighbourhood, is under so good control, that no great degree of drunkenness appeared to exist among the European soldiers, who are, indeed, some of the most respectable-looking and orderly men I have seen in India, and of whom, on the whole, Mr. Goode has according to his own state-

ment, a very interesting and attentive congregation.

The regimental school is in very good order. There are, indeed, few children, the greater number having been carried off by a grievous sickness which prevailed amongst them last year. But there are about forty adult soldiers, who either having never learned, or forgotten their reading and writing, are here instructed both in these and in arithmetic. I examined these men, and was much pleased with the progress which they had made, and with the account which I received of their diligence.

The station library is a very good room, with a small apartment adjoining for a non-commissioned officer, who has the care of the books, which are made up from two different sources, the one being a lending library, containing the works usually furnished by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; the other a larger, more miscellaneous, and far more expensive collection, furnished by the East India Company, and containing, among others, Paley's Natural Theology, Goldsmith's Animated Nature, Pinkerton's Geography, a good Atlas, the Indian histories of Orme and Wilks, and the novels of the author of Waverley. The books published by the Christian Knowledge Society are circulated in the manner usually practised in the lending libraries of that institution, and bear marks, not of ill usage, but of being well read, and perhaps by no very delicate hands. The Company's books are not to be taken away from the room in which they are deposited, a late regulation to that effect having been passed by the commander-in-chief, Sir Charles Colville. I regret this restriction, because I am convinced that, in this climate, the utility of the library will be much impaired by it, since men will not read when they can amuse themselves in the open air, nor when the sun is high will they, nor ought they, to walk some distance to a library. I can, indeed, easily believe that while books were taken by the men to their quarters, some would be occasionally damaged, but it is

surely better that this should happen occasionally, rather than that the reasonable and decent use of the books should be impeded, and the munificence of Government, in a great degree, rendered vain.

But even an occasional and restricted access to works such as I have described is doubtless a very valuable privilege; and, altogether, I have seen no Indian station (Meerut excepted) from which I have derived so much comfort and pleasure as from Kairah. The worst is its extreme unhealthiness; besides the burning heat, under which all Guzerât suffers, and in which it is more unfavourably circumstanced than any other province in India, there is something in the nature of the soil, which, like the Terrai, though not in so fatal a degree, affects mankind, particularly Europeans, with fever, ague, and the other complaints of tropical climates. The havoc among the European troops during the hot months, and, still more, during the rains, is dreadful; and even my Hindoostanees and Bengalees were many of them affected in a way which reminded me much of "the Belt of Death;" one was taken ill after another, and, though all recovered, all were so thoroughly alarmed, that I never witnessed more alacrity displayed by them than when I gave orders to prepare for marching. Archdeacon Barnes and I felt nothing like indisposition. Here, as in the Terrai, the servants ascribed their illness to the badness of the water. The majority of the wells are certainly brackish, but there is one very fine one of excellent quality at the military hospital, to which I apprehend they would, by using my name, have had free access. I am myself inclined to impute the unhealthiness of the station to the quantity of saltpetre in the soil, a circumstance in which this district appears to resemble lower Bengal. At the same time, it should seem that the spot on which the cantonment stands is peculiarly unfortunate, since the neighbouring city, and even the artillery lines, though only separated from the rest by a river, are reckoned much more healthy.

The city of Kairah is a large and tolerably neat town, surrounded by a lofty stone wall, with semicircular bastions, in good repair, and sufficient to keep off either nightly robbers, or parties of irregular cavalry. To sudden attacks of both kinds, notwithstanding the vicinity of the cantonments, it would otherwise still be (as it has been in times past) exposed. The streets within, though narrow, are clean, and the houses solid and lofty, with sloping tiled roofs, and a good deal of carving exhibited on the wood-work of their gable-ends and verandahs. Near the centre of the town are a large Jain temple and school; the former consisting of many small apartments up and down stairs, and even underground, with a good deal of gaudy ornament, and some very beautiful carving in a dark wood like oak. In one of the upper rooms is a piece of mechanism, something like those moving clock-work groups of kings, armies, gods, and goddesses which are occasionally carried about our own country by Italians and Frenchmen, in which sundry divinities dance and salam, with a sort of musical accompaniment. These figures are made chiefly of the same black wood which I have described. What they last showed us was a cellar below ground, approached by a very narrow passage, and containing, on an altar of the usual construction, the four statues of sitting men, which are the most frequent and peculiar objects of Jain idolatry. They are of white marble, but had (as seems to have been the case with many of the images of ancient Greece) their eyes of silver, which gleamed in a very dismal and ghostly manner in the light of a solitary lamp which was burning before them, aided by a yet dimmer ray which penetrated from above through two narrow apertures, like flues, in the vaulting. We were very civilly conducted over the whole building by one of the junior priests, the senior pundit of the place remaining as if absorbed in heavenly things, immovable and silent, during the whole of our stay. While I was in the temple a good many worshippers entered, chiefly women, each of whom,

first touching one of the bells which hung from the roof, bent to the ground before one or other of the idols, depositing, in some instances, flowers, or sugar-candy before it. There seemed no reluctance to admit me and Mr. Williams, the judge and magistrate, who accompanied me, to any part of the building; but the priests drove back, without any ceremony, such of our attendants as wished to follow us.

Near this temple is the Adawlut, a handsome building, with pillars in the Grecian style, having its attic story raised high above the town, and containing very convenient apartments for the judge and his family. Separated by a narrow street is the prison, a large and strong building, which was, nevertheless, nearly forced eight or ten years ago, by a mob of Coolies who had determined to release one of their associates, who was in confinement. Mr. Ironside, the senior judge, nearly lost his life on that occasion.

During the Saturday before we left Kairah, one of my servants was severely stung by a scorpion. He caught and killed the animal, and brought it to Dr. Smith, who, however, did not apply it to the wound, regarding it as a superstitious remedy which he has never known to do any good. Nothing, indeed, according to his experience, is really serviceable except patience, and a lotion of vinegar and water; and the last rather as occupying the patient's attention, than from any direct efficacy to relieve the pain. This is very severe, and continues six or eight hours; after which it generally goes away by degrees. It very seldom, if ever, happens that the injury is of more lasting consequences; but, during this time, Dr. Smith has seen strong and courageous men crying like children, from the extremity of their anguish. The bite of the centipede he considers worse than that of the scorpion, and a very large insect of that kind was killed during Divine Service on Saturday, creeping up the shoe of one of the soldiers. The beginning of the hot weather, and the first ten days of the rainy season, are the times at which venomous animals are most active and troublesome

all over India; nor, in spite of these two cases, have I any reason to suppose that they are more numerous in Guzerât than elsewhere.

In different parts of this province, particularly near the town of Kuppurgunge, are found numbers of cornelians and other pebbles, particularly of the kind called in England "mocha stones," which the shopkeepers of Cambay cut, polish, and set very neatly. The cornelians are always roasted in a strong fire before anything is done to them; nor is it known, till this has taken place, whether they are worth anything or no. The silversmiths of Cutch and Catteywâr emboss very neatly, by filling the cup, watch-case, box, or other vessel with gum-lac, and punching it in, to the figure required, with a small chisel. Major Sale showed me a watch-case and small tankard, very prettily ornamented in this manner, with flowers, elephants, and different birds and animals.

On *April* the 4th, Easter Monday, we left Kairah for Dehwan, a village seven coss distant. Our road was through a well-cultivated country, with strong and high green hedges, a fine show of hedge-row timber, and sandy lanes, so narrow, that on meeting a string of hackeries we were obliged to break a gap into a field, in order to let them pass us. We met on the way about fifteen or sixteen miserable, half-naked, and half-starved emigrants, from Catteywâr, who said they had lingered there till most of their cattle were dead, and they themselves and their children nearly so; nor did they now know where to go to find a happier country.

At Dehwan we found a handsome pagôda, with a convent attached to it, embosomed in tall trees; and were met by the Maharatta manager of Pitland, a man of some consequence, who had the title of "Baeë."

I forgot to mention in its proper place that during my continuance in Kairah, I received a petition from Swaamee Narain, which, unfortunately, marked but too clearly the smallness of his advances beyond the usual limits of Hindooism. It was written in very good English, but signed by him in

Nagree, and was brought to me by two of the persons whom I had seen among his disciples. Its purport was to request my influence with Government to obtain an endowment for a temple which he was building to Luckshmee Narain, the goddess of plenty, and also for a hospital and place of reception which he wished to institute in the same neighbourhood, for pilgrims and poor travellers. I was at some pains to explain to these people that I was only a traveller and with no authority in the Government, and that, as being a Christian, I could not attempt anything which was to encourage the worship of images. I told them, however, that I would convey their petition to Mr. Elphinstone, so far as regarded the almshouse and relief of poor travellers, and that I would report, as I was bound to do, the good account which I heard from all quarters of the system of morals preached by Swaamee Narain, and acted on by his disciples. From Mr. Ironside, who knows him well, and who speaks very favourably of him, I found that when expostulated with on the worship of images, the pundit often expressed his conviction of their vanity, but pleaded that he feared to offend the prejudices of the people too suddenly, and that, for ignorant and carnal minds, such outward aids to devotion were necessary. These opinions are, indeed, no more than some Christians of the Romish Church express; but since I have heard them, I confess I have thought less favourably of his simplicity and honesty of character, and have entertained fewer hopes of being able to render him any spiritual service. Still, as loosening prejudices, his ministry may, by God's mercy, be useful to his countrymen.

The day was intensely hot, and notwithstanding the abundance of trees in Guzerât, they are never disposed in groves so as to furnish a convenient shelter for a camp. Ours was in the middle of a ploughed field; and though, during a part of the day, the breeze was strong enough to admit of tattles, the burden of the sun in the afternoon was more than the awnings of our canvas habitations could resist, and

fell heavy on us. We had reason to be thankful that there were only ten days more before we should arrive in Surat. Had we taken the longer round by Mhow, we must have expected to feel the climate severely.

I have had several occasions within these few last days to observe that the English on this side of India call the Hindoos "Gentoos," a name which, though commonly used for them in Europe, I never heard in Bengal or Hindostan. I cannot learn that it is taken from any Indian dialect; and the Guzerâttee professors of the religion of Brahma call themselves, here as elsewhere, "Hindooee." I suspect it is only a corruption of the Portuguese jargon "Gentao," a Gentile, and may rank with the compound "Campao" of Bengal.

April 5.—This morning we proceeded, eight coss, to Pitland, where we found Archdeacon Barnes just arrived, he having come by dâk during the night from Kairah. Pitland is a large town, with a good stone rampart, and, with the district round it, belongs to the guicwar raja. The environs are fertile and shady, with noble banyan-trees, and several large tanks, and there are a good many temples. The population is of about fifteen thousand people.

The kamdar, Kooseah Bae, the same who met me yesterday, again received me with much civility at the entrance of the town, and conducted me to the encampment. He also expressed his hope that I would let him show me the curiosities of his town in the cool of the evening, to which I assented more out of civility than from an expectation of finding anything worth notice. He seemed pleased, and soon after sent a very plentiful dinner for the servants and everybody in the camp, amounting, altogether, to no fewer than three hundred and fifty persons. He said that he sent this by the maharaja's order, and because this was the last of his towns that I should visit. In the evening too, when we prepared merely for a ride round the town, we found that we were expected to go in much pomp to the fort and see fire-

works there. I was annoyed at being thus ensnared into a visit, but could not civilly draw back, and was accordingly received with a salute from the ramparts, and underwent the penance of sitting in a sort of unfinished pavilion in solemn durbar a good hour, while some Roman candles and rockets were let off. The fort is large, but old, and in bad repair; its garrison seemed to consist of about twenty or twenty-five Sepoys, dressed in red, with caps like those of the King of Oude's troops. Nothing was ever devised more ridiculously ugly than this head-dress, but the men were cleanly dressed and accoutred, and presented arms with much smartness. The ceremony concluded by his giving me and my friends some shawls, and my returning the compliment by a similar present, the means of making which had been kindly and considerably supplied me by Mr. Williams.

An unusual number of beggars were assembled at this station, some of whom, however, professed to have come from a distance from having heard my "name." Among them were two natives of Cûbul who repeated Persian poetry, and a very holy yogi, his naked and emaciated body covered over with white powder, and an iron implement, like a flesh-hook, in his hand, which is frequently carried by devotees in this part of India, but the meaning of which I forgot to inquire. There were divers miserable painted females, who also said that they came from far to offer their services and salutations to "Huzoor;" and, lastly, there were half a dozen or more half-starved and more than half-naked figures, who had children at their breasts and in their hand, and who had no other claim on my attention than the strongest of all, "ah, Lord Sahib, our babies are dying of hunger!" On the whole, however, the number of beggars in every part of Guzerât has been less than I expected to find it in a year so unpropitious, and, certainly, not more, taking one day with another, than any man who should travel slowly, and with some degree of state and publicity through England, might find in its market-towns and vil-

lages. My march, I can easily perceive, attracts considerable notice. The people of the towns and villages all throng to the road-side, the hedges, and windows, to look at us, and I have consented to be a little longer on the road, and a good deal more dusted than I otherwise might be, rather than seem to underrate the marks of distinction which the raja has assigned me, or to disappoint the townspeople of their show. We therefore go on in good order and in marching time the whole way, with a tawdry banner of the guicwar floating before us, the nagari beating on our approach to a town, and Cûbul decked out in full Oriental costume, with the bridle and saddle which were given me at Baroda. Well it is for these poor peasants that the Maharatta banner and kettle-drum are now to them no more than objects of curiosity and amusement. Ten years ago there were few parts of India where such a sight and sound would not have been a sign of flight and tears; the villagers, instead of crowding to see us, would have come out indeed, but with their hands clasped, kissing the dust, and throwing down before the invaders all their wives' silver ornaments, with bitter intreaties that the generous conqueror would condescend to take all they had and do them no further injury; and accounted themselves but too happy if those prayers were heard, so that their houses were left unburnt, and their wives and daughters inviolate! War is, doubtless, a dreadful evil everywhere, but war, as it is carried on in these countries, appears to have horrors which an European soldier can scarcely form an idea of.

April 6.—We proceeded about seventeen miles to Gauima, a village near which we were to cross the sands at the mouth of the Mhye, and which would save us almost a day's march in our journey to Broach. The country, though still, generally speaking, well cultivated, was less fertile and more woody and wild than that we had lately passed: the trees, however, were all of the same round-topped character, and I was continually reminded of some of the green lanes round Hodnet.

We found our tents pitched on a small eminence, enjoying a delightful cool breeze, which sufficiently indicated the neighbourhood of an arm of the sea. The estuary, however, of the Mhye was not visible, being shut out from us by an intervening jungle, though, beyond this last, a blue and distant line of woods appeared, obviously showing that a wide valley of some kind intervened. As we had received our accounts of this place, and its perfect practicability for the passage of horses, carriages, and camels, from a gentleman high in office and long experienced in this part of the country, we had none of us the smallest doubt but that the ford would be an easy one; and I was much surprised and disappointed to learn from the potail of the village, who came to call on me, that during spring-tides the water was deep enough, even at ebb, to drown a camel; that the ferry-boat was only calculated for foot-passengers; and that, hearing of our approach, he had sent the day before to warn us that the ford was impracticable, though, unfortunately, his message did not appear to have arrived in Pitland time enough to stop us. The river was, he said, a coss and a half wide, of which, when the tide was out, about a third was occupied by water, and the rest was all mud and muscle-banks. Many Sahibs had passed that way, but, he thought, always in boats, and certainly not at spring-tide! The nearest place where, in his judgment, camels could pass, was Ometa, nine coss to the north, and a very little to the south of Fusilpoor, where we crossed the river before. This was very provoking to us all, and I much regretted that I had allowed myself to be dissuaded from a plan which I had once entertained of going to Cambay, and getting a passage there, in some of the country boats, to Tunkaria Bunder, a road near Broach, where we might be met by the little vessel which the Government had placed at my disposal. From Cambay, indeed, we were now only a day's march, but without previous notice no vessel could be got there; and no plan appeared practicable of gaining my point, so far as Broach was concerned, which

was to reach that city by Sunday, unless we could by some means or other get over this formidable frith. Dr. Smith kindly volunteered to go down in Archdeacon Barnes's palanquin to reconnoitre, and have some conversation with the ferrymen. The account which he brought back was sufficiently unfavourable, and entirely corresponded with that of the potail. The boat, however, he said, was a large and good one, and two other boats might be obtained, so that he proposed that we ourselves and our baggage should pass here, and that the horses and unloaded camels should make a forced march by Ometa to join us on the other side. It at once, however, occurred to me that the horses, at least, might with proper management swim over; and Bappoor Maharatta on being consulted said that, unloaded, he thought the camels might get through also, if they took the very lowest ebb, and did their work in the daytime; accordingly we sent to hire a sufficient number of carts to carry our goods down to the water's edge, since over the slippery ooze of the river no loaded camel could pass, and a similar number were engaged to meet us on the other side of the channel from the village of Dopkah. We also summoned two small ferry-boats from Dehwan and a village between us and Ometa, to assist in passing us over, and sent off this evening as many of our things as we could spare with the khansaman, a havildar, and fourteen Sepoys, to the water's edge, in the hope that they might get over by the night's tide, and leave the morning's ebb free for the passage of the animals.

The boats, however, were not ready; and next morning, *April 7*, when I went to the scene of action a little before five, I found the embarkation going on slowly, though tolerably prosperously. The breakfast things and a few chairs had passed over, and the carts were employed in conveying the tents and other goods slowly over the deep ooze to the channel. The ebb was now pretty nearly at its lowest. From high-water mark, where the bank was steep, woody, and intersected by several narrow and deep ravines, was rather

less than a mile of wet muddy sand and sludge, with streams of salt water in different parts, about as high as a man's waist. Then followed, perhaps, half a mile of water, where we saw the boats waiting for us. We got into the smallest boat from our horses' backs, and taking off their saddles, led one to each side; the saeeses, who were with us in the boat, holding the halters. Four horses more were in the same manner fastened, two on a side, to the large boat, which was under the care of Abdullah; and we thus proceeded prosperously, though our poor steeds were grievously frightened when they felt themselves out of their depth. We ourselves were a little dismayed on finding, as we drew near the opposite beach, that the stream flowed close under its steep side, and that the ghât for landing was very crumbling, abrupt, and difficult for every animal but man. It was very clear, indeed, that under such circumstances as the present no horses had ever passed at this place before; but ours were all unencumbered, and of good courage; and when let loose, with the land in sight, scrambled up happily without receiving any damage. The Company's cavalry followed in the same way that we had done, and then the Maharattas. I had directed these to stay to the last, but there was no keeping them back; and, as the tide by this time was flowing again, the camels were obliged to wait till the afternoon, when they also passed, though with some difficulty, yet safely.

The village of Dopkah, where we remained for the day, is about two miles from the shore, the interval being wild and jungly, and I had here again occasion to observe, what had struck me repeatedly before, that not only palms of every kind are rare in Guzerât, but that bamboos are never seen either in jungles or cultivated grounds. What peculiarity it is of soil or of climate, which deprives this district of two of the most useful and ornamental plants which India produces, I cannot guess.

Dopkah is a small village, prettily situated, belonging to the maharaja. It is completely out of any usually frequented road, and I had the mortifica-

tion of finding that our coming with so numerous a party occasioned not only surprise, but alarm and distress; the potail shed many tears, anticipating a complete destruction to his remaining stock of hay, a loss which no pecuniary payment could, in such a year as this, make up to him. I pitied him and his villagers heartily, and gave directions that all the neighboring hamlets should be laid under contribution, so that each would only have to furnish a little, and none need be quite stripped. Bappoo Maharatta offered to pay all demands for boats, hackeries, coolies, &c.; but having some doubts how far the peasants were safe in his hands, I said that I wished to see them all myself. I had, in consequence, assembled before my tent a most wild and extraordinary group of four village potails, twenty-four boatmen, twenty-seven carters, and fifty coolies, who were so well pleased at receiving anything, that when I had distributed among them the payments to which I thought them fully entitled, they actually testified their content by acclamation. It was, indeed, an expensive day's work, but did not, after all, amount to more than about thirty-seven rupees; a sum which, in England, would be thought little enough for the trajet of such a party as ours over such a frith.

The potails of Guzerât are very inferior in dress, manners, and general appearance to the zemindars of Hindostan. Their manner, however, though less polished, is more independent; and here, as in Central India, instead of standing with joined hands in the presence of a superior, they immediately sit down, even if they do not advance to embrace him. Almost all of them, as well as their ryuts, and indeed all the inhabitants of the country, are armed, some with bows and arrows, and all, or nearly all, with sabres. Their dress is generally ragged and dirty, and they seem to pay less attention to personal cleanliness than any Hindoos whom I have met with. Some of the peasants who were assembled were tall stout men, but the average were considerably under the middle size.

The day was hot, and we had, unfortunately, neither shade nor breeze. I left two Sepoys at this village sick, with one convalescent to take care of them. The distance from hence to Baroda is only about eighteen miles, and I thought it most humane to take them no further from their homes, since Dr. Smith hoped that, with the help of a single day's rest, they would be well able to return thither. The convalescent man was very unwilling to leave our party, but it was necessary to be positive with him.

Some complaints were brought by the country people against the Sepoys, for bullying and maltreating them; and I was compelled to send a sharp reprimand to the jemautdar for not keeping his men in more order. I do not remember any complaints of the sort occurring against the Hindoostanee Sepoys, during the whole course of my journey; but I am not sure whether they are really better behaved, or whether these Guzeráttee peasants may be more quick in resenting, and less patient under injuries, than our subjects in the northern provinces. I own that I suspect the former to be the case; yet in exterior, smartness of drill, and obedience to officers, nothing can exceed the little Bombay Sepoy. They are, however, evidently a more lively and thoughtless, and I think a more irascible and less sober race than their Hindoostanee brethren; and such men, with arms in their hands, are apt to be rash and peremptory.

April 8.—We continued our journey to a village called Sakra, on the banks of the same small river (the Dhandur) which flows by Baroda. The distance was about fourteen miles, the greater part of which was over a black soil, with many deep cracks, chiefly cultivated in cotton, and, apparently, of inferior fertility to the red sandy soil which we had found everywhere north-west of the Mbye. At Sakra we met a large party of poor Catteywar emigrants, who had formed themselves, (as they said) out of pure want, into a society of religious beggars and jugglers, with the usual equipment of beads, peacocks' feathers, tame snakes,

and music. I observed to some of them that they were strong, able-bodied men, and might work; to which they answered, "How can we work when God gives no rain?" I asked whither they were going, and a poor woman replied "a begging." They were very thankful for a trifling charity which I gave to their chief, whom they called their "Khaleefa" (caliph), a title which I had not heard before in India. Here, however, it is one of many circumstances which mark our approach to the Arabian Gulf. The price of flour at present was about three anas the seer, or three half-pence per pound English, which even in England would be thought a grievous rate—how much more in a land where there is so little money stirring, and where the prices of labour are so much lower than in England!

April 9.—We went thirteen miles more to a village called Tekaria, where we re-entered the Company's territory. The country still, and, indeed, all the way to Broach, was chiefly cultivated with cotton, the roads very bad, and worn into deep ruts, the trees less tall, spreading, and numerous than we had been accustomed to see.

Mr. Boyd, the collector of Broach, kindly sent two revenue officers, a tussildar, and an inferior functionary, with some suwaris to act as guides, and to procure us the usual supplies. The tussildar and his assistant were old men of the Mahommedan sect of Boras, and, whether justly so or no, seemed regarded as usurers and oppressors by the people under their care. The Boras in general are unpopular, and held in the same estimation for parsimony that the Jews are in England. Abdullah said, translating the expressions of some of the common people concerning them, that they were "an abominable nation."

April 10.—This day we reached Broach, a large ruinous city on the northern bank of the Nerbudda. We were hospitably entertained in the house of Mr. Corsellis, the commercial agent. His dwelling, as usual in this presidency, is in the middle of the town, but on an elevated terrace within

the ramparts of the old fort, and commanding an extensive view of the river, which is a noble sheet of water of, I should guess, two miles across even at ebb tide. It is very shallow, however, except at flood, and even then admits no vessels beyond the bar at Tunkaria Bunde larger than a moderate-sized lighter. The boats which navigate it are rigged with large lateen sails, instead of square or lug, another peculiarity in which the habits of this side of India approach those of the Levant and the Arabian Sea, rather than those of Bengal. Broach, by the help of these boats, drives on a considerable trade in cotton, which it sends down to Bombay. It is now, however, a poor and dilapidated place, and also reckoned very hot and unwholesome. For its heat I can answer, though Mr. Corsellis, having been a good deal in Calcutta with Lord Wellesley, keeps his house far cooler than is usually done on this side of India; and it is, I understand, remarked in Malwah, though I cannot give any probable reason for the difference, that the black soil, such as we have lately been traversing, is more unhealthy than the redder kinds. Broach has a small but neat room within the enclosure of the judges' cutcherry, fitted up and furnished as a church, in which I preached and administered the Sacrament to about twelve persons. The whole congregation consisted of about twenty. Mr. Jefferies, the chaplain of Surat, comes over hither once a month, and was now Mr. Corsellis's guest.

We dined early, and in the afternoon enjoyed, though almost forty miles from the open sea, a fine south-west seabreeze, which came up with the flood-tide, and cooled the air very pleasantly. This seems one of the few favourable circumstances in the climate of the place, and even this is not always to be counted on. In fact, by all which I had as yet learned of the climate of the Bombay Presidency, and by all which I had seen of the pale complexions and premature signs of old age which distinguish the civil and military servants of the Company in Guzerât from those in the upper provinces of Bengal, and

even in Calcutta itself, I was led to conclude that, though Bombay itself might enjoy, as they all assured me it did, an agreeable temperature during many months in the year, there was no part of India so generally unfriendly to European health as Guzerât and, with the single exception of Poonah, the other continental dependencies of this presidency. Nor do its inhabitants seem to take advantage, as they might do, of the few alleviations and remedies of heat which are resorted to by the English on the other side of India; I have seen several houses without punkahs. Their tatties are ill-made and ill-managed; their roofs, instead of pukka or thatch, are composed of thin and ill-made tiles, which are scarcely any defence against the sun. The European comforts and luxuries which their shops supply are said to be both dearer and worse than those of Calcutta; and though they all complain, with apparent reason, of the high price and inferior quality of provisions and labour, they are unacquainted with the comfortable and economical arrangements which enable the military officers of the different stations of the Bengal establishment to keep flocks, slaughter bullocks, and import wine, &c., in common.

At Broach is one of those remarkable institutions which have made a good deal of noise in Europe as instances of Hindoo benevolence to inferior animals. I mean hospitals for sick and infirm beasts, birds, and insects. I was not able to visit it; but Mr. Corsellis described it as a very dirty and neglected place, which, though it has considerable endowments in land, only serves to enrich the Brahmins who manage it. They have really animals of several different kinds there, not only those which are accounted sacred by the Hindoos, as monkeys, peacocks, &c., but horses, dogs, and cats; and they have also, in little boxes, an assortment of lice and fleas. It is not true, however, that they feed those pensioners on the flesh of beggars hired for the purpose. The Brahmins say that insects, as well as the other inmates of their infirmary, are fed with vegetables only,

such as rice, &c. How the insects thrive I did not hear; but the old horses and dogs, nay, the peacocks and apes, are allowed to starve, and the only creatures said to be in any tolerable plight are some milch cows, which may be kept from other motives than charity.

Another curiosity in this neighbourhood is the celebrated bur or banyan-tree, called Kuveer Bur, from a saint who is said to have planted it. It stands on, and entirely covers an island of the Nerbudda, about twelve miles above Broach. Of this tree, which has been renowned ever since the first coming of the Portuguese to India, which is celebrated by our early voyagers and by Milton, and which, the natives tell us, boasted a shade sufficiently broad to shelter ten thousand horse, a considerable part has been washed away with the soil on which it stood, within these few years, by the freshes of the river; but enough remains, as I was assured, to make it one of the noblest groves in the world, and well worthy of all the admiration which it has received. This I would gladly have seen; but I had too many motives to urge me on to Bombay to allow of my sacrificing, as I apprehended I must have done, two days for the purpose of going and returning. Had I known all the difficulties of the usual ferry at Broach, I should have been tempted to march my camp round by a ford near this famous tree; but this, like most other matters respecting Indian travelling, I had to learn by experience.

April 11.—This day we crossed the Nerbudda, a task attended with considerable expense, and great delay and difficulty, but, happily, without harm to man or beast. There was only one horse-boat properly provided with a platform, and that of small dimensions, only fit to carry four horses at most, while the going and returning took up at least an hour. The camels were, therefore, to be packed in the common boats used on the river, which were indeed large and stout enough, but such as they were very unwilling to enter, and were forced in with great labour and difficulty, as well as much beating

and violence to the poor animals; we got over, however, soon after dark in the evening, and slept at a small village named Oklaisir, about four miles and a half from the southern bank. We crossed over, ourselves, in a stout boat, called here a bundur boat, I suppose from "bundur," a harbour, with two masts and two lateen sails, which was lent us by our kind host, Mr. Cor-sellis.

April 12.—We rode to Kim Chow-kee, about sixteen miles, through a wilder country than we had lately seen, with a good deal of jungle and some herds of deer; at Kim Chowkee is a large serai, called here "Durrumsallah," which is kept in good repair, having a picket of Sepoys to protect passengers from robbers; and, in one angle of the building, a roomy but hot and ill-contrived bungalow for European travellers. We found here (that is in the lower corridors and verandahs of the building) a considerable crowd of Bora inhabitants of Surat, who had come out thus far to meet the moullah of their sect, whose usual residence is in the city, but who had now been on a spiritual journey into Malwah, where he had narrowly escaped death in the quarrel between his sect and the Patans at Mundissore. The Patans, indeed, had declared, in revenge for the death of their own preacher, whose slaughter I have already mentioned, that the moullah should never return to Surat alive, and the news of his near approach, and of his being on the safe side of the Nerbudda, had called out an enthusiasm in his people, such as the sober and money-making Boras seem to be not often susceptible of.

The men whom we met here to-day were grave, wealthy-looking burghers, travelling in covered carts, drawn, each of them, by two of the large and handsome Guzeráttee oxen, and ornamented and equipped in a style which made them by no means inconvenient or inelegant vehicles. One which was destined to receive the moullah on his arrival was a sort of miniature coach or palanquin carriage shaped like a coach, with Venetian blinds, and very handsomely painted dark green. The

oxen had all bells round their necks, and the harness of many was plated with massive silver ornaments. The moullah did not arrive so soon as he was expected, otherwise the serai would have offered the spectacle of a curious mixture of creeds; as it was, we had Mussulmans of three different sects (Omar, Ali, and Hussun), Hindoos of almost every caste from Brahmins to sweepers, divers worshippers of fire, several Portuguese Roman Catholics, an English Bishop and Archdeacon with one lay-member of their sect, a Scottish Presbyterian, and two poor Greeks from Trebizond, who were on a begging journey to redeem their families from slavery. The whole number of lodgers in and about the serai, probably, did not fall short of five hundred persons. What an admirable scene for Eastern romance would such an inn as this afford!

April 13.—From Kim Chowkee to the river Taptee is almost fourteen miles, through a country still wild, and ill-cultivated, though, apparently, not unfruitful. This district is one of those recently acquired by the Company from the ruins of the Peishwah's empire; and it struck me that its neglected state was indicative of internal misgovernment; but I afterwards learned, that this apparent desolation does not extend far from the road-side, and that, in point of fact, the collectorship is a very productive one. The banks of the Taptee are prettily edged with gardens, and here, at length, the coco-nut tree re-appeared. The tide was out, and we passed the stream by fording; on the other bank we were met by Mr. Romer, the senior judge of the Adawlut, a very clever and agreeable man, who had kindly asked us to his house, and had now brought carriages to meet us.

From the river-side to the gates of Surat are four miles and a half, through gardens and a deep sandy lane; thence we drove through the city, nearly two miles, to Mr. Romer's house, where we found spacious, but very hot, apartments provided for us. Surat, or as the natives pronounce it, Soorut (beauty), is a very large and ugly city, with nar-

row winding streets, and high houses of timber-frames filled up with bricks, the upper stories projecting over each other. The wall is entire and in good repair, with semicircular bastions and battlements like those of the Kremlin. Its destruction, or abandonment to ruin, has been more than once talked of; but the feeling of security which the natives derive from such a rampart, and the superior facilities which it affords to the maintenance of a good police, and the collection of the town duties, have, with good reason, preponderated in favour of supporting it. The circuit of the city is about six miles in a semicircle, of which the river Taptee or Tâpee forms the chord; near the centre of this chord, and washed by the river, stands a small castle, with round bastions, glacis, and covered way, in which a few Sepoys and European artillerymen are stationed, and which is distinguished by the singularity of two flag-staves, on one of which is displayed an union-jack, on the other a plain red flag, the ancient ensign of the Emperors of Delhi. This arrangement was adopted, I believe, in courtesy, at the time when the East India Company conquered the fort from the Nawâb of Surat, and has never since been discontinued, though the nawâb, like the emperor himself, is now only a pensioner on the bounty or justice of the Government. In the neighbourhood of this fort are most of the English houses, of a good size, and surrounded by extensive compounds, but not well contrived to resist heat, and arranged with a strange neglect both of tattles and punkahs. Without the walls are a French factory, containing some handsome and convenient buildings, but now quite deserted by their proper owners, and occupied by different English officers who pay a rent to some country-born people, who pretend to have an interest in them, and a Dutch factory, also empty, the chief of which is only waiting the orders of his Government to surrender this, like the other Dutch settlements, to the English. The French factory had been restored to that nation at the peace, and a governor and several officers came to take

possession. The diseases, however, of the climate attacked them with unusual severity. The governor died, and his suite was so thinned that the few survivors returned to the Isle of Bourbon, whence nobody has been sent to supply their place.

The trade of Surat, indeed, is now of very trifling consequence, consisting of little but raw cotton, which is shipped in boats for Bombay. All the manufactured goods of the country are undersold by the English, except kin-cob and shawls, for which there is very little demand; a dismal decay has consequently taken place in the circumstances of the native merchants; and an instance fell under my knowledge in which an ancient Mussulman family, formerly of great wealth and magnificence, were attempting to dispose of their library, a very valuable one, for subsistence. There is a small congregation of Armenians in a state of decay and general poverty; but the most thriving people are the Boras (who drive a trade all through this part of India as bunyans and money-lenders) and the Parsees. These last are proprietors of half the houses in Surat, and seem to thrive where nobody else but the Boras can glean even a scanty maintenance. The boats which lie in Surat river are of thirty or forty tons, half-decked, with two masts and two very large lateen sails; vessels of greater draught must lie about fifteen miles off, below the bar, at the mouth of the Taptee, but, except the ketches in the Company's service, few larger vessels ever come here. The English society is unusually numerous and agreeable, as this city is the station not only of a considerable military force, but of a collector, a board of custom, a circuit court, and the Sudder Adawlut for the whole Presidency of Bombay, which, for the greater convenience of the people, and on account of its central situation, Mr. Elphinstone has wisely removed hither. There is a very neat and convenient church, which I consecrated on Sunday, April 17th, as well as an extensive and picturesque burial-ground, full of large but ruinous tombs of the former servants of the Company;

most of these are from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and eighty years old, and in the Mussulman style of architecture, with large apartments surmounted by vaults, and containing within two or three tombs, exactly like those of the Mahomedans, except that the bodies lie east and west, instead of north and south. The largest of these buildings is that in memory of Sir George Oxenden, one of the earliest governors of British India, at the time when British India comprised little more than the factory at this place, and the then almost desolate Island of Bombay. He could hardly at that time have even dreamed how great a territory his countrymen would possess in India; yet I must say that the size and solidity of his sepulchre is not unworthy that of one of the first founders of an empire.

I neither saw nor could hear of any distinguished Mussulman or Hindoo building in Surat. The nawâb's residence is modern, but not particularly handsome; he has no territory, but a pension of a lac and a half per annum. He sent me some civil messages, but did not call. He is said to be a young man, much addicted to low company, and who shuts himself up even from the most respectable families of his own sect. I received civil messages and offers of visits from the Bora moullah, the Mogul cazi, and other learned Mussulmans, but excused myself, being in fact fully occupied, and a good deal oppressed by the heat, which almost equalled that in Kairah, and exceeded anything which I had felt in other parts of the country. On the whole, Surat, except in its society, which is nowhere excelled in British India, appears to me an uninteresting and unpleasant city, and, in beauty of situation, inferior even to Broach.

The Education Society of Bombay have a school here, where a considerable number of Parsee, Mussulman, and Hindoo boys are instructed in writing, reading, arithmetic, and English. They read the Scriptures, as a text-book, without objection, and their progress seemed highly creditable. Some of the boys were of good families.

The schoolmaster is an old soldier, but the chief conductor of the school is Mr. Jefferies the chaplain.

April 17.—We left Surat in a large lateen-sailed boat with twelve rowers, for the mouth of the Taptee, where the Vigilant, Company's ketch, was waiting to receive us. The bar at the mouth of the river is broad, and sometimes said to be formidable to boats. When we passed there was a considerable swell, but the surf by no means high or dangerous. The Vigilant we found a vessel of about sixty tons, very neat and clean, with a good cuddy, and two small cabins partitioned from it; she carried six little carronades, and had a crew of twenty men; twelve Sepoys, who form a part of its establishment, had been removed, to make room for us, on board the two country-boats which received our luggage and horses. The serang was a Mussulman, a decent and intelligent man, and the crew, though not very nimble or alert in their movements, were, to all appearance, steady, and tolerably acquainted with their business. In other respects the bark was a bad one; a heavy sailer, rolling and pitching severely, and a bad sea-boat, having the scuppers of her deck so low in the water, that on shipping a sea, the crew had no resource but baling. The wind, which had been for some time unfavourable, blew almost a gale from the S.W., and we remained at anchor the whole of the day, tossing and pitching very uncomfortably.

Early next morning we dropped down with the tide for a few miles; and, the wind drawing round a little more to the north as the sun rose, we made a pretty good run to the parallel

of Damaun, a Portuguese settlement, at the foot of some high hills, and thence to within sight of the yet higher range of "St. John." We ran on through the night.

At breakfast on Wednesday the 19th, we passed the mountains of Bassein, exhibiting, besides some meaner elevations, one very high hill of a table form, and another not quite so elevated, rising in a conical peak. Thence we coasted the islands of Salsette and Bombay, both rocky, and in some parts considerably elevated, but with the high mountains of the Concan seen rising behind both. Though at a considerable distance from the shore, we passed a vast number of bamboos, planted as fishing-stakes, and a fleet of boats, which, like all others which I have seen on this coast, had large lateen-sails. They were extremely picturesque; and though, apparently, not very manageable, made their way fast through the water: they could not tack, but wore with great celerity and accuracy; and, though their gunwales were often scarcely above the water, impressed me with the idea of their being good sea-boats, and good sailers. Their style of rigging differs from that of the Mediterranean, in that they have seldom more than two masts, of which the hinder is much the smallest. They have also a bowsprit, and their sails, instead of being a right-angled triangle, have the foremost angle cut off, so as to bring them nearer the principle of a lug-sail. They are very white, being, I believe, made of cotton. As the sun set we saw the Bombay lighthouse, and, about midnight, anchored in the mouth of the harbour.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BOMBAY.

Island of Elephanta—Salsette—Gorabunder—Bassein—Cave Temple of Kennery—Pareil—Oran Outang—Journey to Poonah—Ghâts—Cave at Carlee—Poonah—Conquest and Government of the Deckan—Consecration of the Church at Tannah—Mr. Elphinstone—Description of the Island of Bombay—Departure.

APRIL 26.—My dear wife and elder girl arrived at Bombay after a tedious and distressing voyage, both from weather and sickness. As the journal kept by the former gives a just idea of the principal things which we saw in Bombay and its neighbourhood, I shall merely make a few observations on some of the more striking objects and occurrences.

On the 28th was my visitation (a confirmation of about one hundred and twenty children had occurred a few days before), attended by the arch-deacon (Dr. Barnes), six chaplains, and one missionary, being all within a reasonable distance of Bombay.

On May 5th the foundation of a free school, on the same plan with that of Calcutta, was laid. The ceremony was numerously attended, and the institution, which has been for some time in activity, though in a hired and inconvenient building, appears very flourishing, and likely to be productive of great good. The plan and elevation of the intended schools, by Lieutenant Jervis of the Engineers, I think a very elegant and judicious one.

On the 8th we went to see Elephanta, of which my wife has given an account in her journal,* and of which a more

regular description is needless after all which Mr. Erskine and others have written on it. I will only observe that the Island of Elephanta, or Shaporee, is larger and more beautiful than I expected, containing, I should suppose, upwards of a thousand acres, a good deal of which is in tillage, with a hamlet of tolerable size, but the major part is very beautiful wood and rock, being a double-pointed hill, rising from the sea to some height. The stone elephant, from which the usual Portuguese name of the island is derived, stands in a field about a quarter of a mile to the right of the usual landing-place. It is about three times as big as life, rudely sculptured, and very much dilapidated by the weather. The animal on its back, which Mr. Erskine supposed to be a tiger, has no longer any distinguishable shape. From the landing-place, a steep and narrow path, but practicable for palanquins, leads up

figures of Siva and his wife Parvati, the former in one compartment with a chaplet of skulls round his neck, and with eight hands, bearing his usual attributes of the Cobra de Capello, also of colossal size, and some of the avatars of Vishnu, and other mythological fables of their religion. Even now the whole is sadly defaced, and though an European sergeant has been for some years appointed to preserve it from injury by man, the climate does its work of devastation slowly but surely, and it appears probable that at no very distant period little will remain to show what this temple had been in the days of its glory. The view from the mouth of the cavern is very beautiful. Although we were out during the hottest hours of the day, in one of the worst months, we never were much oppressed by the heat. In Bengal such an excursion could not have been contemplated.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

* The principal cave is of considerable extent, excavated out of the solid rock, and the roof supported by pillars, now in a state of decay, carved out in the same manner, and handsomely ornamented. The different shrines which contain the emblems of Hindoo worship are placed on either side, and, generally, their entrances are guarded by colossal bas-relief figures, whilst on the walls are sculptured

the hill, winding prettily through woods and on the banks of precipices, so as very much to remind me of Hawkstone. About half a mile up is the first cave, which is a sort of portico supported by two pillars and two pilasters, and seeming as if intended for the entrance to a rock temple which has not been proceeded in. A quarter of a mile further, and two-thirds of the ascent up the higher of the two hills, is the great cavern, in a magnificent situation, and deserving all the praise which has been lavished on it. For its details I again refer to Mr. Erskine, merely noticing that, though my expectations were highly raised, the reality much exceeded them, and that both the dimensions, the proportions, and the sculpture, seemed to me to be of a more noble character, and a more elegant execution than I had been led to suppose. Even the statues are executed with great spirit, and are some of them of no common beauty, considering their dilapidated condition and the coarseness of their material.

At the upper end of the principal cave, which is in the form of a cross, and exceedingly resembles the plan of an ancient basilica, is an enormous bust with three faces, reaching from the pavement to the ceiling of the temple. It has generally been supposed, and is so even by Mr. Erskine, a representation of the Trimurti, or Hindoo trinity, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. But more recent discoveries have ascertained that Siva himself, to whose worship and adventures most of the other ornaments of the cave refer, is sometimes represented with three faces, so that the temple is evidently one to the popular deity of the modern Hindoos alone. Nor could I help remarking, that the style of ornament, and proportions of the pillars, the dress of the figures, and all the other circumstances of the place, are such as may be seen at this day in every temple of Central India, and among all those Indian nations where the fashions of the Mussulmans have made but little progress. Those travellers who fancied the contrary had seen little of India but Bombay. From these circum-

stances, then, nothing can be learned as to the antiquity of this wonderful cavern, and I am myself disposed, for several reasons, to think that this is not very remote.

The rock out of which the temple is carved is by no means calculated to resist, for any great length of time, the ravages of the weather. It evidently suffers much from the annual rains; a great number of the pillars (nearly one-third of the whole) have been undermined by the accumulation of water in the cavern, and the capitals of some, and part of the shafts of others, remain suspended from the tops like huge stalactites, the bases having completely mouldered away. These ravages are said to have greatly increased in the memory of persons now resident in Bombay, though for many years back the cave has been protected from wanton depredation, and though the sculptures, rather than the pillars, would probably have suffered from that vulgar love of knickknacks and specimens which prevails among the English more than most nations of the world.

A similar rapidity of decomposition has occurred in the elephant already spoken of, which, when Niebuhr saw it, was, by his account, far more perfect than it now is. But if thirty or forty years can have produced such changes in this celebrated temple, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that any part of it is so old as is sometimes apprehended. It has been urged, as a ground for this apprehension, that the Hindoos of the present day pay no reverence to this temple or its images. This is not altogether true, since I myself noticed very recent marks of red paint on one of the lingams, and flowers are notoriously offered up here by the people of the island. It is, however, certainly not a famous place among the Hindoos. No pilgrims come hither from a distance, nor are there any Brahmins stationary at the shrine. But this proves nothing as to its antiquity, inasmuch as the celebrity of a place of worship, with them, depends on many circumstances quite distinct from the size and majesty of the building. Its

founder may have died before he had completed his work, in which case nobody would go on with it. He may have failed in conciliating the Brahmins; or, supposing it once to have been a place of eminence, which is a mere gratuitous assumption, since we have neither inscription, history, nor legend to guide us,—it is impossible to say when or how it may have been desecrated, whether by the first Mussulman invaders, or by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. From the supposed neglect of the natives, therefore, nothing can be concluded, inasmuch as, from the exact similarity of mythology between these sculptures and the idols of the present day, it is plain that this neglect does not arise from any change of customs. It has been urged that the size and majesty of the excavation compel us to suppose that it must have been made by some powerful Hindoo sovereign, and, consequently, before the first Mussulman invasion. This would be no very appalling antiquity; but even for this there is no certain ground. The expense and labour of the undertaking are really by no means so enormous as might be fancied. The whole cavern is a mere trifle in point of extent, when compared with the great salt-mine at Northwich; and there are now, and always have been, rajas, and wealthy merchants in India, who, though not enjoying the rank of independent sovereigns, are not unequal to the task of hewing a huge stone quarry into a cathedral. On the whole, in the perfect absence of any inscription or tradition which might guide us, we may assign to Elephanta any date we please. It may be as old as the Parthenon, or it may be as modern as Henry VIIIth's chapel. But though the truth probably lies between the two, I am certainly not disposed to assign to it any great degree of antiquity.

We accompanied the Governor and a large party on a tour through Salsette on the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th.* This is a very beautiful island,

united with the smaller one of Bombay by a causeway, built in the time of

been in contemplation, and we set out on the 25th to join Mr. Elphinstone and a large party at Toolsey. On leaving Matoonga, an artillery cantonment about the centre of the island, the country became interesting as well from its novelty as from its increased beauty. The road lay principally through a valley formed by hills of a moderate height, covered, wherever the rocks allowed of its growth, with underwood to their summits, while the valleys were planted with groves of mangoes and palms, with some fine timber trees. A very shallow arm of the sea divides Bombay from Salsette, and on an eminence commanding it is a fort, apparently of some strength, built originally as a defence against the Maharattas, and still inhabited by an European officer with a small guard; the islands are now connected by a causeway. The mountains in Salsette are considerably higher than those of Bombay, but covered with thicker jungle, while the valleys are more shut in, and consequently less healthy. We saw but few traces of inhabitants during a drive of eight miles, passing but one small village, consisting of a most miserable collection of huts.

At Vear we left our carriages, and proceeded on horseback and in palanquins through the jungle to Toolsey, the place of our encampment. This lovely spot is surrounded by mountains of considerable height, forming a small wooded amphitheatre, in the centre of which grows a fine banyan-tree. Here our tents were pitched, and I never saw a more beautiful scene than it afforded. The brilliant colours and varieties of dress on innumerable servants, the horses bivouacked under the trees with each its attendant saees, the bullocks, carts, hackeries, and natives of all descriptions in crowds, the fires prepared for cooking, the white tents pitched in the jungle, together with the groups formed by the different parties on their arrival, altogether formed a *coup d'œil* which I can never forget, and which can be only seen in a tropical climate.

Our tent was pitched close to a tiger-trap, then unset; there are a good many tigers in the island, and one was killed a short time previous to our arrival. This was the first night I had ever slept under canvas, and but for the heat, which was intense, I could not have wished for more comfortable quarters; but Toolsey, from its peculiar situation, is reckoned one of the hottest places in India.

Early the next morning the Bishop and I mounted our horses, and took an exploring ride among the rocks and woods; some rain had fallen in the night, which had cooled and refreshed the air. The morning was delightful, a number of singing-birds, among whose notes I could distinguish those of the night-ingale and thrush, were performing a beautiful concert, while the jungle-fowl were crowing merrily all around, and monkeys, the first which I had seen in their natural state, were sporting with their young ones among the trees; I enjoyed the ride exceedingly, and left the rocks with regret, though, from the

* An excursion to Salsette to see the cave temple of Kennerly, together with some interesting places on the island, had for some time

Governor Duncan, a work of great convenience to the natives, who bring

sun being clouded over, we had been already enabled to stay out till eight o'clock.

After breakfast, at which meal we all assembled in the public tent, some Cashmerian singers, with one Nâch man, dressed in female clothes, amused us with their songs and national dances. Some of their tunes were very pretty, and the dancing was more energetic than any which I had seen in Calcutta, and generally accompanied the singing; at the end of each verse the performer made a pirouette, and squatted down, forming with his clothes what, in our counties, is called a Cheshire-cheese.

At four o'clock in the evening we set out, some on horseback, and some in palanquins, to the caves, with which the hill is literally perforated. . . . It was late before we returned. Our path wound along the sides of the rocks, and was hardly wide enough in places for a palanquin to pass. The effect of so large a party proceeding in single file, with torches, occasionally appearing and disappearing among the rocks and woods, with a bright Indian moon shining over-head, was picturesque and beautiful in the highest degree. I happened to be the last, and had a full view of the procession, which extended for nearly half a mile. In northern latitudes one can form no idea of the brilliancy of the moon, nor of the beauty of a night such as this, rendered more enjoyable from the respite which it affords from the heat of the day.

April 25.—We left our tents early the next morning, Mrs. Macdonald and I, with most of the gentlemen of the party, on horseback, to proceed to Tannah, a town with a fort, on the eastern coast of the island. From thence to Salsette we went in a bunder boat, and there embarked on board the Governor's yacht, where we found breakfast prepared, and sailed for about seven miles through scenery of a very remarkable character. The islands between which we passed lie so close to each other, that I could scarcely believe myself on the sea. On one side the prospect is bounded by the magnificent ghâts, with their fantastic basaltic summits, and the islands are occasionally adorned with ruins of Portuguese churches and convents. In one of these, Gorabunder, situated on a steep eminence, and guarded by a fort, we dined and slept.

April 28.—We embarked after breakfast in the yacht to go to Bassein, formerly a fortified Portuguese town in Arungabad, which was taken by the Maharattas about the middle of the last century, and since ceded to the English. When we arrived under its walls, we found our palanquins were not come; and, as the water-gate was shut, we set off to walk to the opposite side. We walked for nearly two miles, exposed to the noon-day sun, the heat increased by the reflection from the white walls, with the sand, ankle deep, so hot as to be painful to our feet, while to the bare-footed natives it was absolutely insupportable, and they fairly ran off.

vegetables to the Bombay market, but so narrow, and with so inconvenient an angle in its course, that many Europeans object to pass it in carriages. We went over, however, without scruple, as there is, under ordinary circumstances, no real danger. Some persons maintain that the construction of this causeway has done harm to the upper part of the harbour by diminishing its back-water. The thing is certainly possible, but I could not find any naval men who ascribed much weight to it.

Beyond, the woody hills of Salsette rise very majestically; and the road, which winds at their feet round the island, offers many points of view of uncommon beauty and interest. These roads are equal to the best in Europe, and are now receiving an additional improvement by the adoption, though but an incomplete and misunderstood one, of M'Adam's system. In other respects the country is strangely unimproved, having no towns except Tannah and Gorabunder (the first of which is indeed a neat and flourishing place,—the other not much better than a poor village), very little cultivation, except the tara-palm and coco-nut, which grow almost spontaneously amid the jungle, and displaying in the cottages of its peasantry a degree of poverty and rudeness which I had seen nowhere in India except among the

I do not think the ruins themselves repaid us for the trouble we had taken to see them, as, with the exception of a pagoda, with the sacred bull well carved at its entrance, they were all in the style of conventual architecture common in the early part of the seventeenth century; but I was much struck, on entering the massive and well-guarded gate, with the scene of utter desolation which presented itself; it reminded me of some story of enchantment which I had read in my childhood, and I could almost have expected to see the shades of its original inhabitants flitting about among the jungle, which now grows in melancholy luxuriance in the courts and areas of churches, convents, and houses. We none of us suffered from the fatigue and heat, another convincing proof of the innoxious effects of the sun here as compared with Bengal. On our return to Gorabunder we found all things ready for our journey to Bombay, where we arrived late at night, much interested and gratified by all we had seen and done.—*Extract from the Editor's Journal.*

Bheels. Notwithstanding, indeed, its vicinity to the seat of government, no small proportion of its inhabitants are at this day in a state as wild as the wildest Bheels, and their customs and manners as little known as those of the Goonds in Central India. These are the burners of charcoal, an occupation exercised by a peculiar caste, who dwell entirely in the woods, have neither intermarriage nor intercourse with the Hindoo inhabitants of the plain, and bring down their loads of charcoal to particular spots, whence it is carried away by these last, who deposit in its place a payment settled by custom, of rice, clothing, and iron tools. This is the account given me by Mr. Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, who has made several attempts to become better acquainted with this unfortunate tribe, but has only very imperfectly succeeded, owing to their excessive shyness, and the contempt in which they are held by their Hindoo neighbours. I have felt much anxiety to learn more, under an idea, that among such a race as these, the establishment of schools, and a missionary, would, at least, meet with no opposition. But I have been unsuccessful in my inquiries, and where Mr. Elphinstone, with his extraordinary talents and great opportunities, had learned so little, I was not likely to succeed better.

This neglected and uncivilized state of Salsette is the more remarkable, not only because the neighbourhood of Bombay, and the excessive price of provisions there, would seem to lead to the cultivation of every inch of ground, but because the numerous ruins of handsome churches and houses, remaining from the old Portuguese settlements, prove, no less than the accounts of the island by Fryer and Della Valle, that, in their time, and under their government, a very different face of things was presented. The original ruin of the country would, no doubt, naturally follow its conquest from the Portuguese by the Maharattas. But, as thirty years and upwards have passed since the Maharattas ceded it to us, it seems strange that a country which, as Mr. Elphinstone assured me,

is neither sterile nor unwholesome, should remain so little improved. The population, however, poor as it is, and chiefly occupied in fishing, amounts to fifty thousand, a number which might be trebled if cultivation were extended at anything like the rate at which it has been done in Bengal. But Salsette seems a spot where, of all others, European colonization would be most harmless and beneficial. It has, however, been attempted in two instances only, and, to be successful, seems to require a more advantageous and permanent tenure than the Company have yet been induced to grant of their lands, and, perhaps, a freer trade in sugar than the present colonial system of England allows to her eastern empire.

Tannah is chiefly inhabited by Roman Catholic Christians, either converted Hindoos or Portuguese, who have become as black as the natives, and assumed all their habits. It has, also, a considerable cantonment of British troops, a collector and magistrate, for whose use a very neat church was building when I first visited it. There is a small but regular fortress, from which, during the late Maharatta war, Trimbukjee escaped in the manner I have elsewhere related. Tannah, as I afterwards learned from a Parsee innkeeper at Panwellee, is also famous for its breed of hogs, and the manner in which its Portuguese inhabitants cure bacon. It receives a monthly visit from the chaplain stationed at Matoonga, the head-quarters of the artillery in the island of Bombay.

At Gorabunder is a small but handsome building, nearly in the form of a church, with a nave leading to a circular chancel, covered with a high cupola, and surrounded by a verandah. The whole is arched with stone, and very solidly built. It is generally regarded as having been a Portuguese church, but has not been used as such in the memory of man, and differs from most other churches, in having its entrance at the east instead of the west end. It is now used as an occasional residence for the governor and his friends, and is, in fact, a very cool

and convenient house for this climate, and commands a magnificent view.

About fifteen miles from Gorabunder, on the mainland, is the city of Bassein, once a celebrated colony of the Portuguese, taken from them by the Maharattas, and lost by them to the English. It is of considerable size, and surrounded by a regular fortification of rampart and bastions, but without a glacis, which, from the marshy nature of the surrounding country, was, perhaps, thought needless. There is a small guard stationed in one of the gates, under an English conductor of ordnance, and the place is kept locked up, but is within perfectly uninhabited, and containing nothing but a single small pagoda in good repair, and a melancholy display of ruined houses and churches. Of the latter there are no fewer than seven, some of considerable size, but all of mean architecture, though they are striking, from the lofty proportions usual in Roman Catholic places of worship, and from the singularity of Christian and European ruins in India. The largest of these churches, I was assured by a Maharatta of rank, a protégé of Mr. Elphinstone's, who accompanied us, was built by a man who had made a large fortune by selling slippers. It contains no inscription, that I could see, to confirm or invalidate this testimony, nor any date whatever, but one on a monument to a certain Donna Maria de Souza, of 1606.

The Portuguese churches in this place and Salsette are all in a paltry style enough, of Grecian mixed with Gothic. In Bassein they have tower-steeple, without spires; in Salsette, the small arched pediment to hang the bell which is usual in Wales. Their roofs, where they remain, are very steep, and covered with tiles; and one of those in Bassein, which appears to have belonged to a house of Jesuits, has the remains of a handsome coved ceiling of teak, carved and gilded. They are melancholy objects to look at, but they are monuments, nevertheless, of departed greatness, of a love of splendour far superior to the anxiety for amassing money by which other nations have

been chiefly actuated, and of a zeal for God which, if not according to knowledge, was a zeal still, and a sincere one. It was painful to me, at the time, to think how few relics, if the English were now expelled from India, would be left behind of their religion, their power, or their civil and military magnificence. Yet on this side of India there is really more zeal and liberality displayed in the improvement of the country, the construction of roads and public buildings, the conciliation of the natives and their education, than I have yet seen in Bengal. Mr. Elphinstone is evidently anxious to do all in his power to effect these objects.

The principal curiosities of Salsette, and those which were our main object in this little tour, are the cave temples of Kennery. These are certainly in every way remarkable, from their number, their beautiful situation, their elaborate carving, and their marked connection with Buddh and his religion. The caves are scattered over two sides of a high rocky hill, at many different elevations, and of various sizes and forms. Most of them appear to have been places of habitation for monks or hermits. One very beautiful apartment, of a square form, its walls covered with sculpture, and surrounded internally by a broad stone bench, is called "the durbar," but I should rather guess had been a school. Many have deep and well-carved cisterns attached to them, which, even in this dry season, were well supplied with water. The largest and most remarkable of all is a Buddhist temple, of great beauty and majesty, and which, even in its present state, would make a very stately and convenient place of Christian worship. It is entered through a fine and lofty portico, having on its front, but a little to the left hand, a high detached octagonal pillar, surmounted by three lions seated back to back. On the east side of the portico is a colossal statue of Buddh, with his hands raised in the attitude of benediction, and the screen which separates the vestibule from the temple is covered, immediately above the dado, with a row of male and female figures, nearly naked, but not in-

decent, and carved with considerable spirit, which apparently represent dancers. In the centre is a large door, and above it three windows, contained in a semicircular arch, so like those which are seen over the entrance of Italian churches, that I fully supposed them to be an addition to the original plan by the Portuguese, who are said, I know not on what ground, to have used this cave as a church, till I found a similar and still more striking window of the same kind in the great cave of Carlee. Within, the apartment is, I should conceive, fifty feet long by twenty, an oblong square, terminated by a semicircle, and surrounded on every side but that of the entrance with a colonnade of octagonal pillars. Of these the twelve on each side nearest the entrance are ornamented with carved bases and capitals, in the style usual in Indian temples; the rest are unfinished.

In the centre of the semicircle, and with a free walk all round it, is a mass of rock left solid, but carved externally like a dome, and so as to bear a strong general likeness to our Saviour's sepulchre, as it is now chiselled away, and enclosed in St. Helena's church at Jerusalem. On the top of the dome is a sort of spreading ornament, like the capital of a column. It is apparently intended to support something; and I was afterwards told at Carlee, where such an ornament, but of greater size, is also found, that a large gilt umbrella used to spring from it. This solid dome appears to be the usual symbol of Buddhist adoration, and, with its umbrella ornament, may be traced in the Shoo-Madoo of Pegu, and other more remote structures of the same faith. Though it is different in its form and style of ornament from the lingam, I cannot help thinking it has been originally intended to represent the same popular object of that almost universal idolatry, which Scripture, with good reason, describes as "uncleanness and abomination."

The ceiling of this cave is arched semicircularly, and ornamented, in a very singular manner, with slender ribs of teak-wood of the same curve

with the roof, and disposed as if they were supporting it, which, however, it does not require, nor are they strong enough to answer the purpose. Their use may have been to hang lamps or flowers from in solemn rejoicings. My companions in this visit, who showed themselves a little jealous of the antiquity of these remains, and of my inclination to detract from it, would have had me suppose that these two were additions by the Portuguese. But there are similar ribs at Carlee, where the Portuguese never were. They cannot be very old, and, though they certainly may have been added or renewed since the building was first constructed, they must, at all events, refer to a time when it and the forms of its worship were held in honour. The question will remain, how late or how early the Buddhists ceased to be rich and powerful in Western India? or when, if ever, the followers of the Brahminical creed were likely to pay honour to Buddhist symbols of the Deity?

The latter question is at variance with all usual opinions as to the difference between these sects, and the animosity which has ever prevailed betwixt them. But I have been very forcibly struck by the apparent identity of the Buddhist chattah and the Brahminical lingam. The very name of the great temple of Ava, "Shoo-Madoo," "Golden Maha-Deo," seems to imply a greater approximation than is generally supposed; and, above all, a few weeks afterwards I found the cave of Carlee in the keeping of Brahmins, and honoured by them as a temple of Maha-Deo. All this seems to prove that we know very little indeed of the religious history of India, that little or no credit can be given to the accounts contained in the Brahminical writings, and that these accounts, even if true, may refer to comparatively a small part of India; while, whatever is the date of these illustrious caverns (and Kennery I really should guess to be older than Elephanta), no stress can be laid either way on their identity or discrepancy with the modern superstition of the country, or the alleged

neglect of the natives. On one of the pillars of the portico of the great cave at Kennery is an inscription in a character different both from the Nagree and the popular running-hand, which, more than Nagree, prevails with the Maharattas.

There are many similar instances in different parts of India of inscriptions in characters now unintelligible; nor will any one who knows how exceedingly incurious the Brahmins are on all such subjects, wonder that they are not able to assist Europeans in deciphering them. But it would be a very useful, and by no means a difficult task to collect copies of some of the most remarkable, and compare them with each other; since we should thus, at least, ascertain whether one or many characters prevailed in India before the use of the present alphabets; and, in the first case, from the knowledge of the date of some few buildings where this character is found, be able to guess that of others whose history is unknown. The inscription of Pertaubghur, that on the column of Firoze Shah at Delhi, and on the similar column at Koottab-sahib, might thus be collated, with probably many others as yet unknown to me; and the result might tell something more than we yet know respecting the antiquities of this great and interesting country.

In Mr. Elphinstone's party on this occasion was a French officer, the Chevalier Rienzi (a descendant of the celebrated tribune, the friend of Petrarch), who was just arrived from a journey through a considerable part of Egypt and Abyssinia. I was anxious to know what degree of likeness and what comparative merit he discovered between these caves and those of Thebes, &c. He said that the likeness between Kennery and the Egyptian caves was very slight and general, and in point of beauty very greatly preferred these last. He had not, however, seen Elephantas.

There is a very fine view from the brow of the cliff above Kennery, of which my wife made an accurate drawing. We saw many monkeys in the woods, and some beautiful lizards, with

a bright red crest like that of a cock. I also thought I heard partridges calling. Tigers are found in these woods, but seldom attack people where there are many together, or between sunrise and sunset.

The heat was very great during this excursion, but we had sufficient proof either that the sun, at its greatest strength, is not so dangerous here as in Bengal, or else that more precautions are commonly used against it in Calcutta than are absolutely necessary. On the morning of the 27th, not only all the men in the party, but my wife and Mrs. Macdonald, rode from our encampment to Tannah, seven or eight miles, at a brisk pace, and along a dusty and unsheltered road, without any inconvenience that I heard of: and at Bassein on the 28th, at the hottest part of the day and the year, we were all of us walking about round the town and amid the ruins for nearly two hours without even umbrellas. It is possible that in Bengal people are sometimes needlessly afraid of the sun. But there really should seem to be something in the refraction of the soil, the abundance of moisture, or some similar cause, which renders the heat in Bengal, though not more intense, yet, to use an expression of an old Indian, more *venomous* than in most other parts of India.

There are cave temples of the same kind with those of Kennery, but smaller and less interesting, at Mompezier and Ambowlee. We passed these places in our return, but we had, as it unfortunately happened, no time to stop, being obliged to return home for the ensuing Sunday. Having seen the best, we felt, indeed, no great anxiety to give ourselves any inconvenient trouble about the worse. We returned to Bombay by the ferry of Mahim, a large and very populous, though meanly-built town, overhung by a profusion of palm-trees.

The bungalows on the esplanade of Bombay are all temporary buildings, and removed as soon as the rains begin to fall.* We were accordingly driven

* At the commencement of the hot season, those Europeans who are obliged by business or other circumstances to have their principal

from ours on Saturday the 4th of June, and most hospitably received as guests

residences within the fort, erect bungalows on the adjoining esplanade, which are, many of them, remarkably elegant buildings, but quite unfit to resist the violence of the monsoon. On its approach their inhabitants return into the fort, the bungalows are taken down and preserved for another year, and their place is, in a very short time, occupied by a sheet of water. The esplanade is on the sea beach, with the black town at its furthest end, amidst a grove of coco-trees. This town stretches across the whole end of the island, and makes the communication between the fort and the interior unpleasant, from the heat and dust of its narrow streets. The houses within the fort are of a singular construction, and quite unlike any in the East of India, being generally of three or four stories high, with wooden verandahs, supported by wooden pillars projecting one above another;—these pillars, as well as the fronts of the verandahs, are often very beautifully carved, but the streets are so narrow that it is impossible to have a complete view of them. The prospect from some parts of the fort is extremely beautiful, looking across the bay, over islands, many of them covered with wood, to the Ghâts, which form a magnificent background to the picture. A great number of Parsees live within the walls; they are a frugal and industrious race, who possess a considerable part of the island, and are partners in almost all the commercial houses, as well as great ship-builders and ship-owners. The "Lowjee Family," a large vessel of 1000 tons, in which I came from Calcutta, belongs to a family of that name, whose head has an excellent house near Pareil. In our early and late rides I have been interested in observing these men on the shore, with their faces turned towards the East or West, worshipping the rising and setting sun, frequently standing within the surge, their hands joined, and praying aloud with much apparent devotion, though, to my astonishment, I was assured, in a language unintelligible to themselves; others are to be seen prostrate on the ground, devoutly rubbing their noses and foreheads in the sand; they worship the four elements, but give the pre-eminence to fire. Their principal temple is in the centre of the black town, where the everlasting fire is preserved by the priests. I never observed their women at prayer, but they are hourly to be seen mixed with Hindoos and Mussulmans, in crowds surrounding the wells on the esplanade (which Mr. Elphinstone had sunk at the commencement of the drought, but which in this severe scarcity hardly supplied the population with water), and scrambling for their turn to fill the pitcher and the skin. In this respect there is a remarkable difference between the customs of the Bombay women and those of their Bengalee sisterhood, who are seldom seen drawing water for any purposes. The principal Parsee burial-ground is on an eminence near the coast. I met a funeral procession in one of my rides, just on the point of ascending it,

by Mr. Elphinstone, in the government-house at Pareil.

There are three government residences in the island of Bombay. The one within the walls of the fort, though large and convenient, is little used except for holding councils, public durbars, and the dispatch of business. It is a spacious dismal-looking building, like many of the other large houses in Bombay, looking like a Stadthaus in a German free city. At Malabar Point, about eight miles from the town, is a very pretty cottage, in a beautiful situation, on a rocky and woody promontory, and actually washed by the sea-spray, where Mr. Elphinstone chiefly resides during the hot weather.* The third

which had a singular effect among the trees and jungle; the body was laid on a bier, covered with a white cloth, and carried by six men clothed in long white garments, and closely veiled; it was preceded and followed by a number of persons in the same costume, walking two and two, each pair linked together with a white handkerchief. They object to any Europeans approaching their burial-ground; indeed, in former times, Mr. Elphinstone told me, a *Gianur* found within their precincts was liable to be expelled the island. But a friend of ours who contrived to gain access to it, gave me the following description of one of them:—A deep well, of very large diameter, is sunk in the hill, the sides are built round near the surface, and partitioned into three different receptacles, for men, women, and children; on ledges within these partitions the bodies are placed, and left exposed to the vultures, who are always hovering in the neighbourhood, while the friends anxiously wait at some distance to ascertain which eye is first torn out, inferring from thence whether the souls are happy or miserable. When the flesh is consumed, the bones are thrown down the well, into which subterranean passages lead, for the purpose of removing them when it becomes too full. The Christian church-yard, the Mussulman burial-ground, the place where the Hindoos burn their dead, and the Parsee vault, are all within a short distance of each other.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

* From Mr. Elphinstone's house there is a magnificent view of the town and harbour; and at the extremity of this promontory, in a part of the rock which it is difficult to approach, are the remains of a pagoda, and a hole, famous as a place of resort for Hindoo devotees, who believe that on entering it they are purified from all their sins, and come out regenerate. The western side of the promontory is considered as one of the healthiest situations in Bombay, and there are several European houses on the beach; there is also a beautiful village, almost solely inhabited by Brahmins, with a very fine tank in its centre, and some magni-

and principal is Pareil, about six miles from Bombay, at a short distance from the eastern shore of the island. The interior of the house is very handsome, having a fine staircase, and two noble rooms, one over the other, of seventy-five or eighty feet long, very handsomely furnished. The lower of these, which is the dining-room, is said to have been an old and desecrated church belonging to a Jesuit college, which had fallen into the hands of a Parsee, from whom it was purchased by Government about sixty years ago.

Behind the house is a moderate-sized, old-fashioned garden, in which (it may be some time or other interesting to recollect) is planted a slip of the willow which grows on Bonaparte's grave. Adjoining is a small paddock, or rather yard, full of different kinds of deer, which are fed, like sheep, by hand, and another little yard containing some wild animals, of which the most interesting are a noble wild ass from Cutch and a very singular ape from Sumatra. The former is about as high as a well-grown galloway, a beautiful animal, admirably formed for fleetness and power, apparently very gentle and very fond of horses, and by no means disliked by them, in which respect the asses of India differ from all others of which I have heard; the same fact has been told me of the wild ass in Rajpootana. No attempt has, however, been made to break him in for riding, and it is, doubtless, now too late. Mr. Elphinstone said that he had never heard of anything of the sort being tried by the natives, though they are much in the habit of mounting different animals, such as stags, &c.

The ape is a very curious animal, answering, so far as I can recollect, exactly to the account given of the "pigmy," or small ouran outang, brought from Africa to Europe about the beginning of the last century, of

ficient flights of steps leading to the water. These people seem to enjoy the beau idéal of Hindoo luxury, occupied only in the ceremonies of their religion, and passing the rest of their lives in silent contemplation, as they would themselves assert, but as I should rather express it, in sleeping and smoking.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

whose habits, exterior, and dissection after death, a particular account is given in the old French Compendium called "Le Spectacle de la Nature." It is a female, and apparently young, about three feet high, and very strong, stands erect with ease and as if naturally, but in walking or running soon recurs to the use of all four hands or feet. It has a very large head and prominent belly, has but little hair on its body, and a flat and broad face. Its arms are longer than the human proportion, but, in other respects, strikingly like the human arm, and, as well as the legs, furnished with *calves*, or whatever else, in the case of arms, those swelling muscles may be termed. It is of a gentle and lazy disposition, fond of its keeper, and quiet with everybody except when teased; when made to climb a tree, ascends no higher than it is urged to go, and when turned loose in the most distant part of the garden makes no use of its liberty except to run as fast as its four legs will carry it to its cage again. The natives make a marked distinction between this animal and their usual large baboon, calling it not "lungoor," but "jungleed admee," "wild man." They evidently regard it as a great curiosity, and, I apprehend, it owes something of its corpulency to their presents of fruit.*

* About half a mile from the house, and following, on one side, the course of the sea, is a very extensive wood, principally of coconuts, through which the road runs for about three miles, to the town and ferry of Mahim. This wood is thickly inhabited by people of all religions, but the Portuguese Christians, who perfectly resemble the natives in dress and appearance, seem to be the most numerous; and the circumstance of there being here the ruins of a college, as well as a church, with the priests' house attached to it, would prove it to have been the principal settlement on the island. There are also several Hindoo and Mussulman mosques and pagodas. The wood is so intersected by roads and paths, with but few objects to serve as landmarks, that a stranger would have much difficulty in finding his way out of the labyrinth of trees and huts. The town of Mahim is ill-built, but it has a fort, a Catholic church, and other monuments of former prosperity. The priests are, for the most part, educated at Goa, and Mr. Elphinstone says are, occasionally, well-informed men. The adjoining ferry we crossed on our return from the excursion to Salsette; a causeway is built half-way over

The monsoon, which began with violence, was interrupted by above a fortnight's dry weather, to the great alarm of the natives, who, having had two years of drought, now began to fear a third, and a consequent famine with all its full extent of horrors. Several inauspicious prophecies (most popular prophecies are of evil) were propagated, with the pretended facts "that two years' drought had never occurred in India except they were followed by a third;" that "the same winds were said by the Arab traders to prevail in the Red Sea this year as had prevailed the two last, and as always prevailed there when the monsoon failed in this country." At length the clouds again thickened; and the rain came on with heavy gales and in abundant quanti-

ties, from whence a raft conveys carriages and passengers to Mahim. We had, on that occasion, a curious specimen of the perfect apathy and helplessness of the natives, which is worth notice. There were five carriages to cross the ferry, each of which required above half-an-hour for transportation. When the tide is in, the causeway is quite overflowed; a circumstance of which we were not aware, and allowed ourselves to be driven to its extremity, there to wait while the carriages that preceded us were ferried over. The coachman and horse-keepers (by which name the saees is known here) unharnessed the horses, took the pole out of the carriage, and then sat down with perfect unconcern to wait their turn for embarking. We walked for some time up and down the causeway, till we became aware that our space was much contracted, and that the road behind us was, in parts, covered with water. We questioned the servants (natives of the island), but they were as ignorant as ourselves of the height to which the tide usually rose, and seemed quite indifferent on the subject. We now began to think our situation rather precarious, and determined on returning while it was in our power, instead of waiting for the raft. But this was not the work of a moment, as the width of the causeway only allowed of the carriage being turned by men; and by the time it was accomplished, and the horses harnessed, the water had risen as high as the doors. The scene was beautiful and wild; it was night, the glorious moon and stars shining over head, and reflected with brilliancy in the still waters, in the middle of which we appeared to stand, without any visible means of escape. A canoe, just large enough to hold us, at this moment came up, and we were rowed with extraordinary swiftness to shore, leaving the carriage to follow, which it did in perfect safety. If the night had been stormy our situation might have been one of danger.

—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

ties, so that the intermission which had occurred was reckoned highly advantageous, in having given more time to the peasants to get their rice sown and transplanted. The rain I thought heavier and more continuous than anything which I had seen in Calcutta, but unaccompanied by the violent north-westers and terrific thunder and lightning which prevail at this season in Bengal. Here, as there, a great change for the better takes place in the temperature of the air; and heavy as the rains are, few days occur in which one may not enjoy a ride either early in the morning or in the afternoon. The frogs are as large, as numerous, and as noisy here as in the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

Though I had heard much of the extreme humidity of the climate of Bombay, I do not think that my experience justified this character; or that our papers, books, or steel either moulded or rusted so fast as in Bengal. The soil is, indeed, rocky and shallow; and though the rice-grounds here, as elsewhere, are mere washes during the whole seed-time, I do not think the water either spreads so widely, or lies so long, as in the neighbourhood of the Ganges.

June 27.—I set out to-day accompanied by Archdeacon Barnes, on a journey into the Deccan. Having sent off our horses and servants the preceding morning, we embarked in a small boat with lateen sails, and stood across the arm of the sea which divides Bombay from the continent. We went N.E. with a fine breeze, a distance of twenty or twenty-two miles, passing Butcher's Island and Elephanta to our left, and in about four hours arrived in a small river on which stands the town of Panwellee. Its bed is much choked with rocks; and, being a little too early for the tide, we were delayed and found some difficulty in our progress, and were at length obliged to go on shore in a small canoe, the narrowest which I had yet seen, and cut out of a single tree. This landed us on a pretty good stone pier, beyond which we found a small-sized country town, with a pagoda, a handsome tomb of a Mussulman saint.

and a pretty quiet view of the surrounding hills and woods. We found a comfortable bungalow, built and kept up by Government, for the accommodation of travellers, and two taverns, one kept by a Portuguese, the other by a Parsee, the latter of whom, at a very short notice, procured us a dinner, at least as well got up, as cleanly, and as good, as could have been expected at a country inn in England.

After dinner we set out in palanquins, in heavy rain, which lasted all night, and went twelve miles to Chowkee, where we found another Government bungalow, and another decent Parsee tavern, at the latter of which we remained some hours, while our bearers rested, so as to enable them to carry us on the next stage. No such thing as a regular Dāk establishment (such as in Bengal enables travellers to find, at a short notice, and a moderate expense, bearers ready placed in all the villages where there are post-offices) exists in this part of India. Bearers are only procured in large towns; and in order to obtain their services at intervening stations, they must be brought from these towns, at considerable expense, and often from a considerable distance. In consequence it becomes a necessary part of economy to engage one set of bearers to go as far as they can, and enable them to do so by halts of this kind, which the institution of bungalows renders much less inconvenient than it would be in the north. The Parsee tavern-keeper of Chowkee furnished us with tea, and sofas, which serve very well as beds on occasion.

At two o'clock in the morning we again set off, and, after some delay and difficulty in fording rivers, arrived about six at a very pretty village, named Capoolee, with a fine tank, and temple of Maha-Deo, built by the celebrated Maharatta minister Nana Furnaveez. The road all the way was excellent, made at a great expense, more than sufficiently wide, and well raised above the low swampy level of the Concan. The journey was to me, however, sufficiently unpleasant. I cannot sleep in a palanquin,—the rain beat in through the front blinds, which

could never be perfectly closed, and through the side doors, which I was obliged to open occasionally for want of air; and the wearisome darkness of the night, and the dismal grunting of my bearers, who, as a matter of custom, rather than from any inability to bear their burden, trot on with much the same sort of noise, but deeper and more plaintive, which the paviors make in England,—made me renew an old resolution, to have, in future, as little to do with palanquins as possible, at least in the night time.

From Capoolee, though it was still raining, I walked up the Bhor Ghât, four miles and a half, to Candaulah, the road still broad and good, but the ascent very steep, so much so, indeed, that a loaded carriage, or even a palanquin with anybody in it, could with great difficulty be forced along it. In fact, every one either walks or rides up the hills, and all merchandise is conveyed on bullocks or horses. The ascent might, I think, have been rendered, by an able engineer, much more easy. But to have carried a road over these hills at all, considering how short a time they have been in our power, is highly creditable to the Bombay Government; and the road, as it now stands, and with all its inconveniences, is probably sufficient for the intercourse which either is, or is likely to be, between the Concan and the Deccan.

The views offered from different parts of this ascent are very beautiful, and much reminded me of some parts of the Vale of Corwen. The mountains are nearly the same height (from two to three thousand feet above the level of the sea) with the average of Welsh mountains; and the freshness and verdure which clothe them during the rains, as well as the fleecy clouds continually sweeping over them, increased their likeness to the green dells and moist climate of Gwyneth. In one respect, and only one, the Ghâts have the advantage,—their precipices are higher, and the outline of the hills consequently bolder. That outline, indeed, is remarkable, consisting, in by far the majority of instances, of a plane table summit, or else a long horizontal ridge,

supported by sides as steep and regular as if artificially scarped, with natural terraces at uncertain heights, each with its own precipice, affording a striking specimen of what is called the trap formation. There is a good deal of forest timber on the sides of these hills, and the gorges of the valleys are thickly wooded. The trees, however, are not, singly taken, of any great size, either here, or in the Deccan, or in Bombay, a circumstance in which these countries seem remarkably contrasted with Guzerât, and the greater part of northern India.

Near Candaulah is a waterfall, which flows all the year, and at this season is very full and beautiful. It falls in three or four successive descents down one of the highest precipices I ever saw, not less, I should apprehend, than one thousand two hundred feet, into a valley of very awful depth and gloom, through which its stream winds to join the sea, nearly opposite to Tannah, under the name of the Callianee river. On a knoll above this waterfall, and close to the great precipice, Mr. Elphinstone has a small house, where he passes a part of each cold season. I saw it only from a distance, but should suppose it to be a delightful residence.

Candaulah is a poor village, but with a tolerable bazar, and, besides the government bungalow for travellers, which is mean and ill-contrived, has a tavern, kept by a Portuguese, consisting of one waste room, like a barn, with an inscription in broken English over the door, announcing that "at the Hotel of the Santa Anunciation, all *necessary* victuals may be *prquired*."

In ascending the Ghâts to Candaulah, I was met by six armed horsemen, part of an escort obligingly sent me by Mr. Chaplin, the commissioner in the Deccan. This is now more a mark of respect, and calculated to conciliate the respect of the natives, than a measure of any real necessity on this road. The population, however, of these mountains used, at no long time ago, to be frequently troublesome and dangerous to passengers, and still sometimes indulge in their old habits towards native travellers, though with Europeans they

seldom if ever venture to meddle. They are of the same caste and family of people with the Coolies of Guzerât, and call themselves by that name. They are, however, less tall and robust than those hardy barbarians, and seem a link between them and the Bheels. The Bheels themselves are not found farther south than the neighbourhood of Dammaun; and on the hills which overhang the southern Concan, a tribe of nearly similar habits, but different language, the Canars, takes the place of the Coolies. The plain country, both of the Concan and the more elevated level of the Deccan, is inhabited by Maharattas, a peaceable and industrious race, among whom there should seem to be fewer remarkable crimes against society than, with a similar population, is found in most parts of India. The horsemen who were sent to meet me were natives of Hindostan, in the service of the police. They had been originally in Colonel Skinner's corps, wore its uniform, and appeared much delighted to find that I knew all about their old commander, and had been, myself, at Delhi.

The cottages both in the Concan and in the Deccan are small and mean, with steep thatched roofs, and very low side-walls of loose stones, and there is a general appearance of poverty both in the dress and farming implements of the people. Their cattle, however, are of a larger and better breed than those of Bengal; and notwithstanding the long drought, were, when I saw them, in better case than I could have expected.

In the afternoon of this day (the 28th) I rode on horseback, accompanied by Dr. Barnes, the stage between Candaulah and Carlee, diverging from the road about a mile to visit the celebrated cavern which takes its name from this last place, and which is hewn on the face of a precipice about two-thirds up the side of a steep hill, rising, with a very scarped and regular talus, to the height of probably eight hundred feet above the plain. The excavations consist, besides the principal temple, of many smaller apartments and galleries, in two stories, some of them orna-

mented with great beauty, and evidently intended, like those at Kennery, for the lodging of monks or hermits. The temple itself is on the same general plan as that of Kennery, but half as large again, and far finer and richer. It is approached by a steep and narrow path, winding up the side of the hill among trees and brushwood, and fragments of rock. This brought us to a mean and ruinous temple of Siva, which serves as a sort of gateway to the cave; a similar small building stands on the right hand of its portico, and we were immediately surrounded by some naked and idle Brahmin boys, who, with an old woman of the same caste, called themselves the keepers of the sanctuary, and offered their services to show its wonders and tell its history. I asked them who was its founder, and they answered "King Pandoo," who is indeed, as Mr. Elphinstone afterwards told me, the reputed architect of all these cave-temples, and in general, like our Arthur, of all ancient monuments whose real history is unknown. King Pandoo and his four brethren are the principal heroes of the celebrated Hindoo romance of the Mahabharat; and the apparent identity of his name with that of the "Pandion," of whose territories in India the Greeks heard so much, is too remarkable to be passed unnoticed.

The approach to the temple is, like that at Kennery, under a noble arch, filled up with a sort of portico screen, in two stories of three intercolumniations below, and five above. In the front, but a little to the left, is the same kind of pillar as is seen at Kennery, though of larger dimensions, surmounted by three lions back to back. Within the portico, to the right and left, are three colossal figures, in alto relievo, of elephants, their faces looking towards the person who arrives in the portico, and their heads, tusks, and trunks very boldly projecting from the wall. On each of them is a mohout, very well carved, and a howdah with two persons seated in it. The internal screen, on each side of the door, is covered, as at Kennery, with alto relievos, very bold and somewhat larger than life, of naked male and

female figures. I asked our young guides what deities these represented, and was surprised to hear from them in answer, "These are not Gods, one God is sufficient, these are 'viragees' (religious enthusiasts or attendants on the Deity). On asking, however, if their God was the same whom they worshipped in the little temple before the steps, and if he were Maha-Deo, they answered in the affirmative, so that their Deism merely extended to paying worship to a single idol only. There is certainly, however, no image either of Buddh or any other mythological personage about this cavern, nor any visible object of devotion except the mystic chattah, or umbrella, already mentioned at Kennery.

The details of the cave within having been already more than once published, and as, in its general arrangement, it closely answers to Kennery, I will only observe that both in dimensions and execution it is much nobler and more elaborate; and that the capitals of the columns (all of them at least which are not hidden by the chattah at the east end) are very singular and beautiful. Each consists of a large cap, like a bell, finely carved, and surmounted by two elephants with their trunks entwined, and each carrying two male and one female figure, which our guides again told us were viragees.

The timber ribs which decorate the roof, whatever their use may have been, are very perfect, and have a good effect in the perspective of the interior, which is all extremely clean and in good repair, and would be, in fact, a very noble temple for any religion. On one side an old and faded dhoolie, with tattered and dirty curtains, fringes, and other marks of ancient splendour, was suspended. Our guides said it was the god's palanquin, and was carried out on solemn occasions. I saw nothing in it now, and there was no image which could be put into it, so that I suppose it performs its procession empty. On asking where their "Deo" was, they pointed to some red paint on the front of the chattah.

On returning to our horses, we found the Brahmin of the next village, who

called himself a pundit, and said he had come on purpose to explain to me all the antiquities and mysteries of the "Dewul," or temple, but the evening was shutting in too fast to admit of our scrambling half a mile up a steep cliff, to examine the cave over again; and, therefore, declining his civility, we rode across the plain to the village of Carlee, where our palanquins were awaiting us. This plain is an unpromising mixture of rock and marsh, and even less cultivated than its unfavourable soil might lead one to expect, considering it must always have been well off for water. Like all the Deekau which I have seen, it is very bare of trees, and reminded me a good deal of some parts of Rajpootana, particularly the neighbourhood of Nusseerabad. The road just finished by Government is excellent, and there is a bridge of, I think, thirteen arches, over some swampy ground near this place, of extremely solid and judicious, though simple architecture.

I had another comfortless night's journey in my palanquin, suffering a good deal from sleeplessness, and alternate fits of shivering and heat. We reached Mr. Chaplin's bungalow in Poonah cantonment about four o'clock on the morning of the 29th, and I hoped that some hours' repose in an excellent bed would set me up again. I was mistaken, however, for in the following night I was attacked by dysentery, of which all these had, I suppose, been the previous symptoms, and which kept me pretty closely confined during great part of my stay in Poonah. I was happy in being sufficiently recovered on Saturday to administer confirmation to about forty persons, chiefly officers and privates of his Majesty's 20th regiment, and on Sunday to consecrate the church and preach a sermon to a numerous congregation. Mr. Chaplin, also, drove me one day round the cantonment, and on Monday I went on horseback to see the city and the Peishwa's palace.

The city of Poonah stands in the centre of a very extensive plain, elevated somewhere about 2000 feet above the sea, and surrounded by hills, of the

trap formation, and with the singularly scarp'd forms peculiar to that style of mountain, from 1500 to 2000 feet higher still. Many of these used, under the Maharatta Government, to be crowned by hill-forts, for which their form remarkably qualifies them, but by far the greater part of which have been destroyed and abandoned as useless, or worse than useless, in a campaign on the European system. It requires, indeed, no trifling victory of reason and courage over imagination, to anticipate the easy capture of a line of towers and lofty walls, well furnished with cannon, and crowning the summits of hills high and steep by nature and art. But a little experience shows that fastnesses of this kind, the more inaccessible they are from the plain, are, under ordinary circumstances, the less valuable, as dépôts, as commanding great roads, or as facilitating the progress or manœuvres of a defensive army. Even separately taken, and as places of refuge, it may be soon discovered that the most steep and rugged mountains, in the ravines with which they abound, afford frequently very advantageous and secure avenues, by which an attacking force may approach their walls completely covered from their artillery, while the effects of bombardment on a rocky soil are very serious and terrible to a native army. Accordingly, these sky-threatening fortresses were found, in the late war, to fall successively, and in far less time than could be expected, before the British and Sepoy armies, while, even with all the imperfections of military architecture in India (defects which are, of course, more conspicuous in a site where all is artificial), the cities of Belgaum and Bhurtpoor, seated on plains, but enclosing large areas, and partly defended by tanks, are those which have opposed the most formidable obstacles to our arms in this country. Still, there are some hill-forts which are so excellent in their kind, that no Government can act wisely in slighting them, and it is to be hoped that the British will not forget, in the case of Taraghur, Kullinghur, Asseerghur, and a few others, how valuable, in the event of their arms

sustaining a reverse, these noble rocks may become to a retreating force, and how great their strength is likely to be when in the hands of European officers.

The plain of Poonah is very bare of trees, and though there are some gardens immediately around the city, yet as both these and the city itself lie in a small hollow on the banks of the river Moola, they are not sufficiently conspicuous to interrupt the general character of nakedness in the picture, any more than the few young trees and ornamental shrubs with which the bungalows of the cantonment are intermingled. The principal and most pleasing feature is a small insulated hill immediately over the town, with a temple of the goddess Parvati on its summit, and a large tank, which when I saw it was nearly dry, at its base.

All the grass-land round this tank, and generally through the Deckan, swarms with a small land-crab, which burrows in the ground, and runs with considerable swiftness, even when encumbered with a bundle of food almost as big as itself. This food is grass, or the green stalks of rice; and it is amusing to see them, sitting as it were upright, to cut their hay with their sharp pincers, then waddling off with the sheaf to their holes as quickly as their sidelong pace will carry them.

The city of Poonah is far from handsome, and of no great apparent size, though, to my surprise, I was assured that it still contains 100,000 people. It is without walls or fort, very irregularly built and paved, with mean bazars, deep ruinous streets, interspersed with peepul-trees, &c., many small but no large or striking pagodas, and as few traces as can well be conceived of its having been so lately the residence of a powerful sovereign. The palace is large, and contains a handsome quadrangle surrounded by cloisters of carved wooden pillars, but is externally of mean appearance, and the same observation will apply to other small residences of the Peishwa, which, whimsically enough, are distinguished by the names of the days of the week—"Monday's Palace, Tuesday's Palace," &c. The principal build-

ing is used at present, on its ground-floor, as the prison for the town and district; on the floor immediately above is a dispensary, and a large audience-chamber, resembling that at Baroda, which is fitted up with beds as an infirmary for the natives, while higher still a long gallery is used as an insane hospital. Both these places, though, when I saw them, rather crowded, were clean and well kept, and in the latter particularly, the unfortunate patients were so clean, quiet, well-fed, and comfortably clothed, as to do very great credit to Dr. Ducat, the station surgeon, particularly as my visit was not prepared for or expected. The madness of most of the patients seemed of a quiet and idiotic character. One man only was pointed out to me as sometimes violent, and dangerous from his great strength. He was a Sepoy, a very powerful and handsome man, who at this time, however, was walking up and down without chains, very civil, and apparently composed and tranquil. Another, with a countenance strongly denoting despondency, seemed to have contracted a friendship with a spaniel belonging to one of the attendants, which sate on his bed, and round which he kept his arms folded. Dr. Ducat asked me afterwards, if I had noticed the very peculiar conformation of these patients' skulls. I did not observe it, and therefore can only say from his word that there was any singularity.

The cantonment of Poonah is on an elevated situation a little to the west of the city, and in its general appearance and locality reminded me of that of Nussseerabad. Here, as there, the horses are picketed in the open air all the year round, an arrangement which is said to answer extremely well, not only for cheapness and convenience, but for the health and serviceable state of the animals. The streets are wide, and the whole encampment, I thought, well arranged and handsome; there is a good station-library for the soldiers, another, supported by subscription, for the officers, and the regimental schools, I was told by Archdeacon Barnes (for I was too unwell to keep the appointment which I had made to visit them),

are in excellent order. The church is spacious and convenient, but in bad architectural taste, and made still uglier, externally, by being covered with dingy blue wash picked out with white. Mr. Robinson, the chaplain, appears to draw very numerous and attentive congregations both in the mornings and evenings; the latter particularly, which is a voluntary attendance, showed as many soldiers nearly as the morning's parade, and there appeared good reason to think not only that the talents and zeal of their able and amiable minister produced the effect to be anticipated, but that he was well supported by the example and influence of Sir Charles Colville and others in authority. I was so fortunate as to prevail on Sir Charles Colville to rescind his order restricting the soldiers from carrying the books of the station-library with them to their quarters, and trust that an essential good may thus be produced both to this and all the other cantonments of the Bombay army. And on the whole, though the state of my health prevented my either seeing or doing so much at Poonah as I had hoped to do, and, under other circumstances, might have done, I trust that the journey was not altogether useless to myself and others.

During the hours that illness confined me to my room, I had the advantage of reading the reports on the state of the Deekan by Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Chaplin, with a considerable volume of MS. documents, and was thus enabled, better than I otherwise should have been, to acquire a knowledge of this new and important conquest. The country conquered from the Maharattas, with the exception of the principality of Sattara and some other smaller territories which still remain under their native sovereigns, is divided into several large districts, each under the management of a single officer, generally a military man, with the title of collector, but exercising also the functions of judge of circuit and magistrate, while over all these is the chief commissioner, resident at Poonah, and having a collector under him for that province, so as to be at liberty to attend to all the different districts, and bound to make an annual

circuit through the greater part of them.

The simplicity of administration seems well suited to the circumstances of the country and the people, and two other very great, though incidental, good effects arise from it, inasmuch as, first, there is a greater number of subordinate but respectable and profitable situations open to the natives, than can be the case under the system followed in Bengal; and, secondly, the abuses which seem inseparable from the regular Adawlut courts of justice have not been introduced here, but offences are tried, and questions of property decided, in the first instance, by native punchaets, or juries, assembled in the villages, and under the authority of the potal, or hereditary village chief, or, in graver and more difficult cases, by native pundits, stationed with handsome salaries at Poonah and other great towns, whose decisions may be confirmed or revised by the chief commissioner. The advantages of this institution seem great; it is true, indeed, that many complaints are made of the listlessness, negligence, and delays of the native jurors or arbitrators (for the punchaet system resembles the latter of these characters rather than the former), but still the delay is, apparently, less than occurs under the Adawlut in our old provinces, while the reputation of the court, so far as integrity goes, is far better than that of the others. Eventually, too, these institutions, thus preserved and strengthened, may be of the greatest possible advantage to the country by increasing public spirit, creating public opinion, and paving the way to the obtainment and profitable use of further political privileges.

The whole of the Deekan had, for some years back, suffered greatly by drought, and a consequent scarcity, which, in the eastern districts, amounted, at this time, to absolute famine, with its dreadful attendant evils of pestilence and the weakening of all moral ties. These calamities were not so much felt in the neighbourhood and to the west of Poonah; and everywhere, making due allowance for them, the country seemed to

thrive under its present system of government. The burdens of the peasantry are said to be decidedly less in amount, and collected in a less oppressive manner, than under the old monarchy. The English name is, therefore, popular with all but those who are inevitably great losers by our coming—the courtiers of the Peishwa, such of the trades as lived by the splendour of his court, and, probably, though this does not appear, of the Brahmins. The great body of the Maharatta people are a very peaceable and simple peasantry, of frugal habits and gentle dispositions; there seems to be no district in India, of equal extent and population, where so few crimes are committed; and of the robberies and murders which really occur, the greatest part by far are the work of the Bheels, who, on these mountains, as well as in Central India, maintain a precarious and sanguinary independence, and are found less accessible to such means of conciliation as have yet been tried with them, than any of their more northern kindred.

The existence of private property in the soil seems generally admitted through these provinces, and, as I am assured, through the southern parts of the peninsula. The Potails, or headmen of the village, are hereditary; the same is the case with the barber, watchman, Brahmin, &c. of each community, each of whom is endowed with his little glebe of land. The relation between the Ryut and the Potail I could not clearly learn, but it seemed plain that the latter could not at will displace the former from his farm, and that in the event of his not paying the fees due to himself or the crown, he has no remedy but in a legal process. The share taken by Government appears to be high, at least one-fifth, and this is settled by an annual valuation. Government express themselves very desirous to bring about a permanent settlement, but say that till they have more knowledge as to the land itself, and its real proprietors, they should run a risk of doing greater injustice and occasioning greater evils than any which they can reasonably apprehend under the present system.

The Deckan in its general character is a barren country, and the population evidently falls short of the average of Europe. In Europe there is no country of which it reminds me so much as Hungary, a region of which the fertility is generally overrated. Like Hungary, great part of the Deckan might seem well adapted for vines, and it would be wise in Government to encourage their cultivation, if it were only to obtain a better beverage for their troops than the vile brandy which they now give them daily.

The Raja of Sattara is described as a well-disposed young man of good understanding, whose system of government, though he is now quite out of leading-strings, is still happily influenced by the instruction and example which he received in his early youth from the then resident, Captain Grant. His country is peaceable, orderly, and as prosperous as can be expected under the calamitous dispensations of Providence, which have afflicted it as well as its neighbours. The raja himself is said to be so ardent a professed lover of peace as almost to bring his sincerity into question, never failing to express wonder and horror at the conduct of all the more martial or quarrelsome sovereigns of India. The other petty sovereigns are supposed not to differ from the average of Hindoo governors. They are all poor, and disposed to be turbulent, and it has been always one of the most delicate and necessary duties of the Commissioners of the Deckan to avoid giving them offence, and to interfere with them only just enough to preserve the general peace.

The climate of the Deckan is highly praised during the rainy and cool seasons, and the hot winds are of no long duration. Its openness and height above the sea may be expected to render it salubrious. Candeish has been so much ruined during the years of trouble, that a great part of it is jungle, with its usual plagues of Bheels, wild beasts, and fevers. The Concan are fertile, but, generally speaking, hot and unhealthy. Severndroog, however, and its neighbouring station of Dapoolie, in the southern Concan, being on an ele-

vated part of the coast, enjoy a fine breeze, and have been fixed on as the site of a convalescent hospital for the European garrison of Bombay.

July 5.—Dr. Barnes and I left Poonah, as before, in our palanquins, except that I rode through the city, and for a few miles on our road, till the sun grew too hot. We passed the river by a deep ford immediately beyond the town, we ourselves in a boat, and the horses swam over; and arrived at Candaulah, where we slept. The rain here was almost incessant, and seemed to have driven under the shelter of the post bungalow many animals which usually avoid the neighbourhood of man. We were on our guard against scorpions and centipedes, of which the tavern-keeper told us that he had killed many within the last few days; but I was a little startled, while passing through a low doorway, to feel something unusual on my shoulder, and, on turning my face round, to see the head of a snake pointed towards my cheek. I shook him off, and he was killed by a servant. He was a small green one, mottled with a few black spots; some of those who saw him declared him to be very venomous, others denied it, and it unluckily did not occur to me to examine his fangs. Whatever were his powers of mischief, I had good reason to be thankful to Providence that he did not bite me; for, besides the necessity, under the uncertainty of his poisonous nature, of using painful remedies, I should have had to bear many hours' suspense between life and death.

I rode down the ghâts, the scenery of which I thought even more beautiful than I did when I ascended. The foliage struck me more, and I was particularly pleased with a species of palm, resembling the sago-tree, which seems the hardiest of its genus, and is certainly one of the most beautiful. Its leaf is narrower than most other kinds, so as to give the branches at some distance something of the air of a weeping willow, but it has also a splendid ornament in a pendant cluster of what I suppose to be seed-vessels, hanging like an enormous ear of corn, among the

boughs. All the torrents, most of which had been dry when I passed before, were now full, and every chasm in the steep side of the mountains offered the prospect of a cascade. I saw here ten at one view.

I left my horse at Chowkee, where we breakfasted, and had the good fortune to meet an agreeable young man of the name of Babington, many members of whose family I knew in England. Inns are, in every part of the world, the favourite scenes for romances, and the unexpected interviews in which romances abound; but I have often thought that a serai, or post-house in India, would have particular advantages in this way, both from the wild and romantic character of the places in which they stand, and the strange selection from all the liberal professions and half the respectable families in England, who may be, without improbability, supposed occasionally to meet under circumstances where to avoid each other would, even if it were wished, be altogether impossible.

We dined and slept at Panwellee, where we found a bunder-boat and two cotton-boats waiting our arrival; the boisterous south wind would not allow of our going direct to Bombay; and the serang said the tide would not serve for our sailing round by Tannah before four o'clock the next morning.

The evening we employed in walking about the little town, where I found some Mussulmans who spoke a little Hindoostanee, and a Parsee who spoke very good English. I also found some officers of one of the East India Company's ships, waiting with one of the boats of the vessel for the arrival of their captain from Poonah. They told me of the very stormy weather which had occurred since my leaving Bombay, during which a brig-of-war in the service of the Imâm of Muscat had been cast away, and one of the English vessels which had left the port at the time of my departure, had been driven back in great peril and distress. The Arab captain of the Imâm's brig I had met at breakfast with Mr. Elphinstone, and was sincerely sorry for his misfortune. Both he and his crew were providen-

tially saved. He was a keen, lively little man, who spoke English well, and apparently affected English manners, though I saw no traces about him of that coarseness and swearing which too many of the people of this country suppose to be characteristic of Englishmen. He had taken much pains with himself, and bore the reputation of a very tolerable sailor. The misfortune which had now overtaken him was not attributed to ignorance, or anything but the unusual violence of the weather. It was likely, however, to be very injurious to his success in life, not only from the actual loss of his own property on board the ship, but from the prejudice felt by Mussulmans against trusting those who have once shown themselves unlucky.

At the appointed hour in the morning of the 7th we embarked on the Panwellie river, with a strong adverse gale and heavy showers. The tide carried us down to the mouth of the river, and considerably favoured our egress. We had, however, a severe struggle after entering into the northern branch of the Bombay harbour, got wet through and through, and our boat filled so fast with the seas which broke over us, that two of the crew were continually engaged in baling. This continued till, after many short tacks, we cleared the point which divides the branch in which we were tossing from the strait leading to Tannah. Along this last we went with a fair wind, and arrived safe at Tannah, from whence I returned to Pareil.

On the Saturday following (*July 10*) I went to Mr. Baillie's, the senior judge at Tannah, to be ready to celebrate the consecration of the new church there the next day. The church, though small, is extremely elegant and convenient. The architect, Capt. Tate, in order to secure the most advantageous view of the building, externally, with reference to the situation, and at the same time to observe the ancient ecclesiastical custom of placing the altar eastward, has contrived the chancel, a semicircle, on one side, like a little transept, the pulpit being in a corresponding semicircle opposite. The ar-

rangement is extremely convenient, and the effect very pleasing.*

Monday morning I returned to Pareil.

The remainder of my stay in Bombay was disagreeably and laboriously occupied in examining into the conduct and character of one of the chaplains, a man of talent and eloquence, and with high pretensions to austere piety. The inquiry ended very unsatisfactorily; grievous charges were brought against him, and his manner of conducting his defence did his own character much disservice; still, as nothing of any great consequence was actually *proved* against him, I only wrote him a letter expressive of my feelings, but which was calculated to induce his brethren to hope the best concerning him, and not to conduct themselves towards him in a manner which would drive him from society, and cut off his chance of amendment, if guilty. This I did the day of my departure, and I trust I acted for the best.

My miscellaneous observations on Bombay have been deferred so long, that they will probably be very imperfect. The island,† as well as most of

* The principal Protestant church in Bombay is within the fort; it is a large and handsome building, with some tolerably good monuments; there is also a small temporary chapel at Matoonga, and a church, which the Bishop consecrated, has recently been built in the island of Colabah, where there are considerable cantonments. There is likewise a Presbyterian place of worship within the fort. A regular weekly service has just been established on board one of the largest ships, for the time being, in the harbour, to accommodate those officers and men whose duties prevent their attending church. The first day the experiment was made, the Bishop preached on board the *Wind-or Castle*. Mr. Mainwaring, the officiating Chaplain in the church of Colabah, has also undertaken this harbour duty. Several Portuguese and Armenian churches, two or three synagogues, and many mosques and pagodas are scattered about in various parts of the island.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

† The island of Colabah is situated at the entrance of the harbour, and is connected with that of Bombay by a pier, which is, however, overflowed at high water. Adjoining this pier are the docks, which are large, and, I believe, the only considerable ones in India, where the tides do not often rise high enough to admit of their construction. Cotton is the principal article of export, great quantities of

those in its neighbourhood, is apparently little more than a cluster of small detached rocks, which have been joined together by the gradual progress of coral reefs, aided by sand thrown up by the sea, and covered by the vegetable mould occasioned by the falling leaves of the sea-loving coco. The interior consists of a long but narrow tract of low ground, which has evidently been, in the first instance, a salt lagoon, gradually filled up by the progress which I have mentioned, and from which the high tides are still excluded only by artificial embankments. This tract is a perfect marsh during the rainy season, and in a state of high rice cultivation. The higher ground is mere rock and sand, but covered with coco and toddy-palms where they can grow.* There is scarcely any open or

grass-land in the island, except the esplanade before the fort, and the exercising ground at Matoonga, which last is the head-quarters of the artillery. The fort, or rather the fortified town, has many large and handsome houses, but few European residents, being hot, close-built, with narrow streets, projecting upper stories and rows, in the style which is common all over this side of India, and of which the old houses in Chester give a sufficiently exact idea.

The Bombay houses are, externally, less beautiful than those of Calcutta, having no pillared verandahs, and being disfigured by huge and high pitched roofs of red tiles. They are generally speaking, however, larger, and on the whole better adapted to the climate.

We took our final leave of Bombay on the 15th of August, and embarked in the *Discovery*, commanded by Captain Brucks, of the Company's marine. Mr. Elphinstone asked all the principal civil and military servants of the Company to breakfast on the occasion, in the Government-house in the fort; many of them accompanied us to the water's edge, and others went on board with us, among whom was Mr. Meriton, the superintendent of Marine, known by the desperate valour which he displayed on several occasions while commanding different East India ships. Mr. Robinson of Poonah, and Dr. Smith, accompanied me as chaplain and medical attendant.

Although we had long looked forward with eagerness to the moment when I should be at liberty to resume a journey which was to take us to Calcutta, and to unite us all once more together, we could not leave Bombay without regret. There were some persons whom we were sincerely pained to part with there. We had met with much and marked kindness and hospitality, we had enjoyed the society of several men of distinguished talent, and all my views for the regulation and advantage of the clergy, and for the gradual advancement of Christianity, had met with a support beyond my

varieties of the palm-tribe.—*Extract from the Editor's Journal.*

which come from the north-west of India, and I have frequently been interested in seeing the immense bales lying on the piers, and the ingenious screw with which an astonishing quantity is pressed into the canvass bags. Bombay is the port from whence almost all the trade of the west and north is shipped for China and England; there are several ships building in the slips, and the whole place has the appearance of being a flourishing commercial sea-port.

Pearls and turquoises are brought from the Persian Gulf in great numbers, some of which are very valuable, and fine cornelians and agates also come from Surat.—*Extract from Editor's Journal.*

* The sea abounds in excellent fish. The bumble, very much resembling an eel in shape, is considered one of the best, and great quantities are annually dried for the Calcutta market: it appeared to me little better than a tasteless mass of jelly, and very inferior to most of the other kinds. Large sea-snakes are seen in numbers swimming on the surface of the water; and I was assured that on the Malabar coast the sailors always know when they are within soundings by the appearance of these animals. Buffaloes are very common in the island, but their beef is not reckoned good, and their milk is poorer than that of the cow. There are no beasts of prey, except a few hyænas, which are seldom met with; nor are there many poisonous snakes or insects to be seen. The great variety and fine plumage of the smaller birds struck me very forcibly: and some of their notes, especially that of the nightingale, are very beautiful. The poultry is almost all brought from the coast, as well as most kinds of vegetables: indeed the island itself is much too small to feed its population; and, save onions, mangoes, the sweet potato, rice, dhál, and a few other kinds of grain, it produces little but the

hopes, and unequalled in any other part of India.

I had found old acquaintances in Sir Edward West and Sir Charles Chambers, and an old and valuable friend (as well as a sincerely attached and cordial one) in Archdeacon Barnes. Above all, however, I had enjoyed in the unremitting kindness, the splendid hospitality, and agreeable conversation of Mr. Elphinstone, the greatest pleasure of the kind which I have ever enjoyed either in India or Europe.

Mr. Elphinstone is, in every respect, an extraordinary man, possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for, and application to public business, a love of literature, and a degree of almost universal information, such as I have met with in no other person similarly situated, and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting character. While he has seen more of India and the adjoining countries than any man now living, and has been engaged in active political, and sometimes military, duties since the age of eighteen, he has found time not only to cultivate the languages of Hindostan and Persia, but to preserve and extend his acquaintance with the Greek and Latin classics, with the French and Italian, with all the elder and more distinguished English writers, and with the current and popular literature of the day, both in poetry, history, politics, and political economy. With these remarkable accomplishments, and notwithstanding a temperance amounting to rigid abstinence, he is fond of society, and it is a common subject of surprise with his friends, at what hours of the day or night he finds time for the acquisition of knowledge. His policy, so far as India is concerned, appeared to me peculiarly wise and liberal, and he is evidently attached to, and thinks well of the country and its inhabitants. His public measures, in their general tendency, evince a steady wish to improve their present condition. No government in India pays so much attention to schools and public institutions for education. In none are the taxes lighter, and in the administration of justice to the natives in their own

languages, in the establishment of panchaets, in the degree in which he employs the natives in official situations, and the countenance and familiarity which he extends to all the natives of rank who approach him, he seems to have reduced to practice almost all the reforms which had struck me as most required in the system of government pursued in those provinces of our Eastern Empire which I had previously visited. His popularity (though to such a feeling there may be individual exceptions) appears little less remarkable than his talents and acquirements, and I was struck by the remark I once heard, that, "all other public men had their enemies and their friends, their admirers and their aspersors, but that of Mr. Elphinstone everybody spoke highly." Of his munificence, for his liberality amounts to this, I had heard much, and knew some instances myself.

With regard to the free press, I was curious to know the motives or apprehensions which induced Mr. Elphinstone to be so decidedly opposed to it in this country. In discussing the topic he was always open and candid, acknowledged that the dangers ascribed to a free press in India had been exaggerated,—but spoke of the exceeding inconvenience, and even danger, which arose from the disunion and dissension which political discussion produced among the European officers at the different stations, the embarrassment occasioned to Government by the exposure and canvass of all their measures by the *Lentuli* and *Gracchi* of a newspaper, and his preference of decided and vigorous to half measures, where any restrictive measures at all were necessary. I confess that his opinion and experience are the strongest presumptions which I have yet met with in favour of the censorship.

A charge has been brought against Mr. Elphinstone by the indiscreet zeal of an amiable, but not well-judging man, the "field officer of cavalry," who published his *Indian travels*, that "he is devoid of religion, and blinded to all spiritual truth." I can only say that I saw no reason to think so. On

the contrary, after this character which I had read of him, I was most agreeably surprised to find that his conduct and conversation, so far as I could learn, had been always moral and decorous, that he was regular in his attendance on public worship, and not only well informed on religious topics, but well pleased and forward to discuss them; that his views appeared to me, on all essential subjects, doctrinally correct, and his feelings serious and reverential; and that he was not only inclined to do, but actually did more for the encouragement of Christianity, and the suppression or diminution of suttees, than any

other Indian governor has ventured on. That he may have differed in some respects from the peculiar views of the author in question, I can easily believe, though he could hardly know himself in what this difference consisted, since I am assured, that he had taken his opinion at second-hand, and not from anything which Mr. Elphinstone had either said or done. But I have been unable to refrain from giving this slight and imperfect account of the character of Mr. Elphinstone as it appeared to me, since I should be sorry to have it thought that one of the ablest and most amiable men I ever met with were either a profligate or an unbeliever.

CHAPTER XXVII.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN CEYLON.

EARLY on the morning of the 25th of August we cast anchor outside the harbour of Galle, but the directions given in the Government chart for anchoring during this monsoon proved so incorrect, that when the pilot came on board he found the vessel in a very dangerous situation, lying so close upon rocks, that, as the wind was blowing hard, he could not venture to weigh anchor, lest she should drive on them; he was obliged, therefore, to warp her off, which occupied the whole of the morning, a miserable one to me, for the sea ran very high, and the ship tossed and rolled unceasingly. Mr. Glenie, the senior colonial chaplain; Mr. Layard, the judge of Galle; Mr. Mayor, one of the Church missionaries, and the Master Attendant of Galle, came on board to meet us; and, about three o'clock, the vessel was got safe into harbour. The fort fired a salute, which the *Discovery* returned, and we were met on the pier by the principal inhabitants of the place, the regiments stationed there, and a band of spearmen and lascarines. The pier was covered with white cloth, and we passed between two files of soldiers to the place where palanquins, &c., were waiting; in which, preceded by native music, a constant attendant on all processions, we went two miles to the cutcherry, where we were invited, and most kindly and hospitably entertained, by Mr. Sansoni, the collector of the district.

Point de Galle is situated at nearly the southern extremity of Ceylon, and its harbour is very spacious and beautiful, being formed in part by rocks, over which the sea foams and dashes in a glorious manner; it has not more than two or three ships and a few small

craft within it at present. One of the former is an Arab, which left Calcutta for Bombay, a few days before I sailed, early in March; out of pure cowardice the captain put in here, where he has remained ever since, and will not move till the strength of the monsoon is over. Homeward-bound ships occasionally touch at this port, and one East Indian regularly comes every year to carry off the cinnamon prepared for exportation.

A very few English and Dutch families form the society of the place, and they reside principally within the fort; the "pettah," or native town, is extensive, and the houses neat. At present it has a very gay appearance, from being ornamented in the Cingalese manner, in honour of the Bishop's arrival, with palm-branches, flowers, and fruits, in which kind of decoration the natives are very ingenious, and which gives the whole village the appearance of a jubilee. Mr. Sansoni's is a lower-roomed house, but very spacious and comfortable, commanding a view of the harbour. He is an Italian by birth, but is become quite Anglicised by a long residence in the island.

The Cingalese on the coast differ very much from any Indians I have yet seen, and their language, also, is different; they wear no turban, or other kind of covering, on the head, but turn up their long black hair with large tortoiseshell combs; the coolies and labouring-classes have merely the waist-cloth, as in Bengal; but the "moodeliers," or native magistrates, head-men, as they are generally called, wear a strange mixture of the Portuguese and native dress, but handsome, from the gold with which it is covered. The

moodelier of Galle, and all his family, are Christians; he is a most respectable man, in face and figure resembling Louis XVIII., to whom his sons also bear a strong likeness: the old man wears a handsome gold medal, given him for meritorious conduct.

August 26.—The heat is said to be never very oppressive at Galle, being constantly tempered by sea-breezes, and by frequent rain; the total absence of punkahs, indeed, proves the climate to be moderate. The fort was built by the Dutch, and is a good deal out of repair. We dined to-day at Mr. Layard's, who has an excellent house within its walls; we went in our palanquins, and instead of the lanterns to which we had been accustomed in Calcutta and Bombay, were preceded by men carrying long palm-branches on fire; the appearance of these natural torches was picturesque, and their smell not unpleasant; but the sparks and flakes of fire which they scattered about were very disagreeable, and frequently were blown into my palanquin, to the great danger of my muslin dress: they are never used within the fort.

August 27.—Our original plan of going from hence to Baddagame, a Church missionary station, about thirteen miles from Galle, where there is a church to be consecrated, has been frustrated by the heavy rains which have lately fallen, and which have swollen the river so much as to make the journey impracticable; we therefore decided on remaining over Sunday here, and we sent off the greatest part of our servants, baggage, &c., to Colombo, a distance of seventy-two miles.

The Bishop was occupied all the morning in ecclesiastical affairs. There is neither chaplain nor resident Church missionary here, but Mr. Mayor and Mr. Ward occasionally come from Baddagame to do the duty, and the former remained here a month previous to our arrival, to prepare the young people for confirmation. The Wesleyan Society has a missionary, who sometimes does duty in the church. Mrs. Gisborne has a school about a mile from the cutcherry, of which we hear an excellent report: she is at present at Colombo,

but when we return to embark for Calcutta we hope to visit it with her.

August 28.—The Bishop confirmed about thirty persons, of whom the greater proportion were natives; some of the moodelier's family were among the number, but the rest were principally scholars from Mrs. Gisborne's school. He afterwards preached. The church was built by the Dutch, and, according to their custom, is without a communion-table, and for the most part open. It is kept neatly, but is a good deal out of repair. The native part of the congregation was numerous, and paid great attention to the ceremony, though many were there out of curiosity alone. Mr. Robinson preached in the evening.

August 29.—This morning, at three o'clock, we were roused by beat of drum, to prepare for our march to Colombo; we formed a long cavalcade of palanquins and gigs, preceded by an escort of spearmen, and the noisy inharmonious music I mentioned before, and attended by some of Mr. Sansoni's lascarines, who answer in some respects to our peons in Calcutta; they wear rather a pretty uniform of white, red, and black, and a conical red cap, with an upright white feather in it. Instead of the *chatrah* used with us, these men carry large fans, made of the talipot-palm, which is peculiar to Ceylon, from six to nine feet in length, over the heads of Europeans and rich natives, to guard them from the sun. The road was decorated the whole way as for a festival, with long strips of palm-branches hung upon strings on either side; and wherever we stopped, we found the ground spread with white cloth, and awnings erected, beautifully decorated with flowers and fruits, and festooned with palm-branches. These remnants of the ancient custom mentioned in the Bible, of strewing the road with palm-branches and garments, are curious and interesting.

At daybreak we crossed the first river in a boat with a decorated awning, and at the end of twenty miles, which was accomplished by the same set of bearers by ten o'clock, we arrived at one of the rest-houses, where we break-

fasted, and remained during the heat of the day. These are built and kept up by Government, for the accommodation of travellers, and are bungalows, merely consisting of three or four unfurnished rooms, with possibly some cane bedsteads, on which the palanquin mattresses are placed; here, as in India, every individual article wanted in marching is carried with one, save tents, which on this line of road are supplied by these houses. The name of this place is Amblegodde; it is situated on a height commanding an extensive view of the sea, having a bold shore on either side, with two or three small fishing harbours, or rather creeks.

In a small bungalow, close to the sea, we found a splendid breakfast prepared for us by the moolier of Galle. We were met here by a set of dancers with grotesque masks, in dresses very much resembling those worn by the Otaheitan dancers, as represented in the prints of Captain Cook's voyages. When it grew cool we again set out, still carried by the same bearers, there being no means of laying a dâk here as in Bengal; these men, like the Madras bearers, make a sort of groaning noise every step they take, which is to a stranger very unpleasant; they go through all the sounds of the vowels alternately, hi, ho, hu,—he, hi, hu, and so on. Our road had hitherto lain through a continued wood of palm-trees, which from its uniformity would have been tedious, but for the flowering shrubs and underwood with which the ground was covered, and for the immediate neighbourhood of the sea breaking beautifully over large insulated masses of coral rock: the coast, as well as the country for some miles inland, is generally flat, and intersected by rivers and arms (or rather indents) of the sea. The population appears to consist exclusively of fishermen, and the houses bear a greater appearance of comfort than is usually seen in fishing villages in India. Sixteen miles further brought us to Ben Totte, where we dined and slept. This rest-house is on the estuary of a broad river, but close to the sea, and the scenery about it is

extremely beautiful. We had just time before night closed in to take some sketches of this lovely spot; but it was extremely difficult to make anything like an accurate representation of its scenery. Each river has its rest-house on either side, which would seem to have been built before the regular ferries were established, when passengers had to wait, perhaps, many days for the floods to subside, which here are as sudden as they are frequent. With a little contrivance we managed to pass the night very comfortably, either in palanquins or on their mattresses placed on cane bedsteads. In this climate, in places where there are no mosquitoes, which happily is the case in this monsoon, very little preparation is required for a night's lodging. Emily makes a capital traveller, and really enjoys it as much as any of the party: a palanquin is indeed by far the least fatiguing way in which a child can travel.

August 30.—At four this morning we were roused by the reveillé. Mr. Sansoni here took his leave, having very kindly accompanied us to the end of his district, to see that we wanted no comfort or accommodation: the Galle escort also left us, and we were met by spearmen, &c. &c., from Colombo; having crossed the river in a highly-ornamented boat, we proceeded twelve miles along a road made more interesting by the mixture of timber-trees with the palm. The bread-fruit tree I here saw for the first time, growing to an immense size, and with gigantic leaves, shaped like those of the fig-tree: the jamba, or rose-apple, strewing the ground with its beautiful scarlet flowers: the banyan, and the cotton-tree, with many others, whose names I did not know.

The wild pine-apple grows in abundance; it is a shrub not of any great size, which throws out its branches into all kinds of fantastic shapes, bearing a fruit resembling a pine-apple, but pendent and without a crown; it is said to be poisonous; another shrub with a small leaf, whose name I forget, is valued by the natives on account of its emetic properties; the end of each

twig is crowned by two white leaves, out of which a small and ugly flower springs.

Of flowers the *Gloriosa Superba* and the *Amaryllis* are the most beautiful, and grow in profusion; many others which I had been accustomed to see in hothouses at home, weak and stunted, here grow in splendid luxuriance; in places the trees appeared to stand on a carpet of flowers.

At Caltura is a small fort, built to defend the passage of the river in former times, and now occasionally inhabited by Mr. Rodney, one of the members of Government, on a hill which commands an extensive view of the sea, with a fine river running at its foot, now, like all the others, much swollen with the rain. Mr. Rodney drove us in his carriage from hence to Paltura, where, after crossing a fourth river, we were met by Sir Edward Barnes's carriage, drawn by four beautiful English horses, which took us, with a fresh relay, through the fort at Colombo, where the usual salute was fired, to St. Sebastian. Here we found a most comfortable house, provided and furnished by Government, on the borders of a large lake, but commanding a fine open view of the sea. This was the residence of the late Archdeacon Twistleton, whose death we have heard much lamented; it is reckoned one of the healthiest spots in the island, always enjoying a fine breeze from the sea. In the evening we dined at the "King's house," that being the name given to the residence of the governor in this colony. We were most kindly received by Sir Edward and Lady Barnes, and met a small and agreeable party, but I was much tired, and glad to go home early. The house is a bad one, in the centre of the fort, but everything is conducted on a handsome and liberal scale by the governor.

August 31.—Our morning was, as usual on a first arrival, taken up by visits; in the afternoon we drove in Sir E. Barnes's sociable through the far-famed cinnamon-gardens, which cover upwards of 17,000 acres of land on the coast, the largest of which are near Colombo. The plant thrives best

in a poor sandy soil, in a damp atmosphere; it grows wild in the woods to the size of a large apple-tree, but when cultivated is never allowed to grow more than ten or twelve feet in height, each plant standing separate. The leaf is something like that of the laurel in shape, but of a lighter colour; when it first shoots out it is red, and changes gradually to green. It is now out of blossom, but I am told that the flower is white, and appears when in full blossom to cover the garden. After hearing so much of the spicy gales from this island, I was much disappointed at not being able to discover any scent, at least from the plants, in passing through the gardens; there is a very fragrant-smelling flower growing under them, which at first led us into a belief that we smelt the cinnamon, but we were soon undeceived. On pulling off a leaf or a twig one perceives the spicy odour very strongly, but I was surprised to hear that the flower has little or none. As cinnamon forms the only considerable export of Ceylon, it is of course preserved with great care; by the old Dutch law, the penalty for cutting a branch was no less than the loss of a hand; at present a fine expiates the same offence. The neighbourhood of Colombo is particularly favourable to its growth, being well sheltered, with a high equable temperature; and as showers fall very frequently, though a whole day's heavy rain is uncommon, the ground is never parched.

The pearl-fishery was at one time very productive, but some years ago it entirely failed, and though it has lately been resumed, the success has been small. Ceylon, partly from its superabundant fertility, which will scarcely allow of the growth of foreign plants, and partly from the indolence of the natives, is a very poor colony; the potato will not thrive at all, and it is only at Candy, a town about seventy miles in the interior, that any kind of European vegetable comes to perfection. The governor has a basketful sent down every morning from his garden there; the bread-fruit is the best substitute for potatoes I have met with,

but even this is extremely inferior. A plant, something between the turnip and the cabbage, called "nolkol," is good, but it is not indigenous, having been originally imported from the Cape.

I heard a gentleman say, with reference to the indolence of the natives, "give a man a coco-tree, and he will do nothing for his livelihood; he sleeps under its shade, or perhaps builds a hut of its branches, eats its nuts as they fall, drinks its juice, and smokes his life away." Out of a numerous population, a small proportion are labourers; the system of forced labour, which we found established by the Dutch, still exists in some degree, and a man can hardly be expected to pay much attention to the culture of his field, when he is liable at any moment to be taken off to public works; in his own district he receives no payment for road-making, but when removed to a distance he has three fanams, or three halfpence per day. The people are, however, lightly taxed, and the general aspect of their houses would indicate more comfort and attention to appearances than all I had heard of them had led me to expect.

There is one custom here which I have not seen elsewhere, which struck me as remarkably humane; at certain distances along the road, large pots of water, with ladles attached to them, are placed for the use of travellers, and I have frequently seen one of my bearers take a draught with great eagerness, and then run to join his comrades at my palanquin.

We dined again at the King's house, and met nearly all the European society of the place. The colour of the natives excepted, everything wears a more English aspect than we have been accustomed to in India (the residents make a distinction between the island and the continent, not allowing the former to be India). Where coachmen are kept, they are invariably Europeans, who do not appear to suffer from the sun; the Cingalese have not the slightest idea of driving, and know very little about a horse, and the "horsekeeper," as the saees is here called, as well as in Bombay, is invariably from the coast.

Those persons who have not European coachmen have the horses of their palanquin-carriages and "bandies," or gigs, led by these men, and the pace at which they run is surprising. Gigs and hackeries all go here by the generic name of bandy. The Calcutta caranchie, and the Bombay shigram po, are alike unknown. The regiment doing duty in the fort is European, and the white sentries assist materially in giving the place an European look.

September 1.—The Bishop held his Visitation, which was attended by all the colonial chaplains and Church missionaries in the island, the latter of whom were assembled at Cotta for their annual meeting, with the exception of Mr. Mayor, who was detained at Baddagame by a severe fever, caught on his way down to meet us at Galle. I think there are few sights more impressive than that of a bishop addressing his clergy from the altar; and on this occasion it was rendered peculiarly interesting by there being two regularly ordained native priests among the number, Mr. de Sarum and Christian David, both colonial chaplains; the former has had an English education, and was entered, I believe, at Cambridge; he married a young woman who came out with him, and who shows her good taste and good judgment in living on the best terms with his family, who are very respectable people of the first rank in the island. The clergy dined with us in the evening.

September 2.—We were again all morning engaged with visitors. In the evening, Lady Barnes having lent me her fine English horse, we rode through a considerable part of the gardens. These are so extensive, and the roads cut through them so precisely alike, that we completely lost our way, and did not get home till late. There is neither horse, carriage, palanquin, nor bearer to be hired; but we do not feel the want, between the exertions used by our friends, Mr. Glenie, now the acting archdeacon, and Mr. Layard, recently appointed collector of this district, to procure us bearers in travelling, and the liberality with which Sir Edward Barnes allows us the use of his

horses, carriages, and body-guard. He has a magnificent stud of English horses; they look well, but are apt to die of inflammatory attacks: he lost one very fine one while we were in the island. There are none reared in Ceylon, but those in general use come from the islands in the neighbourhood of Jaffna, which afford the best pasture both for horses and cattle. The former are under the superintendence of an officer, and when old enough are disposed of by Government. Those I have seen are pretty, but slight; the oxen too are small; but beef is the most plentiful as well as the best meat in Ceylon.

Mr. Walbeoffe, the manager of the cinnamon gardens, good-naturedly sent some of the cinnamon peelers to our bungalows, that we might see the way in which the spice is prepared. They brought with them branches of about three feet in length, of which they scraped off the rough bark with knives, and then, with a peculiar-shaped instrument, stripped off the inner rind in long slips; these are tied up in bundles, and put to dry in the sun, and the wood is sold for fuel. In the regular preparation, however, the outer bark is not scraped off; but the process of fermentation which the strips undergo when tied up in large quantities, removes the coarse parts. The peelers are called "chaliers;" they are a distinct caste, whose origin is uncertain, though they are generally supposed to be descended from a tribe of weavers, who settled in Ceylon, from the continent, about six hundred years ago; in the interior they now pursue their original occupation, but those in the maritime provinces are exclusively employed in peeling cinnamon. They earn a great deal of money during the season; but their caste is considered very low, and it would be a degradation for any other to follow the same business.

September 3.—This morning we went to the King's house, where we spent a couple of hours very agreeably. The Bishop has been much engaged since our arrival in preparing a plan, which he discussed to-day with Sir E. Barnes, for restoring the schools, and the system

of religious instruction which we found established by the Dutch, and of uniting it more closely with the Church of England. At a very small annual expense, this plan would, he thinks, be the means of spreading, not merely a nominal, but real Christianity through the island. There is also another object which he has, if possible, still more at heart, which is giving the native "proponents," or catechists, such facilities for education as would gradually fit them for admittance into holy orders, and make them the groundwork of a parochial clergy; he has been much pleased by the anxiety which they show for the improvement of their scholars, but they have not the means of acquiring knowledge sufficient to enable them to teach others, and are many of them ill-informed, though very good men. Books are scarce in Cingalese and Tamul, and he is anxious to prevail on some of the colonial clergy to translate a few of the more popular works into these languages. In these and in various other suggestions which he has made to both chaplains and missionaries, he has, almost universally, met with the readiest concurrence; and he has often expressed to me the extreme gratification which he has derived since we have been here, from witnessing the exemplary conduct of the whole Church Establishment, and the readiness with which they have entered into his views. While he was conversing on these subjects with the governor, Lady Barnes took me to see her museum, and I was much interested in looking over her collection of shells and other Ceylon curiosities.

September 3.—The Bishop preached this morning at St. Thomas's; the church was very full, and, as it has no punkahs, the heat was great. It is a remarkably ugly inconvenient building; indeed, it was not originally intended as a church by the Dutch, and the colony is too poor to build another. There is a mural tablet in it to Bishop Middleton, who was here at two different periods.

September 4.—All morning, as usual, the Bishop was occupied in discussing ecclesiastical matters with Mr. Robin-

son and Mr. Glenie, and I returned a few visits. In the evening we rode through the fort, and the principal streets of Colombo, as well as through the pettah, or native town. The fort is on a peninsula, projecting into the sea, and is very extensive, surrounded with a broad deep ditch; near the glacis is the end of a large lake, which extends some miles into the interior, and which might, in case of necessity, be easily connected with the sea, so as completely to insulate the fort. In the middle of this lake is an island, called by the Dutch "Slave Island;" there are several pretty houses on it, and a regiment of Sepoys is now stationed there; the town is handsome, and nearly divided into four parts by two broad streets; there are many Dutch houses, which may be distinguished from those of the English by their glass windows, instead of venetians, for the Dutch seem to shut up their houses at all seasons; they have large verandahs to the south. The pettah is very extensive and populous; the inhabitants, it is said, amount to between fifty and sixty thousand, of a very mixed race. We passed the Dutch and Portuguese churches, both pretty buildings, especially the former: the latter is dedicated to the Mater Dolorosa. The houses of the Europeans without the town are very beautifully situated, especially those near the sea; they are all, with one or two exceptions, lower-roomed houses, and built on the same plan as those of Bombay, having the same disadvantage of projecting low-roofed verandahs, which keep out the air. The floors are almost universally of brick, very unsightly, and disagreeable from the dust which they occasion; but this is unavoidable in an island where no chunam is made but by a most expensive process, from shells, and where the white ants immediately destroy timber. There appears to be little traffic carried on except in cinnamon and pepper; the coir rope is made in great quantities; indeed, the coco-nut tree, in its various productions of arrack, oil, &c. &c., seems to be the principal support of the natives. No muslins are manufactured;

and only the common strong coarse cloth, worn by the natives, is wove in the island. Of this I had a good deal given me by some of the Malay inhabitants.

September 6.—Early this morning the Bishop went to Cotta, a Church missionary station, about six miles from Colombo. Mr. Lambrick, whom I remember tutor, some years ago, in Lord Combermere's family, is at present sole missionary there, and performs the important duties of the station in a most exemplary manner; the number of inhabitants in the district is very great; there are eight schools in the village, containing near two hundred children, of whom a few are girls, besides several in the adjoining hamlets; and he has two services every Sunday in English and Cingalese, as well as occasional weekly duty in the schools; there is no church.

The Society sent out a press a few years ago, which is now in active use. Several Cingalese grammars and vocabularies, and some tracts, have been printed in it, and Mr. Lambrick is now engaged in a translation of the Old Testament and the Gospels, part of which is printed. The language is not well suited to the dignity and simplicity of the Bible, as it is burdened with honorary affixes, used as well in the Buddhist religious books, as in the common intercourse of the natives with their superiors, and which have hitherto been admitted into our translations of the Scriptures. Such a word as "Wahanseghede," affixed to the names of the Divine Persons, is certainly very cumbersome; and Mr. Lambrick is anxious to be allowed to discontinue their common use in a revision of the translation of the Scriptures, in which he has been invited to join by the Colombo Auxiliary Bible Society.

While the Bishop was at Cotta, Mr. Lambrick read him an address in the name of all the missionaries, in which, besides giving him an account of their respective stations, they asked his advice on several important points, of which the principal related to prayer-meetings at each other's houses, and to the baptism of native children. He

answered these questions generally at the time, and afterwards wrote them a letter, in which he entered more at length on the different subjects proposed.*

* Colombo, Sept. 13, 1825.

My Reverend Brethren,—Having been consulted by you, and the other clergy of this Archdeaconry, on the propriety of engaging with missionaries of other religious sects, in solemn conference on topics connected with your work among the heathen, such as are now statedly holden at Jaffna, and at this place, I have first to express my thankfulness to God for the brotherly and tolerant spirit which, since my arrival in the island, I have noticed among those who, with less or greater differences of opinions, and discrepancies of doctrine and discipline, abundantly to be deplored, yet hold, as I am persuaded, the same faith in the Cross, and shall be found, as I trust, in the last day, on the same Rock of Salvation. Nor am I less thankful to the Giver of all good things, for the affectionate and orderly spirit which I find in you, my brethren, and which has led you, voluntarily, to submit a question in which your hearts, as I have reason to believe, are much engaged, to the counsel of your ordinary. May God continue and increase this mutual confidence between us, and conduct it, and all things else, to His glory and our salvation!

The meeting in question has been described to me as a conference of ministers and missionaries, in a certain district, held in each other's house in rotation, attended by the ministers or missionaries themselves, their wives and families, and occasionally by devout laymen from their vicinity. These meetings are described as beginning and ending with prayer, led, indifferently, by ministers of different sects, or by their lay friends, but not by the females, and as broken by hymns, in which all present join. The remainder of the time is occupied by a friendly meal together,—in the comparison, by the missionaries, of the different encouragements and obstacles which they meet with among the heathen, and in discussion of the best means by which their common work can be forwarded. It appears that this practice commenced at Jaffna, under circumstances which made it very desirable for the missionaries of the English Church, not only to live on friendly and courteous terms with the missionaries sent from America, but to profit by the experience and example of these missionaries in their manner of addressing the heathen. And it appears, also, that these conferences have been strictly private and domestic, and that there has been no interchange or confusion of the public or appropriate functions of the Christian ministry between yourselves and the friends who, unhappily, differ from you in points of Church discipline. Under such circumstances it is probable that, by God's blessing, many advantages may have arisen to you all from these conferences; and, without inquiring whether

On his return home he told me he had been particularly gratified by all

these advantages might have been, in the first instance, attainable, in a manner less liable to inconvenience or misrepresentation, I am happy that I do not think it necessary to advise their cessation, now they are established, and that your dereliction of them might greatly interrupt the charitable terms on which you now live with your neighbours.

There are, however, some serious dangers to which such meetings are liable, against which it is my duty to caution you, and by avoiding which you may keep your intercourse with your fellow-labourers, as now, always harmless and unblamed. The first of these is the risk of levelling, in the eyes of others, and even in your own, the peculiar claims to attention on the part of men, and the peculiar hopes of grace and blessing from the Most High, which, as we believe, are possessed by the holders of an apostolic commission over those whose call to the ministry is less regular, though their labours are no less sincere. God forbid, my brethren, that I should teach you to think on this account highly of yourselves! Far otherwise. This sense of the advantages which we enjoy should humble us to the dust, when we bethink us who we are, and what we ought to be, who have received the Spirit of God, by the dispensation of a long line of saints and martyrs,—who are called to follow the steps of Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Rowland Taylor, and Henry Martyn; and who are, by the external dispensation, at least, of Providence, the inheritors of that grace which fell on St. Paul. But humbly, yea meanly, as we are bound to think of ourselves, we must not appear to undervalue our apostolic bond of union; and the more so here in India, inasmuch as it is the great link which binds us to the ancient Syrian Church, and one principal means whereby we hope, with the blessing of our Master, to effect its gradual reformation. The neglect, or abandonment, or apparent abandonment of this principle, is the first danger which I apprehend to be incidental to such meetings as I have described. To guard against it, an additional care and caution will be desirable, in your steady adherence, wherever this is practicable, to the external ceremonies and canonical observations of our Church; and, without estranging yourselves from your dissenting friends, by cultivating a yet closer union with those who are, properly speaking, your brother clergy. With this view I would recommend not only the measures which I have lately suggested, of frequent meetings of the clergy of this Archdeaconry for the purposes of mutual counsel and comfort, but a readiness on your part, who are missionaries, to officiate whenever you are invited, and can do it without neglect of your peculiar functions, in the churches of the colony, and in rendering assistance to the chaplains. By this occasional attention (for, for many reasons, I would have it occasional only) to the spiritual wants of your own countrymen, several important ends will be

which he had seen that morning. The station has been scarcely three years established.

obtained; you will yourselves derive advantage from keeping up the habit of English composition and public speaking; you will endear yourselves to your brethren and countrymen by the services which you will render them, and above all you will identify yourselves in the eyes of all men with the Established Church, and distinguish yourselves from those other preachers whom that Church cannot consistently recognise.

Another precaution which occurs to me as desirable against the risk to which I have alluded is, that it be perfectly understood that the meetings are for the discussion of such topics only as belong to your distinct functions as missionaries to the heathen. For this reason I would recommend that the meeting be confined to missionaries only, with their families, and such devout laymen (for I am unwilling to damp, or seem to discountenance, their laudable zeal) who have already joined themselves to your number. The other clergy of the Archdeaconry will find, I conceive, a sufficient bond of union and source of mutual comfort and advice in the *clerical meeting*. There are other inconveniences and improprieties incidental to what are usually called prayer-meetings, which have led to their rejection by the great majority of the Church of England, and among the rest, by some excellent men, whom the conduct pursued by those with whom their chief intimacy lay, would have naturally inclined to favour them. I mean, among others, the late Mr. Scott of Aston Sandford, and the late Mr. Robinson of St. Mary's, Leicester. Such is the practice reprobated by the Apostle, of a number of persons coming together, with each his psalm, his prayer, his exhortation; the effect of which is, not only often confusion, but what is worse than confusion, self-conceit and rivalry, each labouring to excel his brother in the choice of his expressions and the outward earnestness of his address—and the bad effects of emulation mixing with actions in which, of all others, humility and forgetfulness of self are necessary. Such, too, is that warmth of feeling and language, derived rather from imitation than conviction, which, under the circumstances which I have mentioned, are apt to degenerate into enthusiastic excitement or irreverent familiarity.

And though it is only due both to yourselves, my brethren, and to your dissenting fellow-labourers, to state that all which I have seen or heard of you sets me at ease on these subjects, so far as you are concerned; yet it will be well for you to take care, lest by setting an example of such an institution in your own persons, you encourage less instructed individuals among the laity to adopt a practice which, in their case, has almost always, I believe, been injurious. It is on this account, chiefly, that with no feelings of disrespect or suspicion towards the excellent laymen who, as I understand, have joined your society, I

September 11.—The Bishop preached at St. Thomas's on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,

would recommend, if my counsel has any weight (and I offer it as my counsel only), that, though there is no impropriety in their taking their turns in reading the Scriptures, and mingling in the discussions which arise on the subjects connected with your conference, they would abstain from leading the society in prayer, except when the meeting is held in one of their own houses, and when, as master of the family, they may consistently offer up what will then be their *family devotion*.

I would, lastly, recommend to you earnestly, that both your discussions and your prayers have, as their leading object, the success of missions, and the means whereby missions may, with God's blessing, be rendered successful; and that you would deviate as little as possible into other fields of ecclesiastical inquiry.

With these precautions, I trust that unmingled good may, through His blessing who is the God of peace and order, emanate from your religious conferences.

With reference to the employment of laymen to officiate in your congregation, I would say, that where a missionary is as yet unable to read prayers, or preach in the language of his hearers, he may unquestionably employ a native assistant to do both, provided the prayers are those of our Church, and the discourse a translation from his own dictation or writing. The use of interpreters is not only sanctioned by the necessity of the case, but by the express authority of Scripture and ecclesiastical history. And even where this necessity has not existed, but where any convenience has been obtained either by priest or people, it has been always the custom of the Church to admit lay catechists (under the direction of the minister) to read the Scriptures, to give out psalms, to repeat the creeds, and even when any convenience results from it, the Litany down to the Lord's Prayer, and the following collects which the rubric assigns to the priest. It is hardly necessary to observe, that, both in this and the preceding case, the Absolution must not be read, nor must the Sacraments be administered by any but the regularly ordained minister.

To your questions respecting Baptism, I reply—

1st. We are not, as I conceive, allowed to baptize the infant child of heathen parents when there is reason to fear that such child will be brought up in heathenism.

2nd. We may not even baptize the infant child of heathen parents on the promise of such parents to procure for it a Christian education, unless security of some kind is actually given for its adoption, and removal from its parents' corrupt example, by its sponsor, or some other Christian.

3rd. We may, I apprehend, baptize the children of a Christian father by a heathen mother, though they are living together *unmarried*, provided the father declares his in-

but more particularly with reference to the Bishop's College at Calcutta;

tention of giving his child a Christian education, and there are sufficient sponsors to add their promises to that of the parent. My reason for this decision is, that, as no professed Christian, however wicked his life, is beyond the outward means of grace, and the Lord may, for all we know, have still merciful purposes concerning him, so we cannot, for the father's sin, exclude the child from that promise which is made to the children, and the children's children of believers. But where the mother is Christian, and not the father, it is doubtful whether she may have sufficient property in, or authority over her child, to insure it a Christian bringing up. Nor is it a point on which the promise of a heathen father can be received as sufficient; its actual adoption, therefore, by some Christian friend or sponsor, must in this last case be stipulated for.

4th. The same principle appears to apply to cases when one only of a married couple is a professing Christian: though here some latitude of discretion may be allowed, in case of danger of death, of extreme maternal solicitude, of known good character on the believing mother's side, and the known probability that may exist that her wishes, and the endeavours of the sponsors, will not be frustrated in her infant's education.

5th. The case of nominal Christians notoriously addicted to heathen practices must depend, in part, on the nature and extent of the evil; and still more on the character and sufficiency of the sponsors. Mere idolatrous or superstitious habits in the parents, if not attended with open apostacy, cannot exclude the infant when properly vouched for from another quarter. The parent, however blinded and sinful, has not lost the external privileges of Christianity, and the infant cannot be deprived of a privilege which the parent has not forfeited.

6th. The same rule will apply yet more strongly to Christians of whom we know no further harm than their ignorance and neglect of public worship.

7th. It will have been already seen, that we have no right to refuse baptism to children actually adopted by Christians, provided those or other Christians become their securities.

8th. With regard to the case of children thus adopted, when past the age of six years, and on the marks of conversion which may then be required in them, it appears that at this age a child who has not, from its earliest infancy, enjoyed a Christian education, can seldom know much of Christianity. Such may be admitted as infants, with proper sponsors, and it may very often be desirable thus to admit them. It is not easy to fix an age at which infancy ceases, which must depend on intellect, opportunity, and many other considerations. "In subjects capace," conversion is doubtless required; and where capacity may be soon expected, it is generally desirable to wait. But in cases of sickness, or where

previous to this he went to hear the Tamul service in the Portuguese church, and I accompanied him, between the English services, to the Cingalese church, in both which he pronounced the benediction in the respective languages. The Dutch church, in which the Cingalese service is performed, is very handsome internally as well as externally. The language is not a pleasant one; it is read in a recitative tone, and the use of the affixes which I have mentioned, added to its being in itself a voluminous language,

any good or charitable end is answered by the immediate baptism of such children, and where, as before, sufficient securities are present, it appears that we are not warranted in denying them God's ordinance.

9th. The Church of Rome, though grievously corrupted, is nevertheless a part of the visible Church of Christ; we may not therefore repel the children of such parents from baptism, if they are vouched for by their sponsors in the words of our service; which it may be noticed are wisely so framed as to contain nothing but those points on which all Christians are agreed. The direction at the end to teach our Church Catechism is a counsel from us to the sponsors, no engagement entered into by them. It follows that we are not to refuse baptism to the children of Roman Catholic parents, with sufficient Protestant sponsors; I even doubt whether we are at liberty even with sponsors of their parents' sect.

But in all these questions I cannot forbear observing, that we may remark the wisdom of that primitive institution (which our Church has wisely retained) of godfathers and godmothers, as affording a way of receiving into the flock of Christ those children for whose education their own parents cannot satisfactorily answer. An ignorant or immoral father may be himself, for the present, irreclaimable; but we may always insist that the sureties whom he adduces should be competently informed, and of a life not openly immoral. And though the decay of discipline in our own country has grievously impaired the value of such sponsors, yet a missionary among the heathen both may and ought in this respect to exercise a sound discretion, both examining with mildness, informing with patience, and with firmness and temper deciding on the knowledge, faith, and holiness of those who themselves undertake to be the guides of the blind, and to sow the seeds of knowledge, holiness, and faith, in the hearts of the young candidates for salvation.

That God, my reverend brethren, may increase and strengthen you in these and all other gifts of his Spirit through his Son, and that both here and hereafter his blessings may largely follow your labours, is the prayer of

Your affectionate friend and servant,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

made the service extremely long. The congregation was not numerous: for some reason the church had been shut up for a few weeks, and the notice given was too short to allow of a larger number being assembled. It was composed principally of the moodeliers of Colombo, the children of a small school, some of the lower classes, and four or five very pretty girls, evidently of good families. Their dress in shape resembled that worn by the Portuguese Christians in Calcutta; but the petticoat and loose body were made of the finest muslin and silk, trimmed with lace, while their long black hair was turned up à la Grecque, and fastened with gold ornaments. The ayahs who attended them had ornaments of similar shapes, but made of silver or tortoiseshell. These girls amused themselves, during the greater part of the service, by playing with their rings, and beckoning to their attendants either to talk to them, to re-arrange some part of their dress, or to pick up their rings when they fell, quite unchecked by a respectable old gover-nante who was with them, and who, as well as the rest of the congregation, appeared very devout and attentive.

September 12.—The Bishop attended a meeting in Colombo, for the purpose of establishing a new committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and we afterwards dined at the King's house. Mr. Glenie has very kindly given us the use of a pretty little open carriage of his own invention, in which we make many excursions; we have also the daily use of the governor's saddle-horses, and Emily has a quiet pony for her riding.

September 12.—The Bishop held a Confirmation, which was very numerously attended both by natives and Europeans; unfortunately, I was too unwell to attend it, or to join the clergy who dined with us afterwards; but he was much pleased with the number, appearance, and behaviour of the candidates; the Malay girls, in their long flowing white veils, formed a particularly interesting group, and they all seemed much impressed with the ceremony.

September 14.—We set out at four o'clock this morning, on an excursion to Candy, leaving Emily, by Dr. Farrel's advice, at St. Sebastian (the name of our bungalow), the country through which we were to travel being at all times of the year rather unfavourable to delicate constitutions. Sir Edward Barnes drove the Bishop in his bandy, Mr. Robinson and I went in a palanquin carriage, and we were accompanied by Captains Hamilton and Dawson, the governor's aides-de-camp, Messrs. Glenie, Wilmot, and Layard, either in bandies or on horseback. About five miles from Colombo we crossed a bridge of boats over the river, which is here of some width; this bridge, as well as the various rest-houses and the whole line of road, was ornamented with palm-branches, fruit, flowers, &c., in the same manner as I have before described. The country, for about twenty-five miles, is flat and cultivated, but the parts immediately adjoining the road are covered with a mass of trees and shrubs, through which we could only have an occasional view; the richness of the verdure, the variety of foliage, and the brilliancy of flowers, however, amply made up for the want of a more extensive prospect. At a rest-house called Veangodde we breakfasted,—it is an upper-roomed bungalow, with a deep verandah all round, and though merely composed of palm-branches and leaves, very sufficiently durable. Smaller bungalows were built round it for the accommodation of single men. Here, for the first time since I left England, I saw honey in the comb; it is found in the forest in great abundance, and is made by a small black bee. The moodelier of this district, Don Solomon Dias Benderlee, had exercised his ingenuity in ornamenting the large bungalow, as well as in erecting a square of four arches in the road before it, in a more elaborate manner than usual. The effect was really beautiful. The Bishop and I made some sketches, and as we wished to have a distant view of the place, a shed was actually built for us, and a road cut through the jungle to it in less than half an hour. The ce-

lerity with which these palm buildings are erected is quite extraordinary; for our present purpose, it was merely a roof of leaves on four posts; but it is the custom in travelling to give notice to the different modeliers, whose business it is to have bungalows built, which answer extremely well for a temporary lodging, though of course in the rains they soon fall to pieces, so cheap is labour in this island, and so ingenious are the natives in such kinds of work. On leaving Veangodde, the country rises gradually, and becomes more and more beautiful every mile: the hills in the interior are steep and lofty, and covered with verdure to their very summits. I more than once fancied they were crowned with ruins, from the singular effect produced by parasitical plants, which grow in the wildest luxuriance, flinging their branches from one tree to another, each of which they in turn destroy, till they form themselves into the shapes of arches, towers, and ruins of all kinds; several of these creepers had, I observed, stretched a solitary branch a distance of about a hundred yards, which had grown to the size of a man's body, and assumed the appearance of twisted cords, but although near the ground, was quite unsupported in its progress from the stem of one tree to its neighbour. These plants add so much to the beauty of the scenery, that one easily forgives the destruction they occasion. From the midst of this verdure, large masses of rock are occasionally projected; but it is quite impossible to describe the scenery. I was occasionally reminded of the opening into the vale of Llangollen, and the new road at Wynnstay; and I hardly knew to which to give the preference. Here, indeed, we miss the Dee, though there is a small river, now barely visible, which during the rains increases to a considerable size, and foams and tumbles over its rocky bed; but the extent of the same kind of country is much greater; the hills are higher, and the magnificence of the trees, and general beauty of the foliage and flowers, far surpass anything in my native land. I looked in vain for

a wild elephant; these animals are driven by the approach of man further into the interior, and seldom appear, except at night, when it is reckoned dangerous to travel without an escort and lights. Formerly there was an elephant-hunt every year, when numbers were taken and purchased for purposes of state by the petty rajahs in Western and Central India; but since their power has ceased, the demand for them no longer exists, and their numbers increase so much as to be very destructive to the rice fields. Elephant shooting is a favourite amusement with the European inhabitants, and a good shot will bring one down with a single iron bullet. It is, however, dangerous to fire with one barrel only loaded, as should the animal be wounded it turns upon its pursuer; and, unless assistance is at hand, the consequences are generally fatal. In one instance of this sort, however, after the poor man had been tossed to some distance by the elephant's trunk, and had actually felt the pressure of its knee upon his body, some unknown cause induced it to change its mind, and it walked off, leaving the man but little hurt. An acquaintance of ours saved his life under similar circumstances, by dodging from one tree to another till he was within reach of help, his own native servants, though with weapons in their hands, having run away on seeing his danger. A herd is seldom formidable unless attacked; but it is very dangerous to fall in with an old male animal, living by himself. There are very few used in the island either for military purposes or for riding, the expense of keeping them is so great; they are small, but are reckoned stronger and more hardy than those on the continent, and are generally better tempered. The Cingalese, indeed, affect to say that their superiority is acknowledged by all other elephants, who salam to them as they pass.

The new road from Colombo to Candy has been recently opened by Sir E. Barnes, and indeed is not yet quite completed. It is a noble work, and has been executed with immense labour, as

well from the nature of the country, as the almost impenetrable jungle through which it passes. Captain Dawson was three months in tracing the line, and frequently gave up the work in despair:—he had often to creep along the beds of torrents, to enable him to make any progress through the mass of underwood with which the mountains are covered. The country is very unhealthy, and during the greater part of the year it is reckoned unsafe even to travel through it. Before the road was opened, it was a work of six or seven days to go from Colombo to Candy; it may now be done with ease, having relays of horses, in one, and the danger of sleeping by the way is avoided. The old road lay through the seven Corles, a distance of eighty-five miles, through a tract more open, but far more unhealthy. It is singular that it is not where the jungle is thickest that malaria most prevails, but the banks of rivers running swift and clear over a rocky bottom are more liable to fever than any other places. In a valley, near the roadside, I saw a cobra guana; it is an animal of the lizard kind, with a very long tail, so closely resembling an alligator, that I at first mistook it for one, and was surprised to see a herd of buffaloes grazing peacefully round it. It is perfectly harmless, but if attacked will give a man a severe blow with its tail. Sir Edward Barnes told me that its flesh is reckoned a delicacy in the West Indies.

At Warakapole, about half-way from Colombo, we were met by a very extraordinary personage, the second Adigar of Candy, followed by a numerous retinue, and preceded by one man carrying a crooked silver rod, and by another with a long whip, which he cracked at times with great vehemence: this is considered a mark of dignity among the Candians. There are two "Adigars," or ministers, the first of whom is entitled to have nine, and the second seven, of these whips cracked before him whenever he goes out; but since our conquest of their province their dignity has diminished, and they can no longer afford so many noisy attributes of rank. This man was very handsomely dressed,

but his costume certainly the most extraordinary I ever saw; his turban, for here men begin to cover their heads, was richly ornamented with gold, intended to resemble a crown, but far more like an old toilette pincushion, a white muslin body, with immense sleeves like wings, ornamented with gold buttons, a drapery of gold-flowered muslin, a broad gold band round his waist, and, as rank is here marked by the quantity as well as quality of their dress, he wore the finest muslin, swelled out round the hips by six or seven topettees, put on one above the other, which increased them to an immense circumference, while his hands were covered with rings of rubies, set in a circle of more than two inches in diameter. Sir Edward Barnes and the Bishop got out to meet him, and shake him by both hands, and the former then brought him to me for the same ceremony. He was carried in a dhoolie, richly ornamented, and followed us to Ootian Candy, where we dined and slept.

For the latter part of the way we had to ascend a steep hill amid mountain scenery of great magnificence; the rocks on the summits of the highest had all the appearance of fortresses, and the deception was, in one instance, singularly heightened by the circumstance of one of the creepers I mentioned having thrown itself across a chasm, just below the walls of the imaginary fortress, like a drawbridge. The valleys between the hills are cultivated with rice; and indeed it is in these mountainous regions, I am told, that the greatest quantity is grown, on account of the facilities they afford for irrigation. The fields in which it is sown are dammed up, and form a succession of terraces, the plant in each, perhaps, being in a different stage of growth. Sometimes the water is conveyed for a mile or two along the side of a mountain, and it is let off from one terrace to another, as the state of the grain requires it. The verdure of the young rice is particularly fine, and the fields are really a beautiful sight when surrounded by and contrasted with the magnificent mountain scenery. The

island, however, does not produce rice enough for its own consumption, and a good deal is annually imported from Bengal.

I have observed that all the bridges on this road which are finished are covered over, and furnished with benches, forming a kind of serai for the foot passenger; a most humane plan in such a country as this.

At Ootian Candy we found several bungalows just built; that allotted to us consisted of three good-sized rooms, verandahed all round, but the night was hot, and we got little sleep.

September 15.—The carriages and horses having been sent on to cross the river on rafts, we followed at a very early hour in palanquins, and after passing it, mounted our horses to ride up a long and steep pass. The road, which must have been constructed with immense labour, winds up the side of a mountain covered with thick jungle and magnificent forest-trees; among the latter, the ebony-tree, the iron and the thief trees were pointed out to us; the former with a tall, black, slender stem spotted with white; the iron-tree black and hard, as its name denotes; and the last, rising with a straight white stem to a great height, singularly contrasted with the deep verdure round it: it bears no branches till the very top, when it throws out a few irregular stag-shaped boughs. A great deal of the furniture in Ceylon is made of ebony, as well as of the calamander-tree, a few of which were pointed out to us, but which is become scarce from the improvident use formerly made of it. The thief-tree is good for nothing but fuel. There were many other varieties, but their native names have escaped my memory. These woods swarm with monkeys of every sort, which we saw and heard in all directions. A small black monkey, a larger one with a white face, and a very small and pretty white one, are the mots common.

From this part of the road, Adam's Peak, lying to the east, is visible; it is the highest mountain in Ceylon, about 8000 feet above the level of the sea, and has seldom been ascended, not so much

from its height as from the difficulty of the latter part of the ascent, which is quite perpendicular; two ladies, however, have been among the few adventurers, and got up by means of chains and pulleys. The Mussulmans have a tradition that Adam, when driven out of Paradise, alighted upon the Peak, and a mark, which bears a resemblance to a human foot, is supposed to be the impression made by him while expiating his crime, by standing on one foot till his sins were forgiven.

About two-thirds of the way up this pass, called Kadooganarvon, we breakfasted in a spot of singular and romantic beauty, of which I endeavoured to convey some idea in a sketch, but it is scenery to which only a very good oil-painting can do justice. We were here met by other Candians, of inferior rank to the adigar, as denoted by their inferior number of petticoats, but with the same sort of costume; one named Looko Banda was on horseback, and accompanied us the remaining part of the way; he was quite an Eastern dandy, rode well, and was evidently proud of his horsemanship, but his flowing garments were ill-adapted for riding. In the days of the Kings of Candy, horses were an appendage to royalty, and none were found in their territories save in the royal stables. After breakfast we remounted, and proceeded to the top of the pass, from whence the view towards Candy was superb; but the sun had now been for some hours above the horizon, and we were glad to get into the shelter of our carriages. Three miles farther we again crossed a river in boats; the scenery in this valley had lost much of its magnificent character, but it was very pretty, dry, comparatively free from jungle, and cultivated, the river running over a bed of rock, and yet it is one of the most deadly spots in the neighbourhood during the unhealthy season. Near this place are the botanical gardens, which we hope to see on our return. On the opposite bank we were met by the first adigar in great splendour, preceded by the silver rod, two men cracking their whips, and followed by a suwarree of elephants, music, and dancers; one of

the elephants was kept at a distance, being mad, as they termed it, meaning that he would immediately attack his companions if suffered to come near them.

A distance of three miles brought us to Candy, surrounded by woody hills some two thousand feet high. The town is larger than I expected, the streets broad and handsome, though at present only formed by native houses. On this occasion they were lined with plantain-trees, bearing fruit, and decorated with flags and flowers, which gave the town a very gay appearance. We were met at its entrance by the principal European inhabitants, and drove up to a small cluster of bungalows, dignified by the name of the "Pavilion," being the residence of the governor. The principal of these buildings is a remarkably pretty room of a circular form, connected with the others by covered walks, now beautifully decorated with flowers of various sorts, especially that of the areka, a sweet-scented palm. We were here introduced to the officers of the station, and then went to the house of Mr. Sawers, the collector of the district, who had asked us to be his guests during our stay in Candy.

The town of Candy is reckoned healthy, as well as the country for about a mile round, beyond which the Europeans seldom extend their drives; the river Malavigonga almost surrounds it; and the malaria, as I have before observed, is peculiarly felt on the shores of rivers. I should think, however, that the great changes in the temperature must be unfriendly to many constitutions; and, indeed, I have since been told that pulmonary complaints are frequent. After an extremely hot day, the night was so cold as to make a good blanket, and sleeping with closed windows, very desirable, and even then I awoke chilly. The house we were in, a lower-roomed one, stands at the foot of a hill covered with jungle, in which I heard parrots, monkeys, and jungle-fowl; it also abounds with the smaller beasts of prey, and Mr. Sawers told me, that the night before our arrival, he was awoke by some animal scratching at

his door, which he supposed was a dog, but the track through his garden in the morning proved it to have been a "cheta," or small leopard. The royal tiger is not found in the island, but bears, leopards, hyænas, jackals, and tiger-cats are numerous, besides elks, wild hogs, buffaloes, deer, &c. &c.; and near Jaffna, at the northern extremity, a large baboon is very common and fearless. An acquaintance of ours having, on one occasion, shot at a young one, the mother came boldly up and wrested the gun out of his hand without doing him any injury. The ouran-outang is unknown.

September 16.—We were visited by all the European society of the city, and by many of the Candian chiefs in their extraordinary state dresses; a drawing given me by Looko Banda, and done by himself, showing a good deal of uncultivated genius, represents them in three different costumes, but, even in the undress, preserving the same enormous circumference of hip as on state occasions. The Bishop had a deputation of the Buddhist priests to wait upon him, of various ages, and all dressed in long yellow robes, their sacred colour, with the right arm and shoulder bare, and their heads and eyebrows closely shaven. Not long ago these holy men would not enter a room with a woman, or even look at her if they met by accident; now, however, they are not so scrupulous: and although the elder of the party, who seemed the principal, never turned his eyes towards me, his followers looked at me, over the round fan which they all carried, with much curiosity. The Bishop, by means of an interpreter, held a long conversation with them, and ascertained that they were of the same sect with the Jains, whose temples he had frequently visited in various parts of India, and which he had always suspected, though the latter had denied their identity. The senior priest read, or rather chanted, a few lines out of one of their sacred books; in sound it is rather a pleasing language, but almost all their principal words end in a burden of hum, hum, hum,—musical certainly, but excessively tedious.

I have been much interested by an account I have just heard of a tribe of wild men, called the "Veddahs," or hunters, who live in the recesses of the forests; they are found in various parts, but are most numerous in the district of Vedahratte, from whence they derive their name, on the south-east side, towards Trincomalee; there are, it seems, two tribes of these people, the village and the forest Veddah, but they profess to hold no intercourse with each other. Those of the forest live entirely by the chase and on fruits, and never cultivate the ground; they have no habitations, but usually sleep under the trees, and when alarmed climb them for safety; they use bows and arrows, and steal up close to their game before they shoot; they track the animal, if only wounded, by its blood till they come sufficiently near to take aim a second time. As the forests abound with deer, &c., they live well, and some of the caste will occasionally come down into the villages to barter their game for rice, iron, and cloth; their language is a dialect of the Cingalese. They believe in evil spirits, but have no notion of a God, or of a state of future rewards and punishments, and consider it to be a matter of perfect indifference whether they do evil or good. The village Veddahs have many traits in common with their more savage brethren, but they live in huts, and cultivate the ground, though they also seek their principal subsistence in the forests. In themselves they are a peaceable tribe, never commencing, but easily prevailed on to join in any insurrection, and, during the Candian sovereignty, were frequently employed as mercenary troops in commotions in the interior. Sir Edward Barnes made an attempt to civilize the wilder tribe, by having some of them brought down into the plains; giving them food, clothes, &c.; he also gave prizes for the best shot among them with the bow and arrow, but they seldom hit the mark even at a moderate distance; their custom of stealing close upon their prey before they shoot will account for this. Although these men liked their treatment

so much as to be unwilling to return to their forests, no further good seems to have followed from the experiment.

We took a very beautiful ride this evening, setting out by the borders of a small lake near the centre of the town, which is said in a great measure to occasion its salubrity; it was formed out of a morass by the last king. A quarter of an hour's ride brought us to one of the most magnificent and striking views which I ever beheld; an immense amphitheatre lay before us, of which the boundaries were lofty mountains of every form, covered more than half-way to their summits with foliage; Doomberra Peak (its native name is Hoonisgirikandy), about six thousand feet high, lay partly buried in clouds; the plain beneath us was like the most cultivated park scenery, with the river running over rocks through its centre; the only thing wanted to complete the picture, and which the eye sought in vain, was a vestige of human life: nothing but an occasional Hindoo temple was to be seen in places where noblemen's seats might well have stood. Native huts there doubtless were; for, besides that the Candian district is populous, the coco-palm, of which a few clumps were seen, pointed them out: villages are universally marked by these trees, which are not elsewhere common in the provinces; but till one is close upon them, the huts are not to be distinguished from the surrounding jungle, so that the whole country looked like a glorious desert. The banks of the river, along which we rode some distance, are here, as elsewhere, the most productive of fever; it is called the "Candian fever," and appears to be an intermittent, which arrives at its height on the eleventh day, and, like all others of the sort in a tropical climate, is liable to return at any period. Beyond the mountains the country is even said to be more baneful and dangerous to travel through; but, from the want of roads, little intercourse is kept up further in the interior. We returned home long after the sun had set, which here is speedily followed by darkness, our road illuminated by myriads of

fire-flies, larger and more brilliant than any which I have before seen in India; accustomed as I have now been for two years to these insects, I could not avoid a momentary start as they lit upon me, so perfectly do they resemble sparks of fire. The air, after very great heat, had cooled so rapidly as to make me glad to button up my habit; but it was very delightful, and I have not often enjoyed a ride more.

We dined in the king's palace with Mr. and Mrs. Downing. This is a very long low building, at the extremity of the town, painted white, with stone gateways; its front extending nearly two hundred yards; a hexagonal building of two stories terminates it at one end, in which we were received; the rooms we saw are small and low, with curious grotesque figures carved on the walls. Here the monarch used to show himself in state to his people, with a wife on either hand; for, though the Candian females of rank have seldom been seen by Europeans, they were not before the conquest kept in seclusion. At the other end of the palace are the women's apartments.

The horrible practice of female infanticide still prevails in some districts of the island; in the last general census, taken in 1821, the number of males exceeded by twenty thousand that of females; in one district there were to every hundred men but fifty-five women, and in those parts where the numbers were equal, the population was almost exclusively Mussulman. The strange custom of one woman having two, or even more, husbands, and the consequent difficulty of marrying their daughters, in a country where to live single is disgraceful, seem to be the causes of this unnatural custom. An astrologer is consulted on the birth of a female child, and if he pronounces her to have been born under evil auspices, she is exposed alive in the woods to be destroyed by beasts of prey or by ants, generally, I was happy to hear, without the consent of the mother.

September 17.—We visited this morning some of the Buddhist temples; the principal one, which contains the re-

cumbent figure of Buddh, is a square building, with sixteen pillars of masonry supporting the roof. The figure is of a colossal size, about thirty feet long, cut out of the rock, and there are several small figures placed round it, some in the common attitude of sitting with the legs crossed, others standing; many of them are painted a bright yellow, and the ceiling and walls are also of the most glaring colours; strong smelling flowers were, as usual, ranged as an offering before the image; and in the same row with the smaller ones were placed two bells, the sacred symbol, covered up with great care. Although the priests touched them with reverence, they showed no reluctance to uncover them for our gratification.

Adjoining this is a smaller temple, enclosing another image of Buddh, in the sitting posture, of human proportions, and carved with considerable skill; the countenance is pleasing, with some resemblance to the Cingalese. Many images surround him in relief; one is of Siva, with four arms and his usual attributes of the lotus and the cobra de capello; some crocodiles surrounding the figure of Buddh would seem to prove a connection between his worship and the Egyptian idolatry. The Cingalese colour the statues of their gods, and give a pupil to the eye, which last ceremony is supposed to confer a superior degree of holiness, and is done with much mystery and solemnity. Some smaller figures of Buddh are very neatly executed in brass and copper; indeed the natives seem to have a remarkable talent for carving, considering how very few their opportunities for improvement can be.

In another temple we were shown, with extraordinary reverence, some relics of bone taken out of Raja Singh's tomb at the time of our occupation of Candy, when all the royal tombs were broken open, and gold and jewels of considerable value found. The cemetery immediately adjoins this temple; the tombs are of stone, meanly enough sculptured, and much injured by the violence used in forcing them open; the kings' and queens' stand on opposite sides, and there is little to recommend

the spot except some noble peepul-trees overhanging the tombs, which prove the royal family to have been Hindoos. The temples in Candy are very numerous, as they were considered indispensable appendages to great men's houses; lights are kept burning in the greater number, and the heat, added to the strong perfume of the flowers, makes it very unpleasant to remain in them for more than a few minutes. The famous one containing the tooth of Buddha we had not time to visit, but we were shown a facsimile of the precious relic, more like a wild beast's tusk than a human tooth; it is kept in a golden case, set with precious stones, and this is enclosed within four others, all of gold and increasing in size, and all studded with jewels; no relic was ever more sumptuously enshrined, or more devoutly worshipped. When we obtained possession of it, the Candians submitted quietly to our rule, believing that its owners have an undisputed title to their crown.

Adjoining the lake, in the centre of the town, is a Buddhist college, where forty priests live under strict discipline, chiefly occupied in religious duties and in teaching; their houses are of the best sort in Candy, of one story, with clay walls and tiled. Two temples and a large room for their meetings are within the enclosure of the monastery, the roof of the latter of which is supported by immense pillars, each of a single stone, near twenty feet high. From within these walls, which are close to Mr. Sawers' house, the sounds of the tom-tom and gongs beat in honour of the idol are perpetually heard.

But to return to our morning's excursion: from the cemetery we visited the new Mission School, just erected, on a hill immediately opposite to it, under the care of Mr. Browning, the only missionary at present here; the Bishop heard the children read and repeat their lessons in English, Malabar, and Cingalese; he was exceedingly pleased with their progress, and with the establishment altogether; it was, indeed, an interesting sight; the children looked happy, anxious to say their lessons, and very proud when they re-

ceived commendation. There was one little boy who particularly attracted my attention by the eager way in which, after the Bishop had examined him, he brought his book to me. I could only understand the English, but this he read fluently, and appeared to understand. The situation of the school is well chosen, and very beautiful; and the whole establishment the Bishop considered as well conducted and of great promise. There are two other schools, altogether containing from eighty-five to ninety children, which I was too much tired to accompany the Bishop to visit; he spoke favourably of both.

In the evening we accompanied the governor to the tunnel which he has recently had cut through a hill of considerable height, over which the road was formerly carried from the ferry into Candy. Its length is nearly five hundred feet, with sufficient height and width to admit of carriages passing through it. From thence we descended to the river, through most beautiful scenery. It really is melancholy to see so lovely a country rendered almost uninhabitable during the greatest part of the year, in some places even to the natives, by the pestilential malaria. We passed the ruins of a small village, which an engineer officer told me was last year entirely dispeopled by fever. He had built it for the accommodation of a gang of workmen, who were employed in erecting a bridge; and, on his return, after a very short absence, found it a desert, all its inhabitants having either died, or fled to preserve their lives. Most of the workmen employed by Government here are Caffres. The first generation appear to stand the climate well, but their children are very liable to pulmonary affections. From the river we ascended by a path-way barely four feet wide, which led us a distance of two miles round the side of a hill till we emerged again on the great road leading to Colombo. This path is cut through thick jungle, with the river running through the valley, which is here very narrow, at a considerable depth below us. It was extremely beautiful, but the passing

through so thick a mass of foliage affected me towards the end of the ride with a feeling of sickness and suffocation, which gave me a very good notion of what the country must be during the unhealthy season. Repassing the tunnel, Sir Edward Barnes made the Caffres set up a yell, which, reverberating against its roofs and sides, had a most savage, wild effect. Again we were lit home by fire-flies, and I saw a solitary glowworm, of a size and brilliancy far exceeding those of England: they are not common in India.

We met a large party at the pavilion in the evening. The Candian market is miserably supplied: poultry is nearly all imported from Goa and Cochin; sheep soon rot and die off in the luxuriant pasture; and beef, though in most places reckoned fine, is not always good here. The woods supply them with venison and game of all sorts, but the former is seldom fat. In the governor's garden a few English vegetables are brought to some perfection, but, generally speaking, even here they succeed ill; and the top of the coco-palm is the only good indigenous one I have seen, and as this is very costly, the tree being killed by cutting it off, it of course is not common.

We have seen a few of the talipot-palms, but not in blossom; the circumference of a single leaf, of which the fans I mentioned are made, is often from twenty-five to thirty feet. A branch of the blossom was brought to me; it resembles that of the palm tribe in general, and is curious merely from the circumstance of the tree never flowering till it is fifty years old, and immediately after dying.

September 18, Sunday.—Early this morning the Bishop held a Confirmation; there were seven native candidates and twenty Europeans; and he afterwards preached at the usual time of morning service. There is no church, but the hall of audience, where the Kings of Candy held their courts, is used as such; it is a long room, of which the wooden pillars, having the lotus carved on their capitals, are the only ornamental parts remaining. It was a most interesting and affecting

sight to see Christian worship performed, and a Christian bishop blessing his congregation, a part of which was native, in the very spot where the most horrid cruelties were exercised not more than ten years ago. How little could such an event at that time have been contemplated! Evening service was performed here for the first time, and by the Bishop's desire it is to be continued. Mr. Perring, the Colonial chaplain, preached. The mission has been established about six years.

After church, I rode with Sir Edward Barnes to the spot where the massacre of two hundred Europeans took place, immediately before the final conquest of Candy. Major Davies, the officer commanding the corps, had, on evacuating the town, a measure in itself, Sir Edward Barnes said, improper and unnecessary, stipulated that the men should be allowed to cross the country in safety to Trincomalee, and that the king should provide them with boats to pass the river. On arriving at its borders, however, no boats were to be seen, and it was then further insisted on that the soldiers should lay down their arms. To this condition Major Davies was infatuated enough to consent, although their previous conduct had given him ample reason to suspect the good faith of government. The result was such as might have been anticipated; the men, with the exception of two, who escaped wounded to Trincomalee, were all massacred. Major Davies's life was spared, from a kind of honourable feeling, as being the individual with whom the treaty had been made; but he spent the remainder of his life at Candy, unnoticed by the Europeans, and, at last, adopted the dress and habits of the natives. A half-caste son of his still lives in the place, supported by a small pension from government. A large flat stone, elevated on lesser ones, was shown me as the place whence the king beheld the massacre; and a tree on the spot where the negotiation was held still bears the name of "Major Davies's tree."

On going to the Pavilion in the evening to dinner, we found a large bear, that had just been caught in the

north of the island, fastened before the door: it was black, with a long whitish snout, but it was too dark to examine it very minutely; and as it was merely confined by a rope to a bush, which bent with the struggles it made to get loose, and roared and barked in a furious manner, I was not anxious to become more closely acquainted with it.

Our acquaintance, Looko Banda, generally accompanied us on our evening rides; he was very anxious to introduce his wives and daughters to me, and I was quite as much so to see them; but my time had been so constantly occupied from the moment of my arrival, that I was obliged to leave Candy without visiting them. Our departure took place early in the morning of the 19th. We rode to the Botanical Gardens, the mountains to the east affording shelter from the sun for some hours after he is risen. I saw some very curious plants, among others the Anatto shrub, which stains the finger a bright yellow on bruising it, and is used as a dye by the natives; a species of air plant, which has no root, nor any visible means of obtaining nourishment, and requires to be merely suspended in the open air, sheltered from the sun: when planted, or frequently watered, it dies. The specimen I saw had a small brown sweet-scented blossom, and looked quite healthy. These gardens are only in their infancy, but very flourishing. The death of their superintendent, Mr. Moon, has, for the present, put a stop to their improvement; the situation is beautiful, but being near the river, is not healthy. At Ootian Candy we again slept, and riding to Ballypore, breakfasted at Veangodde, and arrived at St. Sebastian's in a heavy storm of thunder and rain, about five o'clock in the evening of the 20th. We had the happiness of finding Emily perfectly well, and of receiving good accounts of Harriet. We both of us enjoyed the excursion extremely, and only wished for time to have seen more of the beauties of this lovely island.

I was much struck with the almost total absence of small birds in the interior. It is supposed that serpents, with which

the island abounds, destroy the eggs: some destructive agent of this kind there must be, in a place peculiarly adapted for their increase; and this, certainly, seems the most obvious. I saw parrots of various sorts, pigeons, cranes, and heard jungle-fowls and pheasants. Pea-fowls abound in the interior, and the honey-bird, which points out where the bees have built their combs, is found here. There are only four snakes ascertained to be poisonous; the cobra de capello is the most common, but its bite is not so certainly fatal as that of the tic polonga, which destroys life in a few minutes. These are fortunately scarce; experiments have been frequently made on the subtlety of its poison; the first bite will kill a fowl in less than a minute, but frequent repetitions seem to destroy its force, and very considerable provocation is required to make the animal bite, as if it was sensible its power of injury was weakened, or even quite lost. I had a specimen given me by an officer at a small station between Ootian Candy and Kadoogarnarvon Pass; it was a young one, and had not attained the ordinary size of between four and five feet. Its head was nearly triangular, the back of it grey, and under the throat a light yellow. The back was regularly spotted with brown, and the tail short and tapering. It is at all times indolent, and will not attack unless it is irritated. The boa constrictor is occasionally found of the enormous length of thirty feet. The bite is not poisonous, but its size renders it extremely formidable, though the stories of its attacking so large an animal as a buffalo, or even a cheta, seem quite untrue: it preys upon goats, fowls, and the smaller game. Alligators, of a very large size, are numerous in the rivers. The flying leech, which I never heard of before, is very common in the jungles in the interior: and the native troops, on their march to Candy, suffered very severely from their bites, occasionally even to the loss of life or limb: their legs were covered with them, and streamed with blood. I saw one of these animals on a horse's leg; it is much smaller than the com-

mon leech; the largest is, when at rest, not more than half an inch long, and may be extended till it becomes as thin as a fine string. The smaller ones are very minute; they possess the power of springing, by means of a filament, to a considerable distance, and are very annoying to cattle and horses. There are also large black scorpions, lizards, cameleons, &c., &c., and an astonishing variety of insects, with which we are, as yet, but imperfectly acquainted. The most curious of these are the leaf-insects, which assume the shape, size, and general appearance of the leaf on which they feed so exactly, that it is only on examination one becomes aware of their real character. I saw several, but the most extraordinary was one which lived on a thorny plant, the body of which resembled a stick, and was covered with thorns, like the shrub. I have had several of these given me, together with a black scorpion, and some other insects in spirits, which I hope some day or other to take home; and I have also collected and dried as many flowers as came within my reach.

The precious stones, for which Ceylon is famous, are reckoned less valuable than those of the western continent. The emerald is, perhaps, the only one not found in the island; the amethyst is the most common; and on the old road to Candy, through the Seven Corles, large pieces are often struck out by horses' hoofs, but they are seldom found without a flaw. The cat's-eye and the sapphire, when of a large size, are beautiful and very valuable: the topaz, ruby, tormaline, diamond, and various others, are also found in most abundance in the district of Matura. A kind friend has procured me specimens of all in their rough state, which I consider a valuable acquisition. The cinnamon-stone is, I believe, peculiar to Ceylon, and is probably so called from its colour resembling that of the cinnamon leaf on its first appearance. The natives set them with great neatness, and with means apparently very inadequate to the work. The fruits seem to me very much the same as those of India, with

the addition of the mangosteen, but this is now out of season.

September 23.—We left Colombo* early this morning in the governor's carriage, having bid adieu the preceding evening to him and Lady Barnes, which

* The following address from the acting Archdeacon and Clergy of Colombo was sent to the Bishop previous to his leaving Colombo.

"To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

"May it please your Lordship,

"We, the acting Archdeacon and Clergy of this archdeaconry, acknowledge with thankfulness the benefits we have received from your Lordship's visitation of this part of your diocese. We ascribe it to the Father of lights, from whom every good and every perfect gift cometh, that your Lordship has been made His chosen instrument, as we trust, for promoting the spiritual benefit as well of the clergy over whom He has appointed you overseer, as of all orders of men who have come within the sphere of your Lordship's influence.

"We feel it necessary, my Lord, to restrain the full utterance of our feelings on this occasion, but we must beg to be allowed to express our ardent hopes that your devoted piety, your unwearied zeal, your judicious counsels, and your most conciliatory kindness, may have produced in us desires, not ineffectual, to press forward ourselves also in our holy vocation.

"The encouragement we have unitedly derived from your Lordship's presence among us tends greatly to strengthen our hands. In the consciousness that, by the gracious providence of our heavenly Father, we have collectively and individually the same wise and affectionate counsellor, and in recognizing this tie that connects us with your Lordship, we feel more than ever that we are fellow-labourers together, peculiarly called upon to bear one another's burdens, and to provoke one another to love and to good works.

"In conclusion, my Lord, we pray that the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls may still more richly endow you with His heavenly grace, strengthening you for the great work to which he has called you, prolonging your valuable life for the good of His Church and people, and at length, after having honoured you as His servant to gather into His fold great numbers from among these Eastern nations, may give you, together with them, an abundant entrance into His heavenly kingdom.

"JAMES M. S. GLENIE, Acting Archdeacon.

H. GARTSTIN, Colonial Chaplain.

A. ARMOUR, Colonial Chaplain.

J. H. D. SARUM, Colonial Chaplain.

SAMUEL LAMBRICK, Church Missionary.

JOSEPH KNIGHT, Church Missionary.

C. DAVID, Colonial Chaplain.

"Colombo, September 22, 1825."

we did with much regret, for we have received great and invariable kindness from both; indeed, the hospitality which we have met with from the society of Colombo in general has been very gratifying: and we look forward with pleasure to a renewal of our visit, which we hope to effect for a short period next year, if the season should be favourable for a voyage to Jaffna, which the Bishop purposes visiting from the coast.

At Paltura we again were driven by Mr. Rodney to Caltura, where, in a very pretty bungalow, belonging to Mr. Layard, commanding a beautiful view of the river and the sea, we breakfasted. The rivers in Ceylon are very seldom navigable far inland; during the dry season there is not a sufficient depth of water, and in the rains they rise so rapidly from the mountain torrents, that it is dangerous to venture on them. On those near Colombo, we were told that some hundred flat-bottomed boats were moored for the purpose of fishing, in which large families resided, who had no other dwellings; all the rivers and lakes, as well as the sea, abound with fish. We spent some hours very agreeably with Mr. Layard, eat our tiffin with Mr. and Mrs. Rodney, and then proceeded to Ben Totte, where we again passed the night.

September 24.—Long before day-break we were on our way to Baddage. At Amblangodde we breakfasted, and at Kennerly left the main road, and wound through very narrow paths, and over broken bridges, scarcely passable even to a palanquin, across a flat swampy country, till we arrived at the first river which we had crossed on leaving Galle, but some miles higher up. The country then improved into great beauty, and at the end of about two miles we came within sight of a church on the summit of a hill, with the house of one of the missionaries, Mr. Mayor, immediately adjoining it, and that of Mr. Ward on another eminence close to it, forming altogether a landscape of singular and interesting beauty. We ascended by a steep road to Mr. Mayor's, where we found the families of the two missionaries, and

some of our friends from Galle, awaiting our arrival. At the foot of this hill, the river we had recently crossed winds through what has the appearance of a richly-dressed lawn, while all around rise mountains, one above the other, to a considerable height, and in an endless variety of shape. On our right was the church, a very pretty building, and behind us stood Mr. Ward's house. The whole scene was peculiarly interesting. Here we found two very young men, with their wives and children, separated from all European society by many miles of country impassable, save in two directions, even to palanquins, devoting themselves entirely to the service of their Maker, in spreading his religion among the heathen, and in the education of their families. The two families, indeed, seem to form but one household, living together in Christian fellowship, and with no other object but to serve their God, and do their duty to their neighbour. I have seldom been more gratified, I may say affected, than by this sight. I am aware how strong a prejudice there exists in many quarters to missions in general, but I felt that if one of their strongest opponents could have witnessed what I then did, and could have informed himself of the real good that is doing (not here alone, but by the other missionaries in the island) by the silent, judicious, and unwearied labours of these good men, his opposition must have ceased. Mr. Mayor, who is son to our neighbour at Shawbury, was originally brought up in the medical line, and passed a very good examination; his surgical and medical knowledge are invaluable to himself and his neighbours, so far removed as they are from all assistance; and even during the short time we were his guests, we found their use in a sudden attack our little girl had, brought on by fatigue and over-exertion.

September 25, Sunday.—The Bishop consecrated the church and afterwards the burial-ground this morning: almost all the European residents from Galle and a great number of natives were assembled to witness the ceremony; and,

I think, the peculiar circumstances under which it was performed must have rendered it highly interesting to the greater part of the congregation; at least, if I may judge of their feelings by my own. The Bishop preached, and in the afternoon confirmed thirteen persons, all of whom, save three, were Cingalese; making, together with five who had been previously confirmed at Galle, fifteen recently converted natives in this mission, four of whom received the Sacrament.

In the evening the Bishop examined some of the scholars, and heard them read and construe a chapter of the New Testament from English into Cingalese. This station has been established six years, and if the lives of the missionaries are spared, there is every reasonable hope, with God's blessing, of its being productive of extensive good.

September 26.—We left Baddagame in palanquins, along the banks of the river, which was too much swollen by heavy rains, lately fallen, to admit of our going in boats; indeed the track was in some parts covered with water, so deep that it nearly entered my palanquin, and was very fatiguing to the poor bearers. In the afternoon we arrived at Galle, and resumed our former apartments at Mr. Sansoni's.

In the expectation of being able to sail to-morrow, the Bishop set off immediately to visit Mrs. Gisborne's school. My poor little girl was still suffering under the effects of her recent attack at Baddagame, which prevented my accompanying him; this I very much regretted, when, on his return, he gave me an account of the establishment, which had pleased him very much, and which reflected great credit on Mrs. Gisborne's good sense and good management.

We were detained two days at Galle by unfavourable winds, for it is impossible to leave the harbour unless it blows from a particular quarter.

Early in the morning of the 29th we re-embarked, our party being augmented by a son of Mr. Layard's, and one of Captain Driburgh's (the commandant at Galle), the latter of whom

was on his way to Bishop's College, as one of the new students.

Our visit to Ceylon has afforded us very great pleasure and interest, from its agreeable society, the beauty of its scenery, its curiosities, and, far above all, from the religious state of the native inhabitants. I have heard it said, that the number of Christians on the coast, and amongst our settlements, do not fall far short of half a million; very many of these, undoubtedly, are merely nominally such, who have no objection to attend our church, and even would, if they were allowed, partake without scruple in her rites; and then, perhaps, the same evening, offer a propitiatory sacrifice to the devil! Still, the number of real Christians is very considerable; the congregations in the native churches are good; and the numbers who came for confirmation (none were, of course, admitted of whose fitness their ministers were not well convinced) was extremely gratifying. I think the Bishop confirmed above three hundred.

The Church Missionary Society has four stations,—Nellore, Baddagame, Cotta, and Candy, supplied at present with but six missionaries: were its funds sufficient, there would, perhaps, be no limits to which its beneficial effects might not extend; but the island is too poor to do much for itself, and must mainly depend on its friends at home for assistance. Caste exists in considerable force, but it is, perhaps, more political than religious caste. That of the Chaliers I have already mentioned; there is another, yet lower, called "Rhoders," whose tribe was originally degraded for eating beef; their women are fortune-tellers; a large proportion of the Cingalese are, however, on an equality in this respect, and have no objection to following any liberal profession. At Candy the population is scrupulously divided into castes, which include all the different ranks and professions; but there is one caste quite excluded from all intercourse with their countrymen. The name I have forgotten, but I was told that they lived in the deepest misery, from which no good behaviour on their

part could raise them. On meeting a Candian of any rank they are forced to pay him the same reverence that this last would do to his king.

The worship of Buddh is the prevailing religion in Candy, as well as in other parts of the island, and there are also among the Candians some nominal Christians, who use his doctrines as a charm against evil spirits; this province has, however, been for too short a time under Christian government, to expect any very considerable effects from our intercourse with its natives.

The Candians are a much handsomer and finer race than the Cingalese, the latter of whom are short and slightly made, with countenances a good deal resembling the images of Buddh. In our journey to Candy I was much pleased with the readiness and zeal with which the men used to push the carriages up the steep hills, or hold them back in their descent. On the coast there is a great mixture of inhabitants, descendants of the Dutch and Portuguese as well as Malays, and many others from the continent. There are Mussulmans and Hindoos in all parts, but no great proportion of the latter.

The climate on the south and southwest coast is particularly fine for a tropical country: the thermometer at

Colombo ranges from 75° to 86° or 87° , seldom exceeding the latter, though so near the line. This is partly to be attributed to the constant sea-breezes, and partly to its sharing in the winds and rains of the two monsoons which blow at different periods on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. It is not generally injurious to European constitutions either there or to the north; and I have seen several individuals, apparently in the enjoyment of health, though without colour, who have never been out of the island. Last year Ceylon suffered from sickness, in common with all India, very severely, which only ceased when the rains set in, they having been preceded by an unusual drought.

Sir Edward Barnes interests himself much in the improvement of the natives; the roads which he is making must contribute essentially to their prosperity and comfort, and he is attempting to introduce among them the system of entail; at present property is subdivided into the minutest portions, even to the coco-tree, the 154th part of one of which I have seen advertised for sale. While this custom, with that of forced labour, lasts, the island must be poor; in fact, glorious as it is by nature, it has as yet had very few of the advantages of civilization.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CALCUTTA TO SADRAS.

Voyage—Invalid Officers and Soldiers from Rangoon—Catamarans—Madras—Schools—Native Christians—Visit to Prince Azeem Khân—Sir Thomas Munro—St. Thomas's Mount—Maha-Balipoor—Sadras.

JANUARY 30, 1826.—I again left, with a heavy heart, my dear wife and children, for the visitation of Madras and the south of India. I was accompanied by my chaplain, Mr. Robinson, and went down by boat to Fultah, a village about twenty-five miles from Calcutta, where is a good tavern kept by a Dutch native of Chinsurah. The village is large and populous; the greater part of the people are engaged either in rearing stock for the ships at Diamond Harbour, or in making straw hats, and other trifling articles, for strangers passing up and down the river. The surrounding country is like all the rest of lower Bengal, green, perfectly level, overflowed annually by the river, and distributed in rice-fields, scattered in patches amid almost interminable groves of fruit-trees and palms. We found it much cooler than Calcutta, and less infested with mosquitoes; but during the greater part of the year both this place and all the country round Diamond Harbour, and thence towards the sea, is intensely unwholesome. Were it otherwise, this would be a good place for a missionary, and has been thought of for that purpose. The population of the whole neighbourhood appears to swarm like an ant-hill, but they are all cottagers; no traces of even moderate wealth appear among them, though their dwellings are clean, and their poverty, to a person acquainted with the few and simple wants of this climate, does not seem abject. Perhaps they do not fare the worse for having the majority of their zemindars non-resident.

February 2.—Having received our summons the preceding evening, and the wind now blowing pleasantly from the north, we proceeded down the noble Ganges, which is here, I should apprehend, eight miles at least in breadth, following the ship to a creek called Barakatallah, a little below Calpee, and diverging from the Ganges into the Sunderbunds.

While anchored at Saugor Point, on the 4th, the steam-vessel *Enterprise* passed us, with dispatches from Frome, and bringing the unwelcome intelligence, though somewhat relieved by the news of a victory, that hostilities had recommenced with the Burmese.

Sunday, February 5.—We proceeded to the Sandheads, and dismissed the pilot. I was glad to learn from him that a poor man, who had once taken us up the river, and got miserably drunk on that occasion, had been greatly impressed by some good advice I had given him, and had since remained a water-drinker. I wish my good counsels were always equally successful!

Our voyage to Madras was tedious, and not over-pleasant; we had a steady and, for this season, a most unusual south-west wind, from the time the pilot left us down to *February 25*, when we with difficulty reached the roads. The Bussorah Merchant had a very fine and orderly crew of British seamen, without a single Lascar. There were also thirty miserable invalid soldiers, with some women and children, going back, with broken health and depraved habits, either to England, or, which seemed most probable with many of

them, to die at sea. These poor people were, apparently, attentive to what Mr. Robinson and I read and prayed, and we took it by turns to visit them once a day. We were not, however, able to flatter ourselves that the impression made was at all deep, and the women, in particular, seemed incorrigible in their drunkenness, though one of them, who was actually and hopelessly dying from this cause, was a fluent talker on religious matters, and had been, she told us, religiously educated, and, while in England, a constant member of Mr. Rowland Hill's congregation.

Nothing can be more foolish, or in its effects more pernicious, than the manner in which spirits are distributed to European troops in India. Early every morning a pint of fiery, coarse, undiluted rum is given to every man, and half that quantity to every woman; this the greater part of the new comers abhor in the first instance, or would, at all events, if left to themselves, mix with water. The ridicule of their seasoned companions, however, deters them from doing so, and a habit of the worst kind of intemperance is acquired in a few weeks, more fatal to the army than the swords of the Jâts, or the climate of the Burmese. If half the quantity of spirit, well watered, were given at a more seasonable hour, and, to compensate for the loss of the rest, a cup of strong coffee allowed to each man every morning, the men would be quite as well pleased, and both their bodies and souls preserved from many dreadful evils. Colonel Williams, of the "Queen's Own," whom we met at Bombay, has tried this experiment with much success, and it might, with a little resolution, be universal throughout the army.

The young sailors were, many of them, very attentive and devout when we visited the soldiers. On Sundays, indeed, all the crew were decent and orderly in their attendance on Divine Service, and the passengers, though a set little less motley than the crew, evinced much readiness to join in family prayer every evening. There was much grievous distress on board. Two officers from Rangoon and Arracan, both gentlemanly young men, the one wasted

by fever to a living skeleton, without use of his legs or arms, carried up and down the ladder to and from table, his eyes almost glazed, and his voice feeble and hollow; the other, who was particularly intelligent and good-tempered, and had the traces of much strength and manly beauty, was covered from head to foot with ulcers, some of which reached quite to his bones. Both these, as well as a third, who was killing himself with dram-drinking, were going home for their health, though the surgeon of the ship expressed great fears that all three would share the fate of a poor baby who died on board, and find their graves before they reached Europe.

Two of the female passengers were also objects of considerable pity; the first being a young widow, whose husband, a small indigo planter, had failed in business, and destroyed himself, and who was now going home, with her child, to live on the charity of some poor relations. The other, a wretched crazy girl, also in an humble rank of life, who had fallen in love with a man in a more elevated station, and who had since hardly spoken at all, but continued crying all day long.

On the whole, what I saw and heard on board the Bussorah Merchant was not calculated to make my voyage one of pleasure, even if I had felt less keenly my separation at Calcutta. It was a comfort to me, however, with regard to this, that the officers on board, who were all well acquainted with Madras and the south of India, coincided in opinion with what we had been previously told, that it would be highly improper for either women or children to travel there at this season of the year.

Our first view of the coast of Coromandel was of some low craggy hills near Pulicat, at some little distance inland. Madras itself is on a level beach, having these hills eight or ten miles to the north, and the insulated rock of St. Thomas about the same distance southward. The buildings and fort, towards the sea, are handsome, though not large, and grievously deficient in shade; the view, however, from the roads, and on landing, is very pretty.

The masuli-boats (which first word is merely a corruption of "muchli," fish) have been often described, and, except that they are sewed together with coco-nut twine, instead of being fastened with nails, they very much resemble the high deep charcoal-boats which are frequently seen on the Ganges. The catamarans, however, I found I had no idea of till I saw them. They are each composed of three coco-tree logs, lashed together, and big enough to carry one, or, at most, two persons. In one of these a small sail is fixed, like those used in Ceylon, and the navigator steers with a little paddle; the float itself is almost entirely sunk in the water, so that the effect is very singular, of a sail sweeping along the surface with a man behind it, and apparently nothing to support them. Those which have no sails are, consequently, invisible, and the men have the appearance of treading water, and performing evolutions with a racket. In very rough weather the men lash themselves to their little rafts, but in ordinary seas they seem, though frequently washed off, to regard such accidents as mere trifles, being naked all but a wax-cloth cap, in which they keep any letters they may have to convey to ships in the roads, and all swimming like fish. Their only danger is from sharks, which are said to abound. These cannot hurt them while on their floats, but woe be to them if they catch them while separated from that defence. Yet, even then, the case is not quite hopeless, since the shark can only attack them from below; and a rapid dive, if not in very deep water, will sometimes save them. I have met an Englishman who thus escaped from a shark which had pursued him for some distance. He was cruelly wounded, and almost dashed to pieces on the rocky bottom against which the surf threw him; but the shark dared not follow, and a few strokes more placed him in safety.

The contrary wind which had so long delayed us, ensured us a peaceable landing, as it blew directly off shore, and the surf was consequently much less than it often is, or than I had

heard it described. It was less than we had seen it in the shore of Ceylon, not merely at Galle, but at Barbereen, and on the beach near Colombo; still it would, I think, have staved the strongest ship's boat; but in boats adapted to the service it had nothing formidable.

We were received on the beach by Captain Grant, the master-attendant, Mr. Gwatkin, the second commissioner of marine, and Mr. Roy, the senior chaplain; and soon after joined by the town-major, Colonel Taylor, who conducted us to a most comfortable house, which Government had provided for my accommodation.

The time which I passed in Madras was so much occupied in getting through a great accumulation of professional duties, as well as in receiving and paying visits, that I had no time to keep a journal. I was pleased with my clergy, and found myself on the most friendly terms with them. The governor and principal civil and military functionaries were more than civil and hospitable; they were most kind and considerate in doing everything which could contribute to my comfort either in Madras or in the preparations for my journey. I confirmed 478 persons in St. George's Church, and about 122 more at Poonamallee, a station about sixteen miles off. My visitation was attended by the archdeacon and fifteen clergymen, including the Church missionaries and those of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. These last being Lutherans, though episcopally ordained in Denmark, Bishop Middleton thought himself precluded from acknowledging as clergymen, forbade them to preach in any but their own churches, and would not admit the young Tamulians, whom they had prepared, for Confirmation. In consequence, I had only a small number of candidates from that nation, and those prepared by the Church missionaries, but Dr. Rottler said that by my return to Madras they should have, probably, 150 ready to attend me.

The principal church in Madras, St. George's, is very beautiful, and the chunam, particularly, of the inside, has

an effect little less striking than the finest marble. The small old church in the fort (St. Mary's) has some good monuments, particularly one erected to the memory of the missionary Schwartz, by the East India Company; and the Scottish church, though of a singular and injudicious form for the purpose of hearing, is a very large and stately building, fitted up with much elegance. Here, as elsewhere in India, I found the Scots clergy extremely well disposed to be on friendly terms with those of England. Mr. Lawrie, the junior minister, was, I think, one of my most constant auditors in the different churches where I preached.

The other buildings of Madras offer nothing very remarkable; the houses all stand in large compounds, scattered over a very great extent of ground, though not quite so widely separated as at Bombay. There are not many upper-roomed houses among them, nor have I seen any of three stories. The soil is, happily, so dry, that people may safely live and sleep on the ground-floor. I do not think that in size of rooms they quite equal those either of Calcutta or Bombay; but they are more elegant, and, to my mind, pleasanter than the majority of either. The compounds are all shaded with trees and divided by hedges of bamboo, or prickly pear; against these hedges several objections have lately been made, on the ground that they intercept the breeze, and contribute to fevers. I know not whether this charge has any foundation; but, if removed, they would greatly disfigure the place; and, in this arid climate, where no grass can be preserved more than a few weeks after the rains, would increase, to an almost intolerable degree, a glare from the sandy and rocky soil, which I already found very oppressive and painful.

Government House is handsome, but falls short of Pareil in convenience, and the splendour of the principal apartments. There is, indeed, one enormous banqueting-house, detached from the rest, and built at a great expense, but in vile taste; and which can be neither filled nor lighted to any ad-

vantage. It contains some bad paintings of Coote, Cornwallis, Meadows, and other military heroes, and one, of considerable merit, of Sir Robert Strange, all fast going to decay in the moist sea-breeze, and none of them, except the last, deserving of a longer life.

There are some noble charities here; the military school for male and female orphans, where Dr. Bell first introduced his system, is superior to anything in Calcutta, except the upper schools at Kidderpoor. The orphan asylums in the Black Town, though much smaller, put the management of the Calcutta free-school to shame; and at Vepery is the finest Gothic church, and the best establishment of native schools, both male and female, which I have yet seen in India. The native Christians are numerous and increasing, but are, unfortunately, a good deal divided about castes, respecting which I have to make some regulations, which I have deferred till I have seen the missions in the south. The majority of the missionaries complain of Christian David as intriguing and tracassier; I myself am not easily shaken in my good opinion of him; and I find good old Dr. Rottler thinks with me. I have, however, obtained the appointment of a select committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to inquire into the real nature of the claims of caste still subsisting, and to report to me at my return, which with my own inquiries may, perhaps, land us nearer the truth. I find there is a vast deal to do connected with the southern missions; and have had many intricate and important points referred to me, both by the Committee, Dr. Rottler, and Mr. Haubroe. My journey I foresee will not be a party of pleasure, but I rejoice that I have not delayed it any longer.

I also received very uncomfortable accounts of the new Syrian Archbishop in Travancore, who was in open war with the English missionaries and the two metropolitans who had till now supported them. On the whole I had abundant reason to pray heartily for health, discretion, and firmness, since

in no part of India had I found so much expected from me.

The Armenians in Madras are numerous, and some of them wealthy. Mr. Sam, the principal of them, is a very sensible and well-informed man, a great traveller, like most of his nation, and who, more than most of his nation, has mixed and still mixes in good European society. He told me some curious particulars concerning his country, partly on his own authority, partly as interpreter to Mar Simeon, a dignified ecclesiastic from a convent near Erivan, whom I met with at Bombay, and who now again called on me. At Bombay they had called him bishop, but I now found that he was only Episcopal Commissary from the Archbishop of Shirauz. I thought him now, as I had previously done at Bombay, a plain, modest man, very grateful for attention, but far less well-informed and interesting than Mar Abraham of Jerusalem. He told me, what I was glad to learn, that the Russians governed their new conquests on the side of Georgia very well and justly, and that the poor oppressed Christians of Armenia earnestly prayed that they also might become the subjects of the emperor, instead of Persia and Turkey. He too, as well as Mar Abraham and the Archbishop Athanasius, expressed a desire to attend the English Church service, and accordingly came the day on which I administered Confirmation.

On the whole I cannot but hope that many good effects may arise from this approximation in courtesy, &c., of the Eastern churches to our own; when they find that we desire no dominion over them, they may gradually be led to imitate us. But it is painful to see how slight causes, as in the case of Athanasius, may endanger this alliance.

During my stay in Madras I paid a visit to the Prince Azeem Khân, uncle and guardian to the Nawâb of the Carnatic, who is an infant. All my clergy accompanied me in their gowns, and we were received with as much state as this little court could muster, but which need not be described, as it did

not vary from that of other Mussulman princes, and reminded me very much of Dacca on a larger scale. I was chiefly struck with the great number of "ullemah," learned men, or, at least, persons in the white dress of Mussulman ullemah, whom we found there.

While I was conversing, to the best of my power, with the prince, Mr. Robinson was talking with some of these, who asked many curious questions about our clergy, whether all those whom they saw had come with me from Calcutta, whether our clergy could marry, whether I was married, and whether I was appointed to my office by the Company or the King. I rose, visibly, in their estimation by being told the latter, but they expressed their astonishment that I wore no beard, observing, with much truth, that our learned men lost much dignity and authority by the effeminate custom of shaving. They also asked if I was the head of all the English Church; and on being told that I was the head in India, but that there was another clergyman in England superior to me, the question was then again asked, "and does not *he* wear a beard?" Near the place where I sate a discussion arose, whether my office answered to any among the Mussulmans, and it was at length determined that I was, precisely, what they termed "moostahid."

This was one of my last performances in Madras, where, indeed, I was almost worn out, having preached (reckoning charge and Confirmation addresses) eleven times in little more than a fortnight, besides presiding at a large meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, visiting six schools, giving two large dinner parties, and receiving and paying visits innumerable. Had I also had to make the arrangements for my journey, I should have been quite tired out; but here Mr. Robinson and Colonel Taylor left me little to do.

The Madras servants I had heard highly praised, but I think beyond their merits; they are not by any means so cleanly as those of Bengal, nor do I think them so intelligent. The English

which they speak is so imperfect, that it is sometimes worse than nothing; and few of them know anything of Hindoostanee. In honesty both seem pretty much on a par; the expenses of Madras very far exceed those of Calcutta, except house-rent, which is much less.

It was very pleasant to hear Sir Charles Grey so universally spoken of with respect and affection: and, though I had not the same personal interest in his praise, it was interesting to find only one voice about Sir Thomas Munro, whose talents, steadiness, and justice seemed admitted by every body; he is a fine, dignified old soldier, with a very strong and original understanding, and a solid practical judgment; he is excellently adapted for the situation which he holds; and his popularity is, perhaps, the more honourable to him, because his manners, though unaffected and simple, are reserved and grave, at least on a first acquaintance.

The climate of Madras I found decidedly hotter at this season than the March which I spent in Calcutta; the nights, however, were cool, and it should be noticed that people spoke of the season as unusually sultry, and complained of the great want of rain. What I saw, therefore, was not to be taken as a fair specimen of Madras heat and aridity.

Mr. Robinson and I left Madras on the afternoon of Monday, the 13th, having sent on our baggage, horses, and servants on the preceding Saturday, under the care of Captain Harkness, the officer commanding my escort. We went in a carriage to the military station of St. Thomas's Mount, eight miles from Madras, intending, in our way, to visit the spot marked out by tradition as the place where the Apostle St. Thomas was martyred. Unfortunately the "little mount," as this is called (being a small rocky knoll with a Roman Catholic church on it, close to Marmalong bridge in the suburb of Melapoor), is so insignificant, and so much nearer Madras than we had been given to understand, that it did not attract our attention till too late. That it is really the place I see no good rea-

son for doubting; there is as fair historical evidence as the case requires, that St. Thomas preached the Gospel in India, and was martyred at a place named Milliapoer, or Meilapoer. The Eastern Christians, whom the Portuguese found in India, all agreed in marking out this as the spot, and in saying that the bones, originally buried here, had been carried away as relics to Syria. They, and even the surrounding heathen, appear to have always venerated the spot, as these last still do, and to have offered gifts here on the supposed anniversary of his martyrdom. And as the story contains nothing improbable from beginning to end (except a trumpery fabrication of some relics found here by the Portuguese monks about a century and a half ago), so it is not easy to account for the origin of such a story among men of different religions, unless there were some foundation for it.

I know it has been sometimes fancied that the person who planted Christianity in India was a Nestorian bishop named Thomas, not St. Thomas the Apostle; but this rests, absolutely, on no foundation but a supposition, equally gratuitous and contrary to all early ecclesiastical history, that none of the Apostles except St. Paul went far from Judea. To this it is enough to answer that we have no reason why they should not have done so; or why, while St. Paul went (or intended to go) to the shores of the further west, St. Thomas should not have been equally laborious and enterprising in an opposite direction. But that all the apostles, except the two St. Jameses, did really go forth to preach the Gospel in different parts of the world, as it was, *à priori*, to be expected, so that they did so we have the authority of Eusebius and the old Martyrologies, which is, at least, as good as the doubts of a later age, and which would be reckoned conclusive if the question related to any point of civil history. Nor must it be forgotten, that there were Jews settled in India at a very early period, to convert whom would naturally induce an apostle to think of coming hither; that the passage either from the Persian Gulf or

the Red Sea is neither long nor difficult, and was then extremely common; and that it may be, therefore, as readily believed that St. Thomas was slain at Meilapoor as that St. Paul was beheaded at Rome, or that Leonidas fell at Thermopylæ. Under these feelings I left the spot behind with regret, and shall visit it if I return to Madras, with a reverent, though, I hope, not a superstitious interest and curiosity.

The larger mount, as it is called, of St. Thomas is a much more striking spot, being an insulated cliff of granite, with an old church on the summit, the property of those Armenians who are united to the Church of Rome. It is also dedicated to St. Thomas; but (what greatly proves the authenticity of its rival) none of the sects of Christians or Hindoos consider it as having been in any remarkable manner graced by his presence or burial. It is a picturesque little building, and commands a fine view. We went up to it with Mr. Hallowell, the chaplain of the station at its foot, which is the principal cantonment for artillery belonging to the Madras army.

Government are building a handsome church here, in a very advantageous situation, immediately at the foot of the mount, and with some noble trees round it. The foundation is now laid, and, when finished, it will have its chancel westward instead of eastward; a peculiarity which I found many persons were offended at, but which I did not think worth altering, inasmuch as this method of placing the building suited best in point of effect and convenience. There is no canon that I know of for placing churches with the altars eastward; and though this custom is, certainly, most ancient and usual, there have been many remarkable exceptions to it, from the cathedral of Antioch, built in the age immediately succeeding the Apostles, down to St. Peter's in Rome, which has also its sanctuary westward.

The cantonment is very beautifully placed, with a noble parade-ground planted with fine trees, and its rocky back-ground and other circumstances give it a great advantage over Dum.

It is also reckoned one of the most wholesome spots in the south of India, being considerably elevated above the sea, and enjoying the breeze in much perfection.

After drinking tea with Mr. and Mrs. Hallowell, we got into our palanquins, accompanied by Mr. Doran, one of the Church missionaries, who is to be placed at Cotyam in Travancore, and who had been before with me in Calcutta. I asked him to join my party in this journey, both as it was a great advantage and convenience to him, and as it gave me the opportunity of grounding him thoroughly in my views with regard to the management to be observed with the Syrian churches, among whom he would have to labour. Government kindly supplied him with the loan of a tent, in the character of my second chaplain; and I look forwards to no inconvenience but rather pleasure from his society. He is a young Irishman, educated at Trinity College, an extremely good scholar, and of a modest and gentle character and manners; who is, however, a mere child in all matters of prudence and worldly management, and if he had got into improper hands on first coming to India, would have been likely to fall into enthusiasm. As it is, I heartily hope that he will be a valuable accession to the Church in this country.

We travelled all night, a practice which I am not fond of, but which circumstances rendered desirable, and, exactly at daybreak, reached the rocky beach below the seven pagodas, and where the surf, according to the Hindoos, rolls and roars over "the city of the great Bali." One very old temple of Vishnu stands immediately on the brink, and amid the dash of the spray, and there are really some small remains of architecture, among which a tall pillar, supposed by some to be a lingam, is conspicuous, which rise from amid the waves, and give a proof that in this particular spot (as at Madras) the sea has encroached on the land, though in most other parts of the Coromandel coast it seems rather receding than advancing. There are also many rocks rising through the white breakers.

which the fancy of the Brahmins points out as ruins; and the noise of the surf, the dark shadow of the remaining building, the narrow slip of dark smooth sand, the sky just reddening into dawn, and lending its tints to the sea, together with the remarkable desolation of the surrounding scenery, were well calculated to make one remember with interest the description in "Kehama," and to fancy that one saw the beautiful form of Kailay in her white mantle, pacing sadly along the shore, and watching till her father and lover should emerge from the breakers. In two points the picture only fails; the caverns in which she was to lodge at night are, at least, a mile from high-water mark; and in this climate it is at noonday only, not as a bedchamber, that a cavern will be preferred to the open air.

The case is otherwise with the real city of Maha-Bali-poor, whose ruins stand among the cliffs at the distance of a short half mile inland. This has really been a place of considerable importance as a metropolis of the ancient kings of the race of Pandion; and its rocks which, in themselves, are pretty and picturesque, are carved out into porticos, temples, bas-reliefs, &c., on a much smaller scale, indeed, than Elephanta or Kennery, but some of them very beautifully executed. They differ from those of the north and west of India (which are almost all dedicated to Siva or Kali) in being in honour of Vishnu, whose different avatars are repeated over and over in the various temples, while I only saw the solitary lingam, if it be one, which I have mentioned, in the sea, and one unfinished cave, which struck me as intended for a temple of the destroying power.

Many of the bas-reliefs are of great spirit and beauty: there is one of an elephant with two young ones, strikingly executed; and the general merit of the work is superior to that of Elephanta, though the size is extremely inferior. I had heard much of the lions which are introduced in different parts of the series, and the execution of which is said to be more remarkable because no lions are known to exist in the south of India. But I apprehend

that the critics who have thus praised them have taken their idea of a lion from those noble animals which hang over inn-doors in England, and which, it must be owned, the lions of Maha-Bali-poor very remarkably resemble; they are, in fact, precisely such animals as an artist, who had never seen one, would form from description.

Notwithstanding the supposed connection of these ruins with the great Bali, I only saw one bas-relief which has reference to his story, and which has considerable merit. It represents Bali seated on his throne, and apparently shrinking in terror at the moment when Vishnu, dismissing his disguise of a Brahmin dwarf, under which he had asked "the king of the three worlds" to grant him three paces of his kingdom, appears in his celestial and gigantic form, striding from earth to heaven, and "wielding all weapons in his countless hands," over the head of the unfortunate raja, who, giant as he himself is said to have been, is represented as a mere Lilliputian in the presence of "the preserving deity." These ruins cover a great space; a few small houses, inhabited by Brahmins, are scattered among them, and there is one large and handsome temple of Vishnu of later date and in pretty good repair, the priests of which chiefly live by showing the ruins. One of them acted as our cicerone, and seemed the only person in the place who spoke Hindoostanee. Two boys preceded us with a pipe and a small pair of cymbals, and their appearance among these sculptures was very picturesque and beautiful.

After about two hours spent in Maha-Bali-poor, or, as the Tamul pronunciation makes it, Mavellipooram, we again got into our palanquins, and went on to Sadras, a spot about a mile beyond, where our tents and servants were expecting us, and where we found our companions, Captain Harkness and Dr Hyne.

Sadras is a large but poor-looking town, once a Dutch settlement, and still containing many families of decayed burghers, like those of Ceylon, the melancholy relics of a ruined fac-

tory. Some of them have little pensions from the charity of the British Government; and there is a Dutch missionary, a very poor and modest, and apparently a good man, who lives among them, does duty in Dutch and Portuguese, and has a little school for both Christian and Heathen children. His salary is paid by a religious society in the Netherlands. A small old pagoda is in the entrance of the town, whose principal inmates, the presiding Brahmin and the dancing-girl, followed me to my tent. This was the first specimen which I had seen of the southern Bayadère, who differ considerably from the nâch girls of northern India, being all in the service of different temples, for which they are purchased young, and brought up with a degree of care which is seldom bestowed on the females of India of any other class. This care not only extends to dancing and singing, and the other allurements of their miserable profession, but to reading and writing. Their dress is lighter than the bundles of red cloth which swaddle the figurante of Hindostan, and their dancing is said to be more indecent; but their general appearance and manner seemed to me far from immodest, and their air even more respectable than the generality of the lower classes of India. The poor girl whom I saw at Sadras, making allowance for the difference of costume and complexion, might have passed for a smart, but modest, English maid-servant. The money which they acquire

in the practice of their profession is hallowed to their wicked gods, whose ministers are said to turn them out without remorse, or with a very scanty provision, when age or sickness renders them unfit for their occupation. Most of them, however, die young. Surely, the more one sees of this hideous idolatry, the more one must abhor it, and bless God for having taught us better. I had heard that the Bayadères were regarded with respect among the other classes of Hindoos, as servants of the gods, and that, after a few years' service, they often married respectably. But, though I made several inquiries, I cannot find that this is the case; their name is a common term of reproach among the women of the country, nor could any man of decent caste marry one of their number. Yet the gods are honoured who receive such sacrifices! I have always looked on these poor creatures with no common feelings of sorrow and pity.

Our little camp was on the sea-shore, about two miles beyond the town of Sadras; and I found abundant reason to acknowledge the liberal kindness of Government in the number and excellence of the tents, camels, and elephants which they had provided for me.

March 15.—We set out this morning at half-past three, and rode over a very sandy, but rather pretty country, much resembling the coast of Ceylon, being covered with coco and palmyra-trees, and intersected with several streams.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W.
WILLIAMS WYNN.

Barrackpoor, October 29, 1823.

MY DEAR WYNN,—The first quiet morning which I have had since my arrival in India I cannot employ more agreeably than in writing to those dear and kind friends, the recollection of whom I feel binding me still more strongly to England, the farther I am removed from it.

* * * *

The first sight of India has little which can please even those who have been three months at sea. The coast is so flat as only to be distinguished, when very near it, by the tall coco-trees which surround the villages; and Juggernaut, which is a conspicuous sea-mark, shows merely three dingy conical domes, like glass-houses. The view of Saugor is still worse, being made up of marshes and thick brush-wood, on the same level line of shore, and conveying at once the idea, which it well deserves, of tigers, serpents, and fevers. During the night of our anchoring under its lee, however, few of us went to bed without reluctance, since, besides the interest which men feel in looking on land at all, after so long an absence, I never saw such magnificent sheet-lightning in my life as played over it all night. When coupled with the unhealthy and dangerous character of the place, and the superstitions connected with it as the favourite abode of Kali, it was impossible to watch the broad, red, ominous light which flickered without more intermission than just served to heighten its contrast with darkness, and not to think of Southey's Padalon; and it luckily

happened that "Kehama" was on board, and that many of the party, at my recommendation, had become familiar with it during the voyage. By the way, what a vast deal of foolish prejudice exists about Southey and his writings! Of the party on board some had been taught to think him a Jacobin, some an Ultra-Tory, some a Methodist, some an enemy to all religion, and some a madman. None had read a line of his works, but all were inclined to criticise him, and yet all, when they really tried the formidable volume, were delighted both with the man and the poetry. Nor is he the only poet for whom I succeeded in obtaining some justice. I repeated at different times some parts of the "Ancient Mariner," without telling whose it was, and had the pleasure to find that its descriptions of natural objects in tropical countries were recognized by the officers, and more experienced passengers, as extremely vivid, and scarcely exaggerated. The chief mate, a very hard-headed Scotsman, a grandson of Lord Monboddo's, was particularly struck, and downright affected, with the shrinking of the planks of the devoted ship when becalmed under the line, the stagnation and rolling of the deep, and the diminished size and terrible splendour of the noon-day sun, right over the mast-head, "in a hot and copper sky." He foretold that we should see something like this when the Grenville came to anchor in the Hooghly; and verily he fabled not. The day after our arrival off Saugor, the sun was, indeed, a thing of terror, and almost intolerable; and the torrent, carrying down trees, sugar-canes, and corpses

past us every five minutes, and boiling as it met the tide-stream, like milled chocolate, with its low banks of jungle, or of bare sand, was as little promising to a new comer as could well be conceived. Of these different objects, the corpses, as you are aware, are a part of the filthy superstition of the country, which throws the dead, half-roasted over a scanty fire, into the sacred river; and such objects must always be expected and perceived by more senses than one. The others, though also usual at the termination of the rains, were this year particularly abundant, from the great height to which the river had risen, and the consequent desolation which it had brought on the lower plantations and villages.

We arrived in Fort William on the evening of the 10th. The impression made by the appearance of the European houses which we passed in Garden-reach,—by our own apartments, by the crowd of servants, the style of the carriages and horses sent to meet us, and almost all the other circumstances which met our eyes, was that of the extreme similarity of everything to Russia, making allowance only for the black instead of the white faces, and the difference of climate, though even in Russia, during summer, it is necessary to guard against intense heat. This impression was afterwards rather confirmed than weakened. The size of the houses, their whiteness and Palladian porticos, the loftiness of the rooms, and the scanty furniture,—the unbounded hospitality and apparent love of display, all reminded me of Petersburg and Moscow; to which the manner in which the European houses are scattered, with few regular streets, but each with its separate court-yard and gateway, and often intermixed with miserable huts, still more contributed.

I caught myself several times fixing Russian with my newly-acquired Hindoostanee, talking of rubles instead of rupees, and bidding the attendants come and go in what they, of course, mistook for English, but which was Slavonic. I was surprised to find how little English is understood by them; out of upwards of forty servants

there are only two who have the least smattering of it, and they know a few of the commonest words without the power of putting together or understanding a sentence. The sircar, indeed, is a well-educated man, but of him we see comparatively little, so that we have abundant opportunity and necessity for the acquisition of the native languages. After a manner, indeed, every body speaks them, but we find (I must say) our previous instructions in grammar from Gilchrist extremely valuable, both as facilitating our progress, and as guarding us from many ridiculous equivokes and blunders into which other *griffins* fall.

My situation here is extremely pleasant, as pleasant as it can be at a distance from such friends as those whom I have left behind; and I have a field of usefulness before me, so vast, that my only fear is lest I should lose my way in it. The attention and the kindness of the different members of Government, and the hospitality of the society of Calcutta, have been everything we could wish, and more. The arrears of business which I have to go through, though great, and some of a vexatious nature, are such as I see my way through. My own health, and those of my wife and child, have rather improved than otherwise since our landing, and the climate, now that we have lofty rooms and means of taking exercise at proper times of the day, is anything but intolerable.

Of what are called in England "the luxuries of the east," I cannot give a very exalted description; all the fruits now in season are inferior to those of England. The oranges, though pleasant, are small and acid; the plantain is but an indifferent mellow pear; the shaddock has no merit but juiciness, and a slight bitter taste which is reckoned good in fevers, and the guava is an almost equal mixture of raspberry jam and garlic. Nor are our artificial luxuries more remarkable than our natural. They are, in fact, only inventions (judicious and elegant certainly) to get rid of real and severe inconveniences, while all those circumstances in which an Englishman mainly places

his ideas of comfort or splendour, such as horses, carriages, glass, furniture, &c., are, in Calcutta, generally paltry and extravagantly dear. In fact, as my shipmate, Colonel Pennington, truly told me, "the real luxuries of India, when we can get them, are cold water and cold air." But though the luxury and splendour are less, the society is better than I expected.

The state in which the high officers of Government appear, and the sort of deference paid to them in society, are great, and said to be necessary in conformity with native ideas and the example set by the first conquerors, who took their tone from the Mussulmans whom they supplanted. All members of council, and others, down to the rank of puisne judges inclusive, are preceded by two men with silver-sticks, and two others with heavy silver maces, and they have in society some queer regulations, which forbid any person to quit a party before the lady or gentleman of most rank rises to take leave.

There are some circumstances in Calcutta dwellings which at first surprise and annoy a stranger. The lofty rooms swarm with cockroaches and insects; sparrows and other birds fly in and out all day, and as soon as the candles are lighted, large bats flutter on their indented wings, like Horace's *cura*, round our *laqueata tecta*, if this name could be applied to roofs without any ceiling at all, where the beams are left naked and visible, lest the depredations of the white ant should not be seen in time.

On the whole, however, you will judge from my description that I have abundant reason to be satisfied with my present comforts and my future prospects, and that in the field which seems opened to me for extensive usefulness and active employment, I have more and more reason to be obliged to the friend who has placed me here.

The country round Calcutta is a perfect flat, intersected by pools and canals, natural and artificial, teeming with population like an ant-hill, and covered with one vast shade of fruit-trees, not

of low growth like those of England, but, generally speaking, very lofty and majestic. To me it has great interest; indeed, such a scene as I have described, with the addition of a majestic river, may be monotonous, but cannot be ugly.

Barrackpoor, the governor's country-house, is really a beautiful place, and would be thought so in any country. It has, what is here unexampled, a park of about two hundred and fifty acres of fine turf, with spreading scattered trees, of a character so European, that if I had not been on an elephant, and had not from time to time seen a tall cocotree towering above all the rest, I could have fancied myself on the banks of the Thames instead of the Ganges. It is hence that I date my letter, having been asked to pass two days here. Our invitation was for a considerably longer period, but it is as yet with difficulty that I can get away even for a few hours from Calcutta.

Of the religious state of India I have little as yet to say. I have bestowed the archdeaconry, much to my satisfaction, on the senior resident chaplain, Mr. Corrie, who is extremely popular in the place, and one of the most amiable and gentlemanly men in manners and temper I ever met with.

In the schools which have been lately established in this part of the empire, of which there are at present nine established by the Church Missionary, and eleven by the Christian Knowledge Societies, some very unexpected facts have occurred. As all direct attempts to convert the children are disclaimed, the parents send them without scruple. But it is no less strange than true, that there is no objection made to the use of the Old and New Testaments as a class-book; that so long as the teachers do not urge them to eat what will make them lose their caste, or to be baptized, or to curse their country's gods, they readily consent to everything else, and not only Mussulmans but Brahmins stand by with perfect coolness, and listen sometimes with apparent interest and plea-

sure while the scholars, by the roadside, are reading the stories of the creation and of Jesus Christ. Whether the children themselves may imbibe Christianity by such means, or whether they may suffer these truths to pass from their minds, as we allow the mythology which we learn at school to pass from ours, some further time is yet required to show; but this, at least, I understand, has been ascertained, that a more favourable opinion both of us and our religion has been, apparently, felt of late by many of those who have thus been made acquainted with its leading truths, and that some have been heard to say, that they did not know till now that the English had "a caste or a shaster." You may imagine with what feelings I have entered the huts where these schools are held, on seeing a hundred poor little children seated on the ground writing their letters in sand, or their copies on banana leaves, coming out one after another to read the history of the good Samaritan, or of Joseph, proud of showing their knowledge, and many of them able to give a very good account of their studies.

I have been even more gratified at seeing the confidence and respect evidently shown by the elder villagers towards the clergy who superintend these schools. I yesterday saw a man follow a German missionary, to request that he would look at his little boy's copy; and Mr. Hawtayne, the secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, seems as well known and received in the vicinity of his schools as any English clergyman in his parish.

I have not as yet received any visits from the wealthy natives, though some of them have made inquiries, through my sircar, whether such visits would be agreeable to me, to which I of course answered "extremely so." Their progress in the imitation of our habits is very apparent, though still the difference is great. None of them adopt our dress (indeed their own is so much more graceful, and so much better adapted to the climate, that they would act very absurdly in doing so); but their houses are adorned with verandahs and Corinthian pillars; they have

very handsome carriages, often built in England; they speak tolerable English, and they show a considerable liking for European society, where (which unfortunately is not always the case) they are encouraged or permitted to frequent it on terms of anything like equality. Few of them, however, will eat with us; and this opposes a bar to familiar intercourse, which must, even more than fashion and John Bullism, keep them at a distance.

They are described, especially the Hindoos, as not ill-affected to a government under which they thrive, and are allowed to enjoy the fruits of their industry, while many of them still recollect the cruelties and exactions of their former rulers.

This is, I feel, an unreasonable letter. But I know your friendship will not be indifferent to details in which I am so much interested; and I have not been sorry, while the novelty yet remained, to communicate to you my first impressions of a country in all respects so unlike our own, and yet so important to an Englishman. Lord Hastings appears to have been very popular here, and to have done much good. The roads which he made in different parts of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, his splendour, and his extreme courtesy, made him liked both by natives and Europeans.

Adieu, dear Wynn. Present our mutual best regards to Mrs. Williams Wynn and your young folk, and believe me ever,

Your obliged and affectionate friend,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W
WILLIAMS WYNN.

Fort William, Dec. 1, 1823.

MY DEAR WYNN,

* * * *

I hope you will, ere this reaches you, have received a long letter from Barrackpoor, giving an account of my first impressions of India. By all which I have yet seen, I do not think they were too favourable. The cli-

mate since I wrote has very materially improved, and is now scarcely hotter, and to the full as pleasant as our finest August weather. The mornings and evenings are particularly agreeable; and the sun, during the day-time, though still too hot to admit of taking exercise, is anything but oppressive to those who are sitting still under a roof, or driving in a carriage. The only plague, and a sore plague too, are the mosquitos.

* * * *

I am constantly, and sometimes intensely occupied, insomuch that I have as yet had no time whatever for my usual literary pursuits, and scarcely any for the study of Hindoostanee and Persian, or the composition of sermons, of which last unluckily, owing to a mistake, my main stock was sent by another ship which has not yet arrived, so that I have more trouble in this way than I expected, or than is very consistent with my other duties.

Since my last letter I have become acquainted with some of the wealthy natives of whom I spoke, and we are just returned from passing the evening at one of their country-houses. This is more like an Italian villa, than what one should have expected as the residence of Baboo Hurree Mohun Thakoor. Nor are his carriages, the furniture of his house, or the style of his conversation, of a character less decidedly European. He is a fine old man, who speaks English well, is well informed on most topics of general discussion, and talks with the appearance of much familiarity on Franklin, chemistry, natural philosophy, &c. His family is Brahminical, and of singular purity of descent; but about four hundred years ago, during the Mahomedan invasion of India, one of his ancestors having become polluted by the conquerors intruding into his zennah, the race is conceived to have lost claim to the knotted cord, and the more rigid Brahmins will not eat with them. Being, however, one of the principal landholders in Bengal, and of a family so ancient, they still enjoy, to a great degree, the veneration of the common people, which the present head of the

house appears to value,—since I can hardly reconcile in any other manner his philosophical studies and imitation of many European habits, with the daily and austere devotion which he is said to practise towards the Ganges (in which he bathes three times every twenty-four hours), and his veneration for all the other duties of his ancestors. He is now said, however, to be aiming at the dignity of raja, a title which at present bears pretty nearly the same estimation here as a peerage in England, and is conferred by Government in almost the same manner.

The house is surrounded by an extensive garden, laid out in formal parterres of roses, intersected by straight walks, with some fine trees, and a chain of tanks, fountains, and summer-houses, not ill adapted to a climate where air, water, and sweet smells are almost the only natural objects which can be relished during the greater part of the year. The whole is little less Italian than the façade of his house, but on my mentioning this similarity, he observed that the taste for such things was brought into India by the Mussulmans. There are also swings, whirligigs, and other amusements for the females of his family, but the strangest was a sort of “Montagne Russe” of masonry, very steep, and covered with plaster, down which he said the ladies used to *slide*. Of these females, however, we saw none,—indeed they were all staying at his town-house in Calcutta. He himself received us at the head of a whole tribe of relations and descendants on a handsome flight of steps, in a splendid shawl, by way of mantle, with a large rosary of coral set in gold, leaning on an ebony crutch with a gold head. Of his grandsons, four very pretty boys, two were dressed like English children of the same age; but the round hat, jacket, and trowsers by no means suited their dusky skins so well as the splendid brocade caftans and turbans covered with diamonds which the two elder wore. On the whole, both Emily and I have been greatly interested with the family, both now and during our previous interviews. We have several other eastern acquaintance, but none of

equal talent, though several learned moolahs and one Persian doctor, of considerable reputed sanctity, have called on me. The Raja of Calcutta, and one of the sons of Tippoo Sultan, do not choose, I am told, to call till I have left the fort, since they are not permitted to bring their silver-sticks, led horses, carriages, and armed attendants within the ramparts. In all this, nothing strikes me more than the apparent indifference of these men to the measures employed for extending Christianity, and rendering it more conspicuous in Hindostan. They seem to think it only right and decent that the conquering nation should have its hierarchy and establishment on a handsome scale, and to regard with something little short of approbation the means we take for instructing the children of the poor. One of their men of rank has absolutely promised to found a college at Burdwan, with one of our missionaries at its head, and where little children should be clothed and educated under his care. All this is very short, indeed, of embracing Christianity themselves, but it proves how completely those feelings are gone by, in Bengal at least, which made even the presence of a single missionary the occasion of tumult and alarm. I only hope that no imprudence, or over-forwardness on our part, will revive these angry feelings.

* * * *

Believe me, dear Charles,
Ever your obliged friend,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MISS DOD.

Calcutta, Dec. 15, 1823

I HAVE been very busy, busier indeed than I ever was before, except during the Oxford election; * *

* * *

The country, the society, and, at this season of the year, the climate are all very agreeable, and there are several amiable and excellent people here, who have shown us much and cordial kindness, and whose friendship would in

any country be a valuable privilege. Of the country we have as yet seen little, except in one voyage up the river, and in the vicinity of Calcutta. But all Bengal is described to us as like those parts which we have seen, a vast alluvial plain, intersected by the innumerable arms of the Ganges, overflowed once a year, but now covered with fields of rice, divided by groves of tall fruit-trees, with villages under their shelter, swarming with a population beyond anything which Europe can show, and scarcely to be paralleled in China. Calcutta, when seen from the south, on which side it is built round two sides of a great open plain, with the Ganges on the west, is a very noble city, with tall and stately houses ornamented with Grecian pillars, and each, for the most part, surrounded by a little apology for a garden. The churches are not large, but very neat, and even elegant buildings; and the Government House is, to say the least of it, a more showy palace than London has to produce. These are, however, the *front lines*; behind them ranges the native town, deep, black, and dingy, with narrow crooked streets, huts of earth baked in the sun, or of twisted bamboos, interspersed here and there with ruinous brick bazars, pools of dirty water, coco-trees, and little gardens, and a few very large, very fine, and generally very dirty houses of Grecian architecture, the residence of wealthy natives. There are some mosques of pretty architecture, and very neatly kept, and some pagodas, but mostly ruinous and decayed,—the religion of the people being chiefly conspicuous in their worship of the Ganges, and in some ugly painted wooden or plaster idols, with all manner of heads and arms, which are set up in different parts of the city. Fill up this outline with a crowd of people in the streets, beyond anything to be seen even in London, some dressed in tawdry silks and brocades, more in white cotton garments, and most of all black and naked, except a scanty covering round the waist, besides figures of religious mendicants with no clothing but their long hair and beards in elf

locks, their faces painted white or yellow, their beads in one ghastly lean hand, and the other stretched out like a bird's claw to receive donations; marriage processions, with the bride in a covered chair, and the bridegroom on horseback, so swathed round with garlands as hardly to be seen; tradesmen sitting on the ground in the midst of their different commodities, and old men, lookers on, perched naked as monkeys on the flat roofs of the houses; carts drawn by oxen, and driven by wild-looking men with thick sticks, so unmercifully used as to undeceive perfectly all our notions of Brahminical humanity; attendants with silver maces, pressing through the crowd before the carriage of some great man or other; no women seen except of the lowest class, and even these with heavy silver ornaments on their dusky arms and ankles; while coaches, covered up close with red cloth, are seen conveying the inmates of the neighbouring seraglios to take what is called "the air;" a constant creaking of cart-wheels, which are never greased in India, a constant clamour of voices, and an almost constant thumping and jingling of drums, cymbals, &c., in honour of some of their deities; and add to all this a villainous smell of garlic, rancid coco-nut oil, sour butter, and stagnant ditches, and you will understand the sounds, sights, and smells of what is called the "Black Town" of Calcutta. The singularity of this spectacle is best and least offensively enjoyed on a noble quay which Lord Hastings built along the shore of the river, where the vessels of all forms and sizes, Arab, Indian, Malay, American, English, the crowds of Brahmins and other Hindoos washing and saying their prayers; the lighted tapers which, towards sunset, they throw in, and the broad bright stream which sweeps them by, guiltless of their impiety and unconscious of their homage, afford a scene such as no European, and few Asiatic cities can at all parallel in interest and singularity.

* * * *

Great state, of a certain kind, is still kept up, not only by the Governor-Ge-

neral (who has most of the usual appendages of a sovereign, such as bodyguards, gold-sticks, spear-men, peacocks' plumes, state carriages, state barge, and elephants), but by all the principal persons in authority. You would laugh to see me carried by four men in a palanquin, two more following as a relay, two silver maces carried before me, and another man with a huge painted umbrella at my side; or to see Emily returning from a party, with the aforesaid silver maces, or sometimes four of them behind her carriage, a groom at each horse's head, and four men running before with glass lanterns. Yet our establishment is as modest and humble as the habits of the place will allow.

* * * *

After all, this state has nothing very dazzling in it; a crowd of half-naked followers is no splendid show, and the horses, the equipages, and the furniture of Calcutta are all as far from magnificent as any that I am acquainted with. Our way of life in other respects is sensible and suited to the climate. The general custom is to rise at six in the cold season, and at half-past four in the morning during the hot weather, and to take exercise on horseback till the sun is hot, then follow a cold-bath, prayers, and breakfast. This last is a sort of public meal, when my clergy and other friends drop in, after which I am generally engaged in business till two, when we either dine, or eat our tiffin; we then go out again at five or six, till darkness drives us home to dress for dinner, or pass a tranquil evening. Our rooms are large and lofty, with very little furniture; the beds have no drapery but a musquito net, and now the climate is so cool as even to require a blanket.

We have excellent turf for galloping, and excellent roads for driving on the great plain of which I have spoken. But there is no necessity for confining ourselves to it; the roads round Calcutta, as soon as its boundary is passed, wind through beautiful villages, overhung with the finest and most picturesque foliage the world can show, of the banyan, the palm, the tamarind,

and, more beautiful perhaps than all, the bamboo. Sometimes the glade opens to plains covered, at this time, with the rice harvest, or to a sight of the broad bright river, with its ships and woody shores: sometimes it contracts into little winding tracks, through fruit-trees, gardens, and cottages; the gardens fenced in with hedges of aloe and pine-apple; the cottages neater than those of Calcutta, and mostly of mats and white wicker-work, with thatched roofs and cane verandahs, with gourds trailing over them, and the broad tall plantains clustering round them. Adieu.

Yours most faithfully,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE VERY REVEREND THE DEAN
OF ST. ASAPH.

Fort-William, Dec. 16, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR, — Long before this reaches you, you will, I trust, have received the news of our safe arrival in India, and Emily's account of our first impressions of the country, the people, and Calcutta. These impressions were and still continue favourable.

The climate at this time of year far surpasses my expectation, and indeed if it would always continue as it is now, would be, perhaps, the finest in the world. And I find the field of useful exertion before me so great, and the probability of doing good so encouraging, that if Providence blesses us with health, I have no doubt of being as happy here as we could be anywhere at such a distance from our dear and excellent friends. Emily and I have, thank God, remained perfectly well through our changes of climate. Some days ago I should have had a bad report to make of our dear little girl.

* * * *

During the last week she has been almost quite herself again, but her mother has so much confidence in the sea air, and a change of air of any kind is said to be, in this country, so desirable for convalescents, that she has determined to take her down till the end of the month to the Sand-heads at the

mouth of the river,—for which purpose Lord Amherst has kindly placed one of the pilot-schooners at her disposal, and, what is still of more consequence, has authorised Mr. Shaw, the assistant-surgeon of the Fort, to accompany and remain with her till her return.

* * * *

At the present time this is a very fine and interesting country, and contains the capability and the probability of improvement to a degree far exceeding anything which I had anticipated. In Bengal, indeed, as you are aware, there is no mountain, nor so much as a single hill, and the prospect has no other beauty but what arises from water, wood, and a richly-cultivated plain, inhabited by a population exceeding all which I know in Europe, and apparently falling little short of all which we read of in China. Yet these circumstances, joined to the apparent simplicity of the people, their singular customs and architecture, the beauty and clearness of the sky, and the richness and majesty of the vegetable creation, make our rides and drives here very interesting, particularly those which are taken on horseback through glade and copse and hamlet and rice-fields, under the shadow of banyans, bamboos, tamarinds, and cocos. It is in the course of these rides that I generally visit the village schools, which are now numerous and flourishing, under the care of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Church Missionary Society; of the institution and success of which I had a very inadequate notion before I arrived in India, and which I believe are but little known even at the present moment in England. Hearing all I had heard of the prejudices of the Hindoos and Mussulmans, I certainly did not at all expect to find that the common people would, not only without objection, but with the greatest thankfulness, send their children to schools on Bell's system; and they seem to be fully sensible of the advantages conferred by writing, arithmetic, and, above all, by a knowledge of English.

* * * *

There are now in Calcutta, and the surrounding villages, twenty boys' schools,

containing from sixty to one hundred and twenty each; and twenty-three girls', each of twenty-five or thirty. The latter are under the management of a very clever young woman. This branch of education is, however, now about to be put on a different footing. Some of the Hindoos objected to men at all interfering in the girls' schools, or even that the school should be in the same building where men reside. We are, therefore, going to build a separate house for the school, which, with all the female schools established, or to be established in India, is to be managed by a committee of ladies. Lady Amherst has taken the office of patroness, and Emily, with several other ladies in Calcutta, are to form a committee. I have no doubt that things will go on prosperously if we can only get funds sufficient for the demand on us. The difficulties of Mrs. Wilson's undertaking, and the wonders she has brought about, will be better understood when I mention, that two years ago, no single native female in Bengal could either write, read, or sew, that the notion of teaching them these things, or of sending them to schools where they ran the risk of mixing with, and touching, those of different castes, was, at first, regarded in about the same light as it would be in England to send a girl to learn tumbling and rope-dancing at Sadler's Wells, and that even those who were most anxious for the improvement of the natives, and knew most of India, spoke of her as undertaking impossibilities. Mrs. Wilson's first care was to get a pretty good knowledge both of Hindoostanee and the vulgar Bengalee; her next, to circulate her proposals in these languages, urging on parents the advantages which their daughters would derive from her instructions, as servants, mothers, and mistresses of families, promising a strict regard to caste, and urging that, whether they became Christians or no, it would do them no harm to become acquainted with the European Shaster, and the rules of conduct which Europeans professed to follow towards each other. She went about a good deal herself among the wealthy native

families, persuaded some of the leading gooroos, or religious teachers, to honour her school with their presence and inspection, and all now goes on smoothly. Rhadacant Deb, one of the wealthiest natives in Calcutta, and regarded as the most austere and orthodox of the worshippers of the Ganges, bade, some time since, her pupils go on and prosper; and added, that "if they practised the Sermon on the Mount as well as they repeated it, he would choose all the handmaids for his daughters, and his wives, from the English school." I do not say, nor do I suppose, that any large proportion of these children will become Christians. Even if they were to offer it now, we should tell them "Wait till you are of age, and get your father's leave:" and it is likely that many, on leaving school, will leave many of their good impressions behind them. But it is certain that, whether they become Christians or no, they may be great gainers by what they learn; and it is probable that some, at least, in the present generation, and probably far more among *their* children, will be led to compare our system with their own, and seriously, and in a real zeal for their own salvation, to adopt the truth. In the mean time, I am assured that the pains now taken have materially increased the popularity of the English in Bengal. The peasants cannot help perceiving that the persons who mix with them for these purposes, have their worldly as well as spiritual interest at heart. The children like the rewards, the clothing, and the praise which they receive; and in districts where, I am assured, three years ago, at the sight of an European they all ran away screaming to hide themselves, the clergyman and missionaries engaged in the superintendence of these little establishments are now as well known and as well received as an English pastor in his parish. Our chief hindrances are some deistical Brahmins, who have left their old religion, and desire to found a sect of their own, and some of those who are professedly engaged in the same work with ourselves, the Dissenters. These last are, indeed, very civil, and

affect to rejoice at our success; but they, somehow or other, cannot help interfering, and setting up rival schools close to ours; and they apparently find it easier to draw off our pupils, than to look out for fresh and more distant fields of exertion and enterprise.

* * * *

My principal labour here is in the multitude of letters from the archdeacons, the chaplains, the charitable institutions, the supreme government, and the inferior governments of Madras and Bombay, which I have constantly to read and answer. Besides my official secretary, I am obliged to keep a native amanuensis, and as everything connected with churches, chaplains, missionaries, and school-masters, passes through my hands, or is referred to me by Government, besides my being visitor of Bishop's College, and agent to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I find myself daily in a sort of business in which I have much to learn, and in which I certainly take no great pleasure. I have this morning, for instance, and yesterday evening, had to answer four letters about the rate of exchange between Calcutta and England, and the expediency of drawing bills on the latter to pay the college debts; and I have just finished reading a long sheet of queries from the secretary to Government, respecting some ecclesiastical buildings, their expense, workmanship, &c., which will take some time and many previous inquiries to answer properly. All this will, however, I doubt not, become familiar to me by degrees; and I only regret it now, because it completely hinders the composition of my sermons, and very materially retards my acquisition of the Oriental languages. On the political state and prospects of India, as they at present appear to me, I hope to write another letter. It is an extensive and not uninteresting subject, and one which, I think, is not generally understood in Europe.

Dec. 17.

I rejoice to send a good account of both my Emilies, whom I accompanied some way down the river yesterday,

and left very comfortably accommodated.

* * * *

This letter will go by the purser of the Grenville, who is not yet set off. Captain Manning went yesterday, having taken charge of Emily and her little girl as far as the Sand-heads; they are to be very little on shore, but are to cruise about the roads during the day, and return at night to anchor.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Ever your obliged and affectionate
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO R. J. WILMOT HORTON, ESQ.

Calcutta, Dec., 1823.

MY DEAR WILMOT,—The speed of our voyage in the Grenville, by landing us in India some weeks before the time at which we might have been expected to arrive there, has been productive of one uncomfortable effect, by making us appear so much the longer without letters from England. Only one Liverpool vessel has since arrived, which was not of a date previous to the time of our own sailing, and she brought papers only a very few days more recent than ours. Reports, however, have from time to time been raised, of vessels supposed from Europe, seen working up towards Saugor; and you may well conceive the eagerness with which we have, on such occasions, anticipated the arrival of those bundles of information and kind wishes which form the delight of an English post-day, and to us, on the Ganges, would be, I cannot say how interesting. The Grenville, however, is now about to sail again, and I take advantage of her return to remind those valued friends who may, possibly, not yet have written to us, how much their correspondence allays the pain of absence.

This is a fine country, and, at this time of year, a very fine climate. We have, indeed, no mountains, not even an elevation so high as the mount in Kensington Gardens, which I recollect the more, because in them was my last

ramble with yourself and Hay. We have no springs, no running streams except the Ganges, and we have not much of open plain and dry turf. But we have wood and water in abundance; the former of the noblest description of foliage which I have ever seen, both in form, verdure, variety, and depth of shadow. I had no idea of the beauty and majesty of an Indian wood; the coloured prints which I had seen in England being as unlike the sober richness of the reality as the bloom of Mrs. Salmon's wax-work goddesses to Mrs. ———. Nor, to those who like wandering about an immense conservatory, or who are pleased and interested with cane-work cottages, little gardens of plantains and pine-apples, and the sight of a very poor, but simple, and by no means inelegant, race of peasants, are there prettier rides than those afforded by the lanes and hedgerows round Calcutta. The mornings, from five to eight, are now equal to the pleasantest time of year in England; then follow about eight hours, during which a man does well to remain in the house, but which, under such circumstances, are not too hot either for comfort or any kind of mental exertion; and from four to dark it is again about the temperature of our summer evening. This is, indeed, the best time of year. Of the rains and the hot winds everybody speaks with very alarming eloquence; and I apprehend that, during their continuance, a bare existence is all that any man can hope for. We had some little of these last on our first arrival, but not sufficient to prevent our morning and evening airings. They were, however, sufficiently potent to induce us to believe all which had been told us of the necessity of cool clothing, cool diet, and quietness.

* * * *

Of the people of this country, and the manner in which they are governed, I have, as yet, hardly seen enough to form an opinion. I have seen enough, however, to find that the customs, the habits, and prejudices of the former are much misunderstood in England. We have all heard, for instance, of the

humanity of the Hindoos towards brute creatures, their horror of animal food, &c.; and you may be, perhaps, as much surprised as I was, to find, that those who can afford it are hardly less carnivorous than ourselves; that even the purest Brahmins are allowed to eat mutton and venison; that fish is permitted to many castes, and pork to many others; and that, though they consider it as a grievous crime to kill a cow or bullock for the purpose of eating, yet they treat their draught oxen, no less than their horses, with a degree of barbarous severity which would turn an English hackney-coachman sick. Nor have their religious prejudices, and the unchangeableness of their habits, been less exaggerated. Some of the best informed of their nation, with whom I have conversed, assure me that half their most remarkable customs of civil and domestic life are borrowed from their Mohammedan conquerors; and at present there is an obvious and increasing disposition to imitate the English in everything, which has already led to very remarkable changes, and will, probably, to still more important. The wealthy natives now all affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, and filled with English furniture. They drive the best horses and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta. Many of them speak English fluently, and are tolerably read in English literature; and the children of one of our friends I saw one day dressed in jackets and trousers, with round hats, shoes, and stockings. In the Bengalee newspapers, of which there are two or three, politics are canvassed with a bias, as I am told, inclining to Whiggism, and one of their leading men gave a great dinner not long since, in honour of the Spanish Revolution. Among the lower orders the same feeling shows itself more beneficially, in a growing neglect of *caste*—in not merely a willingness, but an anxiety, to send their children to our schools, and a desire to learn and speak English, which, if properly encouraged, might, I verily believe, in fifty years' time, make our language what the *Oordoo*, or *court and camp*

language of the country (the Hindoostanee is at present. And though instances of actual conversion to Christianity are, as yet, very uncommon, yet the number of children, both male and female, who are now receiving a sort of Christian education, reading the New Testament, repeating the Lord's Prayer and Commandments, and all with the consent, or at least without the censure, of their parents or spiritual guides, have increased, during the last two years, to an amount which astonishes the old European residents, who were used to tremble at the name of a missionary, and shrink from the common duties of Christianity, lest they should give offence to their heathen neighbours. So far from that being a consequence of the zeal which has been lately shown, many of the Brahmins themselves express admiration of the morality of the Gospel, and profess to entertain a better opinion of the English since they have found that they too have a religion and a Shaster. All that seems necessary for the best effects to follow is, to let things take their course, to make the missionaries discreet, to keep the Government, as it now is, strictly neuter, and to place our confidence in a general diffusion of knowledge, and in making ourselves really useful to the temporal as well as spiritual interests of the people among whom we live. In all these points there is, indeed, great room for improvement. I do not by any means assent to the pictures of depravity and general worthlessness which some have drawn of the Hindoos. They are decidedly, by nature, a mild, pleasing, and intelligent race; sober, parsimonious; and, where an object is held out to them, most industrious and persevering. But the magistrates and lawyers all agree that in no country are lying and perjury so common, and so little regarded. Notwithstanding the apparent mildness of their manners, the criminal calendar is generally as full as in Ireland, with gang-robberies, setting fire to buildings, stacks, &c. &c.; and the number of children who are decoyed aside, and murdered, for the sake of their ornaments, Lord Am-

herst assures me, is dreadful. Yet in all these points a gradual amelioration is said to be perceptible; and I am assured, that there is no ground whatever for the assertion, that the people are become less innocent or prosperous under British administration. In Bengal, at least in this neighbourhood, I am assured by the missionaries, who, as speaking the language, and associating with the lower classes, are by far the best judges, that the English Government is popular. They are, in fact, lightly taxed (though that taxation is clumsily arranged, and liable to considerable abuse, from the extortions of the native *Aumeens* and *Chokeydars*); they have no military conscription, or forced services; they live in great security from the march of armies, &c.; and, above all, they some of them recollect in their own country, and all of them may hear or witness in the case of their neighbours in Oude and the Birman empire, how very differently all these things are managed under the Hindoo and Mahommedan sovereignties.

One very wise and liberal measure of Government has been the appropriation of all the internal transit duties to the construction of roads and bridges, and the improvement of the towns where they are levied. A more popular, however, and I believe better policy, would have been to remit those duties altogether. They are precisely the things in which the *chokeydars*, and other underlings, are most fraudulent and oppressive. Twice as much is extorted by these fellows from the poor country people as they are authorized to receive, and of what is authorized, only a moderate part finds its way into the Company's coffers. Under such circumstances it might, perhaps, be better to remove all restraints from internal intercourse and traffic, to make the people industrious and prosperous, and to be assured that improvements would follow by degrees, in proportion as they became necessary or desirable. Lord Cornwallis's famous settlement of the zemindary rents in Bengal is often severely censured here, as not sufficiently protecting the *ryuts*, and depriving the

Government of all advantage from the improvements of the territory. They who reason thus have apparently forgotten that, without some such settlement, those improvements would never have taken place at all; that almost every zemindary which is brought to the hammer (and they are pretty numerous) is divided and subdivided, each successive sale, among smaller proprietors, and that the progress is manifestly going on to a minute division of the soil among the actual cultivators, and subject to no other burdens than a fixed and very moderate quit-rent, a state of things by no means undesirable in a nation, and which only needs to be corrected in its possible excess by a law of primogeniture, and by encouraging, instead of forbidding, the purchase of lands by the English. On the desirableness of this last measure, as the most probable means of improving the country, and attaching the peasantry to our Government, I find, in Calcutta, little difference of opinion. All the restriction which seems necessary is, that the collectors of the Company's taxes shall not be allowed to purchase lands within the limits of their districts: and if the same law were extended to their Hindoo and Mussulman deputies, a considerable source of oppression, which now exists, would be dried up or greatly mitigated.

TO JOHN THORNTON, ESQ.

Tittyghur, Jan. 9, 1824.

MY DEAR THORNTON,

* * * *

I do not think, indeed, that the direct duties of this diocese, bating the visitations, are more than a man may do with a moderate share of diligence. . . .

They are such, however, as I must do all for myself, since, though I keep a native scribe at work from nine till four daily, he can only be trusted to copy what I write, while it is necessary for me to obtain and keep copies of all the official correspondence in which I am a party: besides which, an inter-

course with chaplains, missionaries, and religious societies is, in India, all carried on by letter, and what in England would be settled in a few minutes by personal communication, is here the subject of long arguments, explanations, and rejoinders in writing. I at first, therefore, had occasion to work pretty hard, and am now so fortunate as to be completely rid of all arrears of business, and to find myself equal to the daily calls of my correspondents, without so completely sacrificing all other studies as I was for some time compelled to do. Still I am without books, and, what has been still more inconvenient, without sermons, so that I have been latterly obliged to compose often two, and sometimes three a week, amid greater distractions, and with fewer opportunities of study or reference, than I ever before had to complain of. I continue well, however, thank God! and have abundant reason at present to be hopeful and contented in my situation, where I meet with much attention and kindness, and where the apparent field of usefulness is so great that, while I deeply feel my own insufficiency, I am more and more impressed with the undeserved goodness of God in calling me to such a situation.

* * * *

To the affairs of the Church Missionary Society I have paid considerable attention, and have great reason to be satisfied with the manner in which they are conducted, as well as personally with the committee, and all the missionaries whom I have seen. I have, as you are perhaps aware, obtained their adoption of some changes in the constitution of the society, qualified, I hope, to put us on a more stable and popular footing, and to obtain for us both at home and in India a greater notoriety and usefulness.

* * * *

Pray tell Mr. Parry that all which I have seen of India justifies his praises of it. It is a fine and most interesting country. The European society is agreeable, hospitable, and well-informed: there are many excellent people in Calcutta.

* * * *

But, alas! new friends cannot be like old; new lands cannot be like home! And while I should be the most thankful of men not to be contented and happy here, I cannot help often wishing for a sight of the hill above Hodnet, or the new fence which I left you and Mrs. Thornton contriving at Clapham.

No orders have yet come out from Government respecting a residence for me. Dr. Wallich has lent us his house at Tittyghur, between Calcutta and Barrackpoor, a delightful place, which apparently agrees with our little girl perfectly. The fort, from closeness, and other reasons connected with closeness, is said to be often injurious to young and delicate persons; but without its ramparts, we would fain flatter ourselves even children may enjoy good health in this country, and some years at least may elapse before we are compelled to send ours to England. May God hear our prayers, and those which, it is one of my chief comforts to believe, are offered up for us by our dear friends in England! God Almighty bless you.

Ever your affectionate friend,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

It was my intention till lately to set out by land for the upper provinces as soon as Emily was able to travel, and to stay at Ghazeepoor, a little on this side Benares, during the hot winds. In this expedition Archdeacon Corrie promised to accompany me, but a reconsideration of all which I am doing, and have to do, at Calcutta, has convinced me that I cannot be spared before the rains, when also I hope for Mr. Corrie's company. The want of episcopal visitation, confirmation, &c. in all those vast districts is said to be great.

TO THE HON. MRS. DOUGLAS.

Tittyghur, Jan. 10, 1824.

WHEREVER the Ganges is, there is beauty; and even those who are most sensible to the beauties of English

scenery may allow that while the peepul, the teak, and the other larger round-topped trees will bear no disadvantageous comparison with our oaks, elms, and limes; the mango and tamarind greatly surpass in beauty our walnut and cherry-trees, and we have nothing at all answerable to the banyan, the bamboo, the different species of palms, or the plantains, aloes, cactus, and ananas, by which the cottages are surrounded. The plains between these groves are all cultivated with rice, and have, at this time of year, pretty much the appearance of an English stubble. When we first arrived the rice was like our corn in spring; but as the ground dried, and the crop ripened, it assumed a more autumnal appearance, though never so bright and golden as our wheat.

Of the fruits of India we had formed high expectations: the mango, which is the most celebrated, has not been in season since our arrival; but the rest, such of them at least as are peculiar to the country, have much disappointed us. The oranges are, I think, the best; but they are not better than what are sent to London from the Mediterranean and the western isles. I will make an exception in favour of the coco-nut when unripe, at which time its milk is very refreshing, and far better than we get it in England. Nor are many of the native vegetables agreeable to an English palate; though anybody may easily get reconciled to yams, brinjals, and sweet potatoes. At this time of year, however, most European vegetables are brought to market in abundance, and very good, though cultivated for the consumption of Europeans only, the natives liking none of them but potatoes, which, though they have only known them during the last few years, are likely soon to rank, as a supplementary staff of life, with rice and plantains. The peasants near Patna already grow them to a considerable extent; but they never can become the exclusive crop here, inasmuch as the moist rice-grounds do not suit their growth, which will therefore be confined to the sandy and drier soils, where rice cannot grow, and where such a

vegetable may be of unmixed utility; while such a supplementary crop, in case of the rice failing, may prevent many a famine, and diminish one strong point of the similarity which now exists between the Indian and Irish peasantry, their reliance on a single article of food, and the almost infinite division and subdivision of their farms, which here, as in Ireland, is a fertile source of poverty and wretchedness.

On the whole they are a lively, intelligent, and interesting people: of the upper classes, a very considerable proportion learn our language, read our books and our newspapers, and show a desire to court our society; the peasants are anxious to learn English, and though, certainly, very few of them have as yet embraced Christianity, I do not think their reluctance is more than might have been expected in any country, where a system so entirely different from that previously professed was offered, and offered by those of whom, as their conquerors, they may well entertain considerable jealousy. Their own religion is, indeed, a horrible one; far more so than I had conceived; it gives them no moral precepts; it encourages them in vice by the style of its ceremonies, and the character given of its deities; and by the institution of caste, it hardens their hearts against each other to a degree which is often most revolting. A traveller falls down sick in the streets of a village (I am mentioning a fact which happened ten days ago), nobody knows what caste he is of, therefore nobody goes near him lest they should become polluted; he wastes to death before the eyes of a whole community, unless the jackalls take courage from his helpless state to finish him a little sooner, and, perhaps, as happened in the case to which I alluded, the children are allowed to pelt him with stones and mud. The man of whom I am speaking was found in this state and taken care of by a passing European, but if he had died, his skeleton would have lain in the streets till the vultures carried it away, or the magistrates ordered it to be thrown into the river.

A friend of mine, some months ago,

found a miserable wretch, a groom out of employ, who had crept, sick of a dysentery, into his court-yard. He had there remained in a corner on the pavement two days and nights. Perhaps twenty servants had been eating their meals daily within six yards of him, yet none had relieved him, none had so much as carried him into the shelter of one of the out-houses, nor had any taken the trouble to tell their master. When reproved for this, their answer was, "he was not our kinsman;" "whose business was it?" "How did we know that the sahib would like to be troubled?" I do not say that these are every-day instances: I hope and believe not; nor would I be understood as denying that alms are, to religious mendicants, given to great amount in Bengal, or that several of the wealthy inhabitants, in what they consider good works, such as constructing public tanks, making roads to places of pilgrimage, building pagodas and ghâts, are liberal. I only mention these instances because none of those who heard them seemed to think them unusual or extraordinary; because in a Christian country I think they could not have happened, and because they naturally arise from the genius of the national religion, which, by the distinction which it establishes, makes men worse than indifferent to each other. Accordingly, many of the crimes which fall under the cognizance of the magistrate, and many of the ancient and sanctified customs of the Hindoos, are marked with great cruelty. The decoits, or gangs of robbers, who are common all over the country, though they seldom attack Europeans, continually torture to force the peasants to bring out their little treasures.

* * * *

I need say nothing of the burning of widows; but it is not so generally known that persons now alive remember human sacrifices in the holy places near Calcutta; and that a very respectable man of my acquaintance, himself by accident and without the means of interfering, witnessed one of a boy of fourteen or fifteen, in which nothing was so terrible as the perfect indifference with which the tears, prayers,

and caresses even, which the poor victim lavished on his murderers, were regarded. After this it is hardly worth while to go on to show that crimes of rapine, and violence, and theft, are very common, or that the tendency to lying is such that (as one of the judges here observed) "in a court of justice they cannot even tell a true story without spoiling it." But what I would chiefly urge is, that for all these horrors their system of religion is mainly answerable, inasmuch as whatever moral lessons their sacred books contain, and they are very few, are shut up from the mass of the people, while the direct tendency of their institutions is to evil. The national temper is decidedly good, gentle, and kind; they are sober, industrious, affectionate to their relations, generally speaking, faithful to their masters, easily attached by kindness and confidence, and, in the case of the military oath, are of admirable obedience, courage, and fidelity, in life and death. But their morality does not extend beyond the reach of positive obligations; and where these do not exist, they are oppressive, cruel, treacherous, and everything that is bad. We have heard much in England of their humanity to animals; I can only say that I have seen no tokens of it in Calcutta.

* * * *

Their high reputation in such matters has arisen, I am assured, from exaggerated statements of particular instances, such as may happen in any country, of overstrained tenderness for animal life, and from the fact that certain sacred animals, such as the bulls dedicated to Brahma, are really treated with as much tenderness and consideration as if they were Brahmins themselves. As yet it remains to be seen how far the schools may produce a change for the better. I am inclined to hope everything from them, particularly from those which Mrs. Wilson has, under the auspices of the Church Missionaries, set on foot for females; but I am sure that a people such as I have described, with so many amiable traits of character, and so great natural

quickness and intelligence, ought to be assisted and encouraged as far as we possibly can in the disposition which they now evince, in this part of the country at least, to acquire a knowledge of our language and laws, and to imitate our habits and examples. By all which I have learned, they now really believe we wish them well, and are desirous of their improvement; and there are many points (that of the burning widows is one) in which a change for the better is taking place in the public mind, which, if we are not in too great a hurry, will probably, ere long, break down the observance of, at least, one horror. Do not suppose that I am prejudiced against the Hindoos. In my personal intercourse with them I have seen much to be pleased with, and all which I hear and believe as to what they might be with a better creed, makes me the more earnest in stating the horrors for which their present creed, as I think, is answerable.

This is an unmerciful letter, but I hope and believe that I shall not have wearied you. Both Emily and I often think and talk of you, and recall to mind, with deep and affectionate interest, our parting on the quarter-deck of the Grenville, with you and your brothers.

* * * *

We more and more feel how much we have relinquished in leaving such friends behind; but I do not, and hope Emily does not, repent of our undertaking. So long as we are blessed with health, and of this, with due care, I entertain at present few apprehensions, we have, indeed, abundant reason for content and thankfulness around us, and where there is so much to be learned and to be done, life cannot hang heavy on the hands of,

Dear Harriet,
Ever your affectionate Cousin,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

I believe I have said nothing of the Mohammedans, who are about as numerous here as the Protestants are in Ireland. They are in personal appearance a finer race than the Hin-

doos; they are also more universally educated, and on the whole I think a better people, inasmuch as their faith is better. They are haughty and irascible, hostile to the English as to those who have supplanted them in their sovereignty over the country, and notoriously oppressive and avaricious in their dealings with their idolatrous countrymen, wherever they are yet in authority. They are, or are supposed to be, more honest, and to each other they are not uncharitable; but they are, I fear, less likely at present than the Hindoos to embrace Christianity, though some of them read our Scriptures; and I have heard one or two speak of Christians as of nearly the same religion with themselves. They have, however, contracted in this country many superstitions of castes and images, for which their western brethren, the Turks and Arabs, are ready to excommunicate them; and, what is more strange, many of them, equally in opposition to their own religion and that of the Hindoos, are exceeding drunkards.

TO MRS. HEBER.

Tittyghur, Jan. 25, 1824.

MY DEAREST MOTHER,—Our former packets will, I trust, before this time, have communicated to you the intelligence of our safe arrival, and of our subsequent proceedings.

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Calcutta is a very striking place, but it so much resembles Petersburg, though on a less splendid scale, that I can hardly help fancying myself sometimes in Russia. The architecture of the principal houses is the same, with Italian porticoes, and all white-washed or stuccoed; and the width and straightness of the principal streets, the want of pavement, the forms of the peasants' carts, and the crowds of foot-passengers in every street, as well as the multitude of servants, the want of furniture in the houses, and above all, the great dinner-parties, which are one

distinguishing feature of the place, are all Muscovite.

* * * *

The public here is very liberal, but the calls on charity are continual, and the number of five and ten pound subscriptions which are required of a man every month, for inundations, officers' widows, &c. &c., are such as surprise an Englishman on his first arrival, though he cannot but be pleased at the spirit which it evinces.

I am happy to set you at ease about pirates. There were, as you have been rightly informed, four or five years ago, a good many Arab pirates in the Bombay seas, but none that I have heard of ever ventured into the bay of Bengal, and even those who did exist are said to have been completely driven from the sea by the expedition which was sent some time back from Bombay against the Arabs of the Persian Gulf. But with these seas I shall have little concern, since my journeys in that quarter will be chiefly by land. Those which I have to perform in this part of India will be mostly by the Ganges, on which skulking thieves are sometimes met with, but no robbers bold enough to attack European boats. I should have much preferred marching by land the whole way, as we at first proposed, but I found it impossible to leave Calcutta before the weather would have become too hot for such a journey. At the commencement of the rains we shall set out, and boat it all the way to Cawnpoor. The boats are like houses, and as comfortable as such things well can be; but our progress, by this method, will be very tedious and wearisome, compared with the amusement of a land-journey with our tents and elephants. We shall, however, escape the rains, which is reckoned the only unhealthy season in Bengal, when every road is a puddle, every field a marsh, and every river a sea, and when a hot sun, playing on a vast surface of water and decayed vegetables, is regarded as the cause of almost all the diseases which are not brought on by intemperance and carelessness.

* * * *

My morning rides are very pleasant; my horse is a nice, quiet, good-tempered little Arab, who is so fearless that he goes, without starting, close to an elephant, and so gentle and docile that he eats bread out of my hand, and has almost as much attachment and coaxing ways as a dog. This seems the usual character of the Arab horse, who (to judge from those I have seen in this country) is not the fiery dashing animal I had supposed, but with more rationality about him, and more apparent confidence in his rider, than the generality of English horses. The latter, however, bear the highest price here, from their superior size and power of going through more work. The Indian horses are seldom good, and always ill-tempered and vicious, and it is the necessity of getting foreign horses which makes the expense so great as you have heard, while, after all, in this climate, four horses will not do so much work as a pair in England.

Believe me, dearest Mother,

Your affectionate Son,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

I rejoice to hear that Mr. Puller is coming out as chief justice. He is a kind and worthy man, and will, I think, be very popular here, as well as be an agreeable and friendly neighbour to us.

TO THE VERY REVEREND THE DEAN
OF ST. ASAPH.

Tittyghur, Jan. 27, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—In my last letter I promised you that this should be a political one. I know not, after all, now that I am sitting down to the task, that I have been able to acquire any information which will be new to you, or that I am as yet qualified to speak otherwise than with great hesitation as to the real state even of a small part of this great empire. From all *external* enemies British India (now comprehending either directly or indirectly three-fourths of the whole vast peninsula) appeared, till lately, secure. The Maharattas are completely conquered

and heart-broken; the kings of Oude and Hydrabad only hold their places at our will and pleasure, and their subjects desire nothing so much as that we should take the government of both countries into our own hands; while Russia is regarded as so distant a danger, that, during the latter years of Lord Hastings' government, and in fact to the present moment, the army of India has been allowed to melt away, and is now, as I am assured, perhaps the least numerous establishment (in comparison with the population, extent, and revenues of the country whence it is raised and supported) that any civilised empire in the world can show. It seems, however, that war with a new, and by no means a despicable enemy, is now inevitable, and has indeed already begun. The King of Ava, whose territories, under the name of the "Birman empire," you will see marked in all the recent maps, has been long playing the same Buonapartean game in what is called "India beyond the Ganges" (though in fact removed many hundred miles from that river) which we have been playing in Hindostan. His dominions had, till now, been separated from ours by a line of mountains and forests, which prevented almost all intercourse, either peaceable or hostile; but by the recent conquest of the country of Assam and some other mountain rajas, he has pushed himself into the immediate neighbourhood of Bengal, and has begun to hold a language about frontiers, neutral grounds, and ancient claims of the "golden empire," which the English in India are quite unaccustomed to hear, and which it would be still more inconvenient to admit for a single moment. I believe, indeed, his actual demands are limited to a little swampy island, no more worth fighting for than that which was the cause of Fortinbras's armament. But this island, such as it is, has been in the hands of the Company, and the soubahdars of Bengal before them, time out of mind, and is also clearly on the western side of the main stream of the little river which divides the empires. Nor is this all, since in the course of the discussion

some menaces have been held out, that the "golden empire" has further demands which the great moderation of its sovereign only induces him to refrain from pressing, and that all Bengal as far as Calcutta and Moorshedabad ought to be ceded to him. Lord Amherst, who, as well as the directors at home, is sufficiently anxious for peace, expected, however, that firmly and civilly saying *no* would have been sufficient (together with placing a small garrison in the disputed island, which has, after all, been again withdrawn on account of the pestiferous air) to preserve matters on their former footing of grumbling and uneasy tranquillity. He has, however, been disappointed, since he heard yesterday that two Birman corps had advanced into the neutral ground of Cashar, one of which had been in consequence attacked by a small body of Sepoys stationed on our frontier, and defeated with some loss, but after a resistance which shows that our new enemies are in everything but arms and discipline far from despicable, and decidedly superior in courage and bodily strength to the generality of those to whom we have been as yet opposed in India. It is indeed possible, though barely so, that this first experience of bayonets and disciplined troops may not have been of a nature to increase their desire for further communication of the kind. But more likely, the check has been too slight to produce such an effect on troops who are found to be brave and hardy, and a king, who has been engaged in a long course of conquest, and has never met with his match till now. Should the war go on, it is some comfort to believe that we have *right* on our side. Yet it is a grievous matter that blood should be shed, and all the other horrors of an Asiatic war incurred to an extent which cannot be calculated, for a spot of ground so unhealthy that neither English nor Birmans can live on it, and by two governments, each of whom has more territory than it can well manage. The East India Company, however, and their servants and subjects, have reason to be thankful that the "Golden Sword" slept in its scabbard while

Lord Hastings was engaged, with the whole forces of the empire, against the Pindarries, Maharattas, and Nepaulese, since an inroad of the warlike barbarians would then have caused well-founded alarm to Chittagong at least, if not to Dacca and even Calcutta. The truth, however, is, that the Birmans were then occupied in the preliminary subjugation of Assam. With such a war impending, you will naturally ask, how far the British Government can count on the affections of its own subjects? This is a question which it is not very easy to answer. Anything like our European notions of loyalty or patriotism, I fancy, is out of the case. Indeed, from the frequent changes of masters to which all India has been long exposed, I doubt, from all which I have heard, whether the idea exists among them any otherwise, than that the native soldiers are, for the most part, admirably faithful to the government (whatever it may be) which they have engaged to serve, so long as that government performs its stipulations to them; and that if a country, under a bad and oppressive government, is attacked, the invader's camp would be better supplied with provisions than if the peasants supposed that they would be losers by his success. The idea of guerillas rising to oppose a foreign enemy would never enter into the head of a Hindoo, or if any such bodies of men were formed, they would be as professed plunderers, equally formidable to all parties, or as mercenaries ready to accept pay from any who might entertain them. But among the Sepoys nobody seems to apprehend a breach of faith, and from all which I have been able to learn, the peasantry and merchants are extremely well content with us, and prefer our government very much to that of any existing Asiatic sovereign. The great increase of population in Bengal and Bahar, the number of emigrants which come thither from all parts of India, the extent of fresh ground annually brought into cultivation, and the ostentation of wealth and luxury among the people, which under the native princes no one (except the im-

mediate servants of government) ventures to show, seem still more convincing proofs that they are, on the whole, wisely and equitably governed. The country (as far as I have yet seen, and everybody tells me it is the same through all Bengal) is divided into estates generally of a considerable size, called "zemindarries," from "zemindar," a landholder, held immediately of Government, on payment of a rate which was fixed by Lord Cornwallis, and does not increase with any fresh improvement or enclosure. These lands may be sold or divided by the proprietors, remaining subject to the tax, but cannot be touched by the Government so long as the tax is paid. The great zemindars generally live in Calcutta or the other cities, where some of them have very splendid palaces, under-letting their territories to dewans or stewards, answering to what the Scots call tacksmen, who, as well as the smaller landholders, generally occupy dingy brick buildings, with scarcely any windows, and looking a little like deserted manor-houses in England. Placed in the middle of the villages (whose bamboo huts seem far cooler and cleaner dwellings), they are overhung with a dark and tangled shade of fruit-trees, and surrounded by stables, cow-houses, threshing-floor, circular granaries raised on posts, and the usual litter of a dirty and ill-managed farm; but the persons who reside in them are often really very wealthy, and when we meet them on horseback on a gala-day, with their trains of servants, their splendid shawls, and gold and silver trappings, might almost meet the European notion of an eastern raja. Under them the land is divided into a multitude of small tenements, of which the cultivators are said to be often racked very high, though they are none of them attached to the soil, but may change, if aggrieved, to any landlord who is likely to use them better. Round the villages there are large orchards of mangoes, coco-nuts, and plantains, together with many small crofts enclosed with fences of aloes, prickly pear, and sometimes pineapples, and cultivated with hemp, cotton, sugar-canes, mustard, gram, and

of late years with potatoes and some other kinds of European vegetables. All beyond this is rice, cultivated in large open fields annually overflowed by the Ganges or the many canals which are drawn from it, and divided into little portions, or quillies, not laid out like our corn-fields in ridge and furrow, but on a flat surface, the soil being returned to its place after the crop is dibbled in, and intersected by small ledges of earth, both to mark property and to retain the water a sufficient time on the surface. There is no pasture ground. The cattle, sheep, and goats are allowed, during the day, to pick up what they can find in the orchards, stubbles, and fallows, and along the road sides, but at night are always fetched up and fed with gram. No manure is employed, the dung being carefully collected for fuel (except what little is used by the devout to rub their faces and bodies with), nor, with an occasional fallow (and this is, I understand, but seldom), is any other manure required than what the bountiful river affords. I have not yet seen them at plough, but am told that their instruments are the rudest that can be conceived, and, indeed, their cattle are generally too small and weak to drag any tackle which is not extremely light and simple: yet their crops are magnificent, and the soil, though much of it has been in constant cultivation beyond the reach of history, continues of matchless fertility. Nowhere, perhaps in the world, is food attained in so much abundance, and with, apparently, so little labour. Few peasants work more than five or six hours in the day, and half their days are Hindoo festivals, when they will not work at all.

Rent is higher than I expected to find it; in this neighbourhood six rupees, about twelve shillings the English acre, seems an usual rate, which is a great sum among the Hindoos, and also when compared with the cheapness of provisions and labour; about sixpence being as much as a working man can earn, even as a porter, and three-pence being the pay of a labourer in husbandry, while ordinary rice is, at an

average, less than a halfpenny for the weight of two pounds English. In consequence, I do not apprehend that the peasantry are ill off, though, of course, they cannot live luxuriously. Fish swarm in every part of the river, and in every tank and ditch. During the wet months they may be scooped up with a hand-net in every field, and procured, at all times, at the expense of a crooked nail and a little plantain-thread. They, therefore, next to rice and plantains, constitute the main food of the country. Animal food all the lower castes of Hindoos eat whenever they can get it, beef and veal only excepted; but, save fish, this is not often in their power. Except food, in such a climate their wants are of course but few. Very little clothing serves, and even this is more worn from decency than necessity. They have no furniture, except a cane bedstead or two, and some earthen or copper pots; but they have a full allowance of silver ornaments, coral beads, &c., which even the lowest ranks wear to a considerable value, and which seem to imply that they are not ill off for the necessaries of life, when such superfluities are within their reach. I have not yet been able to learn the exact amount of the land-tax paid to Government. The other taxes are on cotton, mustard-oil, charcoal, and, in general, the different articles brought to market, except rice and fruit; they are not high, at least they would not be thought so in Europe; and, of the whole thus collected, one half is laid out in making and repairing roads, bridges, tanks, canals, and other public works. The Company have a monopoly of salt and opium; the former being only made at the public works, the latter grown on the public domains. The former is, however, sold at a rate which, in England, we should think low, about four shillings the bushel; and the latter is chiefly for exportation. Justice is, as you are aware, administered in Calcutta by the Supreme Court, according to English law, but elsewhere by local judges appointed by the Company, from whom an appeal lies to a separate court at Calcutta, called the Sudder De-

wannee, which is guided by the Hindoo and Mussulman code, drawn up by Sir W. Jones. Of the English criminal law, those Hindoos with whom I have conversed speak highly, and think it a great security to live in Calcutta where this prevails. The local judges (who are all English) are often very popular, and in general the people seem to allow that justice is honestly administered; and my informants have spoken of the advantages possessed in these respects by the Company's subjects over those of Oude, or their own former condition under the Mussulmans. In these points I have drawn my information partly from a few of the wealthy natives, who occasionally visit me; partly from my own servants, whom I have encouraged to speak on such subjects; in some small degree from what I have picked up in my rides and walks round this place; and still more from the different missionaries who mix with the lower classes, and speak their language more fluently than most Europeans besides. Perhaps, as I myself improve in the language, I may find that I have been in some points misinformed or mistaken; but I think the accounts which I have had seem not unlikely to be correct, and their result is decidedly favourable both as to the general condition of this country, and the spirit in which it is governed. . . . With regard to the questions which have lately occupied a good deal of the public attention, the free press, and the power of sending back Europeans to England at pleasure; so far as these bear on the condition of the natives, and the probable tranquillity of the country, I have more to say than I have now time for. On the whole, I think it still desirable that, in this country, the newspapers should be licensed by Government; though, from the increased interest which the Hindoos and Mussulmans take in politics, and the evident *fermentation* which, either for good or evil, is going on in the public mind, I do not think the measure can be long continued. But the power of deportation is, I am convinced, essential to the public peace. Many of the adventurers who come hither from Europe are the

greatest profligates the sun ever saw; men whom nothing but despotism can manage, and who, unless they were really under a despotic rule, would insult, beat, and plunder the natives without shame or pity. Even now many instances occur of insult and misconduct, for which the prospect of immediate embarkation for Europe is the most effectual precaution or remedy. It is, in fact, the only control which the Company possesses over the tradesmen and ship-builders in Calcutta, and the indigo-planters up the country.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Ever your obliged and affectionate,
R. CALCUTTA.

TO SIR ROBERT H. INGLIS, BART.

Tittyghur, Jan. 27, 1824.

MY DEAR INGLIS,—I have not now time to write more than a few lines, yet I think you will not be sorry to hear of our well-doing.

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Out of the fort and streets of Calcutta, which are, and always must be, "black holes," the climate of India is, at this season, really delightful, and scarcely to be equalled, I think, by any which Europe can offer. But, alas! the time is again drawing near when we must descend from Meru Mountain, to dwell, for four months, at least, "with a fire in our heart, and a fire in our brain," for such the approaching hot season is represented to be. I am, however, well content with my situation, and almost all its circumstances: and though the good to be done must be, for the most part, of a very silent kind, and one whose fruits may not be apparent till the present race of husbandmen, and, possibly, many after them, shall be gone to rest, yet any man may count himself highly honoured in being thought worthy to labour here, however obscurely. A good deal of my attention, during my short residence, has been paid to the different sects of Oriental Christians, particularly the Greeks and Armenians, of whom a greater number than I had expected

reside both in Calcutta and Dacca, and of whom many solitary individuals are scattered all over the East. I find their clergy well pleased by being noticed, and not unwilling to borrow books, &c., and trust that, eventually, some more extensive good may be done by these means.

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Dear Inglis,
Ever your obliged and faithful friend,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE REV. E. T. S. HORNBY.

February 5, 1824.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

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Among the clergy I have several well-informed and amiable men, who are sincerely zealous in their calling, and active in the improvement both of their own countrymen and the heathen. We are, however, sadly too few for the work before us. Of the small number of chaplains which the Company supplies, nearly half are absent on furlough for ill health; and the few missionaries are quite unequal to supply the vacancies thus occasioned in many important stations, even if it were possible or desirable to withdraw them from their appropriate sphere of action, and, more particularly, from the management of those schools, which are, of all others, the most likely means to open the eyes and ameliorate the worldly and spiritual condition of the vast multitudes who are now not merely willing to receive, but absolutely courting, instruction. It is, in fact, the want of means on the part of the teachers, and not any of that invincible repugnance so often supposed to exist on the part of the Hindoos, which, in my opinion, must make the progress of the Gospel slow in India. Those who think otherwise have, I suspect, either never really desired the improvement which they affect to regard as impossible, or, by raising their expectations, in the first instance, too high, have been the cause of their own dis-

appointment. We cannot work miracles; and it is idle to suppose that thirty or forty missionaries (for this is, perhaps, the full number, including all Protestant sects throughout all India) can have, in ten or a dozen years (for a longer time has scarcely occurred since the work was set about in good earnest), so much as conveyed the name of the Gospel to more than a very small part of a nation containing 100,000,000 inhabitants, and scattered over a country of 1,500,000 square miles. It is no less idle to expect that any nation, or any great numbers in a nation, will change the ancient system of faith at once, or otherwise than by very slow degrees, and with great reluctance, a reluctance not likely to be lessened when the new creed is offered them by a race of foreign conquerors, speaking their language, for the most part, very imperfectly. But we have found, in spite of these obstacles, that some Hindoos and Mussulmans of respectable rank, and considerable acquirements (few, indeed, in number, but enough to show that the thing is not impossible), have, from motives the most obviously disinterested (since nothing is to be got by turning Christian but the ill-will of their old friends, and, in most instances hitherto, the suspicion and discountenance of their new rulers), embraced and adhered to Christianity. It is obvious, even to a careless observer, that, in Bengal at least, the wealthier natives are imitating the English in very many particulars in dress, buildings, and domestic economy; and that a change, either for evil or good, of a most extensive and remarkable nature, is fermenting in the native mind; and I am convinced, from the success of the experiment so far as it has yet been tried, that nothing but the want of means prevents the introduction of schools, like those now supported in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and at Burdwan, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Church Missionary Society, in every village of Bengal, not only with the concurrence, but with the gratitude, of the natives.

Meantime you must not suppose that the cares of a preacher of the Gospel can apply to the heathen only; a very numerous population of nominal Christians is rising round us, the children of European fathers and native women, who have been, till lately, shamefully neglected, but who show a readiness to receive instruction, and a zeal, generally speaking, for the faith and the Church establishment of the parent country, which should make that country blush for the scanty aids which she has hitherto afforded them. From these a considerable proportion of my congregations in Calcutta are made up; and, of these, two hundred and thirty-five young persons whom I confirmed there the day before yesterday, chiefly consisted. All these are circumstances which may well encourage a man to exert himself.

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Adieu, dear Hornby; let me hope sometimes to hear from you, and believe me,

Ever your affectionate friend,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MISS DOD.

Tittyghur, Feb. 26, 1824.

SUCH, my dear Charlotte, is a fair sample of the appearance and condition of some forty millions of peasantry subject to British rule; very poor, as their appearance sufficiently indicates, at least in those points where an Englishman places his ideas of comfort and prosperity. Yet not so poor, and not by any means so rude and wild, as their scanty dress and simple habitations would at first lead an Englishman to imagine. The silver ornaments which the young woman wears on her ankles, arms, forehead, and in her nose, joined to the similar decorations on her children's arms, would more than buy all the clothes and finery of the smartest servant girl in England,—and the men are, in all probability, well taught in reading and writing, after their own manner, while the little boy, perhaps, is one of my scholars, and could cast

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an account and repeat the Lord's Prayer with any child of the same age in England. The plant which overshadows the cow and goat is a bamboo, the tall palm in the distance is a coco, that which hangs over the old mother of the family is a plantain, and the creeper on the thatched cottage a beautiful fast-growing gourd, of the very kind I could fancy which obtained so fast hold on Jonah's affections. The style of carrying the child astride on one hip, the manner in which the water-pot is balanced, and the red paint, a mark of caste, as well as the diminutive size and high hump of the cow, what we usually see here; and though the group itself is from fancy, all the different objects are as faithful representations of nature as my skill enabled me to make. The sketch may give you some little idea of the scenes we meet with in our morning rides.

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At present I am not aware that I have much news to tell you, or that I have many circumstances to add to the description of Bengal which I have already furnished. Our lives for the last six weeks have been passed in great general retirement,

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but so much and so many things are to be done, that I am often completely tired out before the day is ended, and yet have to regret many omissions. One considerable source of labour has been the number of sermons I have had to compose.

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There is so grievous a want of chaplains on the Bengal establishment, that both the Archdeacon and myself are obliged to preach quite as often, and sometimes oftener, in the Sunday, than I ever did at Hodnet.

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The country is now splendidly beautiful. The tall timber trees, which delighted us with their shade and verdure when we landed, are now many of them covered with splendid flowers, literally hot-house flowering shrubs,

thirty or forty feet high, and the fragrance of a drive through the park at Barrackpore is answerable to the dimensions of this Brobdignag parterre. Some of the trees, and those large ones too, lose their leaves entirely at this season, throwing out large crimson and yellow flowers in their place.

I began my letter with a sketch of the peasantry of India. I conclude it with one of a part of the park of Barrackpore, with Lady Amherst in her morning's airing. The large tree in the centre is a peepul, sacred to Siva, and with an evil spirit, as the Hindoos believe, dwelling under every leaf. In the distance, between that and the bamboo, is a banyan. In the foreground an aloe, and over the elephant the cotton-tree, which at a certain season exchanges its leaves for flowers something like roses.

Believe me ever

Your faithful and affectionate friend,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W.
WILLIAMS WYNN.

Calcutta, May 27, 1824.

MY DEAR WYNN,—I have two most kind and interesting letters to thank you for.

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I have now, alas! to announce the death of the poor chief-justice, who, after a week's struggle with one of the country fevers, but too common at this time of year, breathed his last yesterday morning at a little after four, having enjoyed his office in India exactly, even to a day, the same time, six weeks, which his predecessor did. For the last thirty-six hours he had been, generally speaking, delirious, having from the beginning exhibited symptoms of a tendency of blood to the head; but down to that time I had seen him every day, and, though he was much reduced, had few apprehensions that the disorder would take so malignant a turn. He was buried yesterday evening (for in this climate no lying-in-state is ever thought of), with the usual military honours,

and attended to his grave by a more than the usual show of the military functionaries of Calcutta. I read the service, and all the clergy attended. He had already become a great and general favourite both with Europeans and natives from his cordial and friendly manners, the sensible and unaffected way in which he had commenced his judicial functions, and (with the natives more particularly) from the pains he, like poor Blossett, was taking to learn the language. Lady Puller has borne up admirably; her boy has been a great comfort to her, and has evinced in his whole conduct a very amiable and affectionate disposition, and a self-command, judgment, and discrimination, beyond his years.

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She has determined, and I think wisely, to return by the same vessel, the *Paget*, which brought them out! The contrast will, indeed, be very painful between her situation now, and what it was then, but both she and her husband were much pleased with the conduct of the *Paget's* captain (Geary), and she will probably find herself less forlorn with him than among total strangers. We asked them to our house, and they had a similar invitation from Lord Amherst, but they have preferred remaining during the short time which they spend in India in the Government-house in Fort William, in which they had succeeded us. Poor Puller was unfortunate in arriving at the worst season of the year, and a season which, every body says, has been peculiarly hot and unwholesome. Some days, indeed, during this month, have been almost deserving the name of "terrible." By shutting all the windows close, by darkening the room to the lowest ebb of visibility, and sitting as lightly dressed as possible under the constant ventilation of a punkah, one got through the morning pretty well, and I found no want of disposition or ability either to write or study. But if a window or a door was opened, the stream of hot air came in, without the least exaggeration, like what you may have felt at the mouth of a blast furnace. Had our kind-hearted friend

arrived in a more favourable season he might perhaps have been spared to us. But these thoughts are worse than idle.

The air has been within these few days greatly cooled by some pretty strong north-westers, with their usual accompaniments of thunder (and *such* thunder!), lightning, and rain. One of these storms, I regret to say, has blown down a large range of brick stabling at Benares, and killed several men and many horses. But at Calcutta they have done no harm that I have heard of, while their reviving effects on man, beast, bird, and vegetable, have really been little less than magical. These showers are now, indeed, becoming more frequent and attended with less wind, and an early setting-in of the rain is predicted, of which I hope to take advantage for my voyage up the country. My journey, alas! will not be so pleasant as I anticipated, since, on the concurrent representations of all our medical advisers, my wife and children remain behind, and we shall be separated for half a year at least.

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Dacca will be the first place I shall visit; there is a church to consecrate there; a good many candidates for confirmation, and some Greek Christians with whom I wish to get on the same amicable terms as I am with their countrymen at Calcutta. Nor am I insensible to the desire of seeing one of the most ancient and singular cities of India, and of obtaining a nearer view of the Sunderbunds, the main stream of the Ganges, and the yet mightier Megna.

I held my first visitation this morning at six o'clock, to avoid the heat of the day. We had the first fruits of the Gentile Church in India, in the person of Christian David, a black catechist in Ceylon, and a pupil of the celebrated Schwartz, whom, at the desire of Sir Edward Barnes, I admitted to deacon's orders. The poor man, who had journeyed to Calcutta, via Madras, to obtain them, is really a very clever, and at the same time a most simple and artless creature. He knows no Latin,

but speaks English, Tamul, Cingalese, and Portuguese fluently, and passed a good, though a very Indian and characteristic, examination. He is to dine with me to-day to meet the Company's chaplains and Church of England missionaries, as usual on visitation days, and the business being in some degree the triumph of the episcopal cause in the East, I have also asked the Protapas of the Greeks, the Archimandrite of the Armenians, with certain of their subordinate monks from Mount Sinai and Nakitchavan. It will be an odd party, but the fact is that I have been sometimes tempted to flatter myself with the hopes of effectually "reconciling" them. At least I think it not impossible for the Church of England to acquire a sort of influence over their minds, separated as they are by a vast interval from their own ecclesiastical superiors, which may enable us to do them much good, and to convey much valuable instruction to them, which they otherwise would be very slow to receive from us.

Adieu, dear Wynn.

Believe me ever

Your obliged and affectionate friend,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

God bless you once more! In proportion as friends drop off, those who are left become doubly dear. I have mourned for poor Puller sincerely, but what should I do for you?

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

On the Chundnah, June 28, 1824.

MY DEAR LOVE,—We are still in this labyrinth of rivers, and likely to be several days yet before we reach Dacca. Mr. Master, however, has kindly forwarded your packets to me, and I write back by his dâk-boat, which, being small and light, will be there on Wednesday. Thank you for your interesting letter. I never recollect seeing your hand-writing with more or so much delight as now, since it arrived quite unexpectedly, and I had no hopes

of hearing of you before the end of the week.

The stream of all these rivers, or nearly all, has been against us; and we had in one place a bar of sand to cut through, which has made our journey very tedious, though through a country, generally speaking, as beautiful as groves and meadows can make it. You will, I hope, ere this have received my second packet of Journal; and the third I will send from Dacca. We are both, I think, gaining health fast.

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If you and my dear children were with me, I should enjoy this way of life much. Our weather has been, generally, good, and all has gone on well.

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This course has, certainly, been a long one; but I am, on the whole, not sorry that I preferred it. It has shown me a part of Bengal not usually traversed by Europeans, and decidedly, I think, the most beautiful. We have had, indeed, no more adventures like our "audience" at Sibnibashi, but I have some things to send which I trust will amuse you, and I have had opportunities of making four large drawings.

Your affectionate husband,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Dacca, July 10, 1824.

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Poor Stowe has had a very severe recurrence of dysentery. He complained of it in some degree on Saturday, so that I left him wind-bound in the pinnace, rather than expose him to the chance of a wetting by taking him on in the jolly-boat to Dacca, an expedient to which I myself resorted on that day, in order to be in time for church on Sunday. On Sunday evening he arrived, but so ill that we had some difficulty in getting him out of his cabin to Mr. Master's house.

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I am quite well, except that my shins,

which I could not help exposing to the heat of the sun in the little boat, were both burnt in the same way as if I had been sitting before a great fire.

Dr. Todd, the principal surgeon in the station, has considered Stowe as in some danger, but to-day his opinion is more favourable. Pray tell his sister (though I hope it is almost needless) that he has, and shall have from me, as great attention and tenderness as a brother can show. . . . I sit in his room as much as I can, with my books and writing; I read to him when he is able to attend, and we converse from time to time, while he has more liking for the tea, egg-wine, &c., which I make for him than for what his nurse prepares.

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I have had the Confirmation this morning; about twenty-nine persons attended, all adults.

Assure Miss Stowe that her brother shall in no case be hurried, and that I will not leave Dacca till he can accompany me, or, should so long a journey be thought too much for him, till he is actually out of all danger, and able to return to Calcutta with safety and propriety. Adieu!

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W.
WILLIAMS WYNN.

Dacca, July 13, 1824.

MY DEAR WYNN,—I sent a few days since an official letter to Mr. Courtenay, announcing the intention of Archdeacon Barnes to resign, as soon as his ten years are expired, and his hope that he may be permitted to receive his pension from the date of such resignation. By all which I hear of him in India, he is well deserving of any favour which ministers may be able to show him.

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Should the friend who now addresses you sink to his last sleep by some jungle side, I have often thought (your kindness encourages me to take this liberty) that few men would be better qualified from experience, and good sense, and

good character, to give satisfaction to the clergy and governments of India. If I am spared to see him, which I hope to do in February next, I may, perhaps, give you more information.

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You will have learned, from a former letter, my intention of setting out on a visitation of Bengal, Bombay, and possibly Ceylon, and the date of my present will show you that I am already advanced some little way in my journey.

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Two-thirds of the vast area of Dacca are filled with ruins, some quite desolate and overgrown with jungle, others yet occupied by Mussulman chieftains, the descendants of the followers of Shah Jehanguire, and all of the "lions of war," "prudent and valiant lords," "pillars of the council," "swords of battle," and whatever other names of Cawn, Emir, or Omrah, the court of Delhi dispensed in the time of its greatness. These are to me a new study. I had seen abundance of Hindoo baboos and some few rajas in Calcutta. But of the three hundred thousand inhabitants who yet roost like bats in these old buildings, or rear their huts amid their desolate gardens, three-fourths are still Mussulmans, and the few English, and Armenian, and Greek Christians who are found here, are not altogether more than sixty or eighty persons, who live more with the natives, and form less of an exclusive society, than is the case in most parts of British India. All the Mussulmans of rank whom I have yet seen, in their comparatively fair complexions, their graceful and dignified demeanour, particularly on horseback, their showy dresses, the martial curl of their whiskers, and the crowd, bustle, and ostentation of their followers, far outshine any Hindoos; but the Calcutta baboos leave them behind, *toto calo*, in the elegance of their carriages, the beauty of their diamond rings, their Corinthian verandahs, and the other outward signs of thriving and luxury. Yet even among these Mahomedans, who have, of course, less reason to like us than any other inhabitants of India, there is a strong and growing disposition to learn the Eng-

lish language, and to adopt, by degrees, very many of the English-customs and fashions.

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The most whimsical instance of imitation is, perhaps, that of Mirza Ishraf Ali, a zemindar of 100,000 acres, and with a house like a ruinous convent, who in his English notes signs his hereditary title of "kureem cawn bahadur" in its initials, K.C.B.

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Many of the younger Mussulmans of rank, who have no hope of advancement either in the army or the state, sooner or later sink into sots, or kindle into decoits and rebels. As a remedy for this evil, I have heard the propriety suggested of raising corps of cavalry of the same description, but of smaller numbers, than those of Skinner and Baddely, which might be commanded by the natives of highest rank, but kept in the Company's pay, and assimilated, as much as possible, to the rest of the army. They might easily, it was said, be stationed so as not to be dangerous, and at the same time to render regular troops disposable for other purposes. The idea somewhat resembles that of Forbes, before the year 1745, for raising Highland regiments; and, perhaps, it may be true that the best way to make men loyal is to make them respectable and comfortable, while to keep them employed is most likely to keep them out of mischief. They are not, however, the great men only who are inclined to copy the English; a desire of learning our language is almost universal even here, and in these waste bazars and sheds, where I should never have expected anything of the kind, the dressing-boxes, writing-cases, cutlery, chintzes, pistols, and fowling-pieces, engravings, and other English goods, or imitations of English, which are seen, evince how fond of them the middling and humbler classes are become. Here, too, a knowledge of the Christian Scriptures, in spite of the Abbé Dubois, is rapidly increasing. A Baptist missionary has established a circle of twenty-six day-schools, containing more than

one thousand boys, who all read the New Testament as their daily task, without any objection being made; and had the Church of England Societies a missionary at present to spare, he might in a month double the number. Of all these, indeed, few will be directly converted, but these examples, as well as my own experience (and I think I am now able to form an opinion), convince me that the Hindoostanee version, at least, is neither unintelligible nor contemptible. If Christian David, indeed, is to be believed, and I believe him to be a very honest man, nothing can exceed Dubois's mendacity and ignorance even with regard to Malabar and Coromandel. But of these countries I trust to know more hereafter.

I have staid longer in Dacca than I intended, owing to the sad and severe illness of my poor friend Stowe, who, two days before we arrived, imprudently exposed himself to the two worst poisons of the climate, by wading through a marsh while the sun was yet high. He has been twelve days ill, and is yet in a very precarious state. His illness, indeed, prevented me from writing some days ago, but he is now asleep, and I have fled to England, shall I say? or Wales? for it is Llangedwin in which my fancy always contemplates you with most pleasure. Wherever you are, Heaven bless you all, and may you sometimes think of one, who, though now actually in "India beyond the Ganges," is, and ever must be,

Dear Wynn,

Your obliged and affectionate friend,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Dacca, July 16, 1824.

MY DEAR LOVE,—All I can say to-day is, that the two surgeons do not think matters worse. . . . I have prayed with poor Stowe every day, at his request, since his illness began; indeed, we had always read the Psalms and Lessons together on board our boat. On Sunday, by his own anxious wish,

he received the Sacrament. He is now quite calm, and resigned to God's will, which must, of itself, be a favourable circumstance for his bodily restoration.

July 17th.

You must prepare poor Miss Stowe for the worst, if that can be called the *worst*, which will be to her brother, I hope and believe, a gate of everlasting happiness. He is yet in the full possession of his intellects, and so strong, considering all he has gone through, that I have been persuaded with difficulty to cease to hope. . . . I shall feel his loss very deeply. I do think if he lives, with his good talents, good intentions, and the additional motives which a recollection of the approach of death and gratitude for his deliverance may give him, he will be a most valuable servant of God in India. . . . Nor is it a trifling circumstance of comfort to me, that, if he lives, I shall think that my nursing, and his unbounded confidence in me, will have been, under God, the chief means of tranquillizing his mind, supporting his strength, and saving him.

God bless you,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Dacca, July 18, 1824.

DEAR, DEAR WIFE,—All is over! My poor friend was released a little after twelve last night. The light-headedness which in dysentery, I find, is always a fatal symptom, increased during the day, though he continued to know me, and to do and take whatever I desired him; between nine and ten he had a severe return of spasm, after which he sunk into a tranquil doze till he passed off without a groan. I grieve to find by your letter that his sister is set out hither; surely there will yet be time to bring her back again, and spare her some of the horrors of a journey made in doubtful hope, and a return in solitude and misery.

I greatly regret that anything in my

letters gave encouragement to her to set off. But I have all along clung, even against hope, to the hope of his recovery.

On the 14th and 15th he altered much for the worse, and it was on the evening of the latter day that he was first convinced his end was drawing near, and begged me to be with him when the hour came. You will not doubt that I kept my promise, though he was not conscious of my presence. As he was fully sensible of the approach of death, so he was admirably prepared for it. From the very beginning of our journey, we had prayed and read the Scriptures together daily; on the last Sunday which he saw, we had received the Sacrament together; I trust I shall never forget the deep contrition and humility, the earnest prayer, or the earnest faith in the mercies of Christ, with which he commended himself to God. On Thursday he had an awful mental struggle, but confessed his sins, and cried for mercy to Jesus Christ with a simplicity, contrition, and humility, which I shall never forget, and I trust always be the better for. By degrees his fears became less, his faith stronger, and his hope more lively; and he told me at many different times in the following thirty-six hours, that God's goodness was making the passage more and more easy to him, and that he felt more and more that Christ had died for sinners. When his strength was gradually wearing away, he said, "If I lose sight of the Cross, though but for a moment, I am ready to despair, but my blessed Lord makes his mercy and his power more and more plain to me." The laudanum, which was given him in the course of Friday night, conjured up some evil dreams, of which he complained a good deal; being very much worn out myself, I had gone to lie down for an hour or two, leaving him asleep, under the care of one of the surgeons. He awakened, however, soon after, and called earnestly for me, and when I came, threw his arms round my neck, and begged me not to leave him. After we had prayed a little together, he said, "My head is sadly confused with

this horrid drug, but I now recollect all which you told me, and which I myself experienced yesterday, of God's goodness in his Son. Do not let them give me any more, for it prevents my praying to God as I could wish to do." He spoke very often of his "poor, poor sister," and said, "God, who is so good to a sinner like me, will not forget her." He asked, which you will not doubt I promised for us both, that we would be a sister and a brother to her. He said not long before his light-headedness came on, on Saturday morning, "Tell Mrs. Heber that I think of her, and pray for her in this hour." After his hallucination commenced, he rambled very much about our voyage, but whenever I spoke to him he recalled him for the moment, and he listened, and said Amen, to some of the Church prayers for the dying. "It is very strange," he once said, "everything changes round me. I cannot make out where I am, or what has happened, but your face I always see near me, and I recollect what you have been saying." The last articulate words he uttered were about his sister. Even in this incoherence, it was comfortable to find that no gloomy ideas intruded, that he kept up some shadow of his hope in God, even when his intellect was most clouded, and that his last day of life was certainly, on the whole, not a day of suffering. After death his countenance was singularly calm and beautiful, and not like a corpse so much as a statue. I myself closed his eyes.

One lesson has been very deeply imprinted on my heart by these few days. If this man's innocent and useful life (for I have no reason to doubt that the greater part of his life has been both innocent and useful) offered so many painful recollections, and called forth such deep contrition, when in the hour of death he came to examine every instance of omission or transgression, how careful must we be to improve every hour and every opportunity of grace, and so to remember God while we live, that we may not be afraid to think on him when dying! And above all, how blessed and necessary is the blood of Christ to us all, which was

poor Stowe's only and effectual comfort!

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God bless you, dear love, in your approaching voyage. How delighted I should be to meet you at Boglipoor!

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Dacca, July 19, 1824.

DEAREST WIFE,—Poor Stowe was buried yesterday in the cemetery, which I had consecrated just a week before. All the gentlemen of the station, as well as the military officers, attended unsolicited, and his body was borne to the grave by a detachment of European artillerymen, who, though it was the custom on such occasions for the coffin to be carried, when out of the city, by native bearers, refused to allow any persons but themselves "to touch the gentleman." Mr. Parish read the service, and I went as chief mourner. Sincerely as I have mourned, and do mourn him continually, the moment perhaps at which I felt his loss most keenly was on my return to this house. I had always, after airings, or other short absences, been accustomed to run up immediately to his room to ask about his medicines and his nourishment, to find if he had wanted anything during my absence, and to tell him what I had seen and heard. And now, as I went up stairs, I felt most painfully that the object of my solicitude was gone, and that there was nobody now to derive comfort or help from my coming, or whose eyes would faintly sparkle as I opened the door. I felt my heart sick, and inclined to accuse myself, as usual, of not having valued my poor friend sufficiently while I had him, and of having paid during the voyage too little attention to the state of his health, yet, from the hour I knew he was seriously ill, thank God! I can find nothing of wilful neglect to reproach myself with, though some things I might have done better, if I had not myself been in some respects unwell, and if I had not been con-

stantly occupied with business and correspondence. But I hope I did what I could during the few last days, and when his danger was told me, I gave up everything to him, and neither read nor wrote, nor paid or received visits, nor even went out of his room for a moment, except for very short and hurried meals.

It will be long before I forget the guilelessness of his nature, the interest which he felt and expressed in all the beautiful and sequestered scenery which we passed through, his anxiety to be useful to me in any way which I could point out to him (he was indeed very useful), and above all the unaffected pleasure which he took in discussing religious subjects, his diligence in studying the Bible, and the fearless humanity with which he examined the case and administered to the wants of nine poor Hindoos, the crew of a salt-barge, whom, as I mentioned in my Journal, we found lying sick together of a jungle-fever, unable to leave the place where they lay, and unaided by the neighbouring villagers. I then little thought how soon he in his turn would require the aid he gave so cheerfully.

I have been to-day settling his affairs, and looking over his papers. I yet hope to hear by to-morrow's post that you have been able to prevent his sister's wretched voyage. Adieu, the post is going out.

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Dacca, July, 1824.

I HAVE been sadly disappointed at not hearing from you to-day, but the cause has been explained by the increase of the inundation, and the consequent delays of the dāk.

I have, I believe, lost little by these three days' delay, as the wind has been contrary, and I, to say the truth, have had so severe a boil on the cap of my knee, that I am hardly fit to undertake a journey. I have had it coming on some time, and not being able to rest it, and irritating it still more by want of sleep, it had become very painful

indeed, and at this moment keeps me a close prisoner. The boat will be a good place for my convalescence, but in the mean time I have been better here.

Mr. Todd has absolutely refused to receive any fee for his attendance upon poor Stowe; his conduct has throughout been admirable. He seldom failed to call four and sometimes five times a day. He latterly always sate with Stowe during the times that I was forced to leave him, and he and Mr. Patterson, by turns, sate up the greater part of the three last nights, to watch any turn which might be taken advantage of. . . . Indeed it may be a melancholy comfort to Miss Stowe to know how much interest her brother's youth, recent arrival in India, and, perhaps, the manner in which his medical attendants spoke of him, excited in the whole station. Every day presents of fruits, jellies, things which were thought good for him, and books supposed to be likely to illustrate his case or amuse him, came from one quarter or another, not only from the Europeans, but from the nawâb and Mirza Israf Ali, while to Mr. Master's brotherly kindness I am more indebted than I can say.

And thus ends my visit to Dacca! a place which, more than most others in India, I was anxious to visit; my visit to which was opposed by obstacles so numerous, and at which I have passed, perhaps, the most melancholy and forlorn three weeks I ever remember. God's will be done! I have acted, as I thought, for the best, and I now go on, though alone and sorrowful, with an entire trust in His Providence and goodness. To think that I may, perhaps, in three weeks more, meet my beloved wife and children, is itself enough to give me courage.

This letter is a sad scrawl, but most of it has been written on the bed. I send you another curiosity which arrived to-day from two Armenian bishops of Ecmiazin, at the foot of Mount Ararat, and Jerusalem! What ideas such names would have excited in England!

Adieu, dear Love.

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MISS STOWE.

Furreedpoor, July, 1824.

WITH a heavy heart, my dear Miss Stowe, I send you the enclosed keys. How to offer you consolation in your present grief I know not; for by my own deep sense of the loss of an excellent friend, I know how much heavier is your burden. Yet even the many amiable qualities of your dear brother, joined with that deep Christian humility and reliance on his Saviour which he evinced in his illness, while they make our loss the heavier, should lead us to recollect that the loss is ours only; that, prepared as he was to die, it was his unspeakable gain to be removed from a world in which he had many sorrows; and above all, that your separation from him will only be for a time, and until *He* who has hidden him from your eyes shall restore you to his society in a happy and eternal state of existence. Separation of one kind or another is, indeed, one of the most frequent trials to which affectionate hearts are exposed. And if you can only regard your brother as removed for his own advantage to a distant country, you will find, perhaps, some of that misery alleviated under which you are now suffering. Had you remained in England when he came out hither, you would have been for a time divided no less effectually than you are now. The difference of hearing from him is almost all, and though you now have not that comfort, yet even without hearing from him, you may well be persuaded (which there you could not always have been) that he is well and happy; and, above all, you may be persuaded, as your dear brother was most fully in his time of severest suffering, that God never smites his children in vain, or out of cruelty. His severest stripes are intended to heal, and he has doubtless some wise and gracious purpose both for your poor Martin and for you, in thus taking him from your side, and leaving you in this world, with *Himself* as your sole guardian.

A mighty and most merciful Protector be sure He is, and one who always

then deals most kindly with us when we are constrained to cast our cares on Him alone, and are most sensible of our utter helplessness. This was your brother's comfort: it should be yours; and thus may both he and you have occasion for unspeakable joy hereafter, if the mysterious dispensation which has deprived you of your *brother*, serves to bring you to a closer and more constant communion with your *God*. Meantime, in my wife and myself, you have friends, even in this remote land, who are anxious, as far as we have the power, to supply your brother's place, and whose best services you may command as freely as his whom you have lost.

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So long as you choose to remain with us, we will be, to our power, a sister and a brother to you. And it may be worth your consideration, whether in your present state of health and spirits, a journey, in my wife's society, will not be better for you than a dreary voyage home. But this is a point on which you must decide for yourself; I would scarcely venture to advise, far less dictate, where I am only anxious to serve. In my dear Emily you will already have had a most affectionate and sensible counsellor.

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And now farewell! God support, bless, and comfort you! Such as my prayers are, you have them fervently and sincerely offered. But you have better and holier prayers than mine. That the spirits in Paradise pray for those whom they have left behind, I cannot doubt, since I cannot suppose that they cease to love us there; and your dear brother is thus still employed in your service, and still recommending you to the Throne of Mercy, to the all-sufficient and promised help of that God who is the Father of the fatherless, and of that blessed Son who hath assured us, that "they who mourn shall be comforted!"

One more consideration I cannot help addressing to you, though it belongs to a subject wrapt up in impenetrable darkness. A little before your poor brother ceased to speak at all, and after

his mind had been for some time wandering, he asked me, in a half-whisper, "Shall I see my sister to-night?" I could not help answering, though in a different sense, perhaps, from that in which he meant the question, that I thought it possible. I know not (indeed, who can know?) whether the spirits of the just are ever permitted to hover over those whom they have loved most tenderly; but if such permission be given (and who can say it is impossible?), then it must greatly increase your brother's present happiness, and greatly diminish that painful sense of separation which even the souls of the righteous may be supposed to feel, if he sees you resigned, patient, hopeful, trusting on that same Cross which was his refuge in the hour of dread, and that good Providence to whose care he fervently and faithfully committed you.

Believe me, dear Miss Stowe,
Your faithful and affectionate friend
and servant,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Furreedpoor, July 28, 1824.

ALAS! alas! my beloved wife, what have you not gone through? Your letter of July 24 has just reached me from Dacca. God's will be done in all things! Your joining me is out of the question. But I need not tell you to spare no expense of sea-voyage, or any other measure which may tend to restore or preserve our dear children or yourself, so soon as such a measure may appear desirable for any of you. . . . On these points I leave you in confidence to the advice of Dr. Abel and Mr. Shaw. For the success of their counsels I humbly hope in the mercy of God, who has in this heavy visitation preserved us from still more bitter sorrow.

I am, at this moment, strangely tempted to come to you. But I fear it might be a compromise of my duty and a distrust of God! I feel most grateful indeed to Him for the preservation

of our invaluable treasures. I pray God to bless Lady Amherst, and all who are dear to her, and to show kindness tenfold to her children, for all the kindness she has shown ours.

I am going on immediately, with a heavy heart indeed, but with trust in His mercies. Farewell!

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ALEXANDER,

&c. &c. &c.

Allahabad, Sept. 24, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—Many thanks for your kind and friendly letter, as well as for the enclosed paper. I am sincerely sorry that you have had so much trouble about it; and that from our friend the Archdeacon and myself not knowing exactly each other's proceedings, an ignorance arising from the illness which kept him while at Chunar so nearly close a prisoner, we were at the same time taking measures which had a tendency to clash with each other.

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It is, however, of the less consequence, since circumstances have come to my knowledge which make me think it, at the present moment, inexpedient to address Government on the subject of the Chunar church, and that the object which we have all of us in view will be, in some degree, obtained by another method.

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I cannot close my letter without renewing my acknowledgments for the very agreeable days which I have spent in your house and in your society; and assuring you that I shall long remember with deep interest some passages in our conversation, and in the letters which you showed me. That God may bless you and yours in all things is the earnest wish of,

Dear Colonel,

Ever your sincere friend,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Allahabad, Sept. 29, 1824.

YOUR letter, and enclosed note, have just reached me at this place, where we have been thus long detained for want of tents.

Alas! my love, how have you been tried! Comfortable as your last note is, I dare not yet hope that I shall see my lovely little Harriet again in this world, for I know the insidious nature of the disease. But I shall not return. I have, I feel, duties to fulfil here, and as you truly say, before I could arrive, her doom must be sealed, and your burst of grief, in case of the worst, must have subsided into a calmer sorrow. God support and comfort you! I am well, and I trust I shall be enabled to be patient and resigned.

There are rumours of wars in this part of the world, and people talk of armies and invasions from the Seiks, Nepâl, and Nagpoor. I am not very credulous of such reports, but I mention them to show you that I am aware of them, and will not run into needless danger. God bless you; trust in Him, and pray for His help for your poor babies, and your affectionate husband,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE REV. C. CHOLMONDELEY
AND MRS. CHOLMONDELEY.

Rahmatgunge, between Cawnpoor and
Lucknow, Oct. 19, 1824.

MY DEAR CHARLES AND MARY,—I write to both in one letter, because, from the rambling nature of the life which I have been for some time leading, and still more from the number of business letters which I am obliged to attend to, I have far less time than I could wish to thank my friends at home for the kind and interesting packets which I receive from them. Of those packets, I can assure you none has given Emily and myself more pleasure than Charles's account of the birth of your little boy.

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My journey has hitherto lain through three, if not four, very distinct tracts of country and people; of the former I endeavoured to give you some idea in my letters from Calcutta, and I do not think that my first impressions have been altered. Bengal, of which I have now seen by far the greatest part, is all pretty nearly the same mass of luxuriant vegetation; fields of rice, indigo, and sugar, growing in and out of the water.

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Bengal is not included within the bounds of Hindostan, and the term of Bengalee is used to express anything which is roguish and cowardly; such as they are, however, I am far from disliking them; and I still am inclined to think some parts of the country the most beautiful, I am sure it is the most fertile, and to an European the most novel and exotic district which I have yet seen in India. But if you wish to obtain an idea of the people or country of Bengal, I know not where I can refer you better than to the large prints of Cook's third voyage; the expression of countenance is remarkably similar to that which his draftsman has given to the Otaheitans.

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I ought not to omit that the language of Bengal, which is quite different from Hindoostanee, is soft and liquid. The common people are all fond of singing, and some of the airs which I used to hear from the boatmen and children in the villages reminded me of the Scotch melodies. I heard more than once "My boy Tammy," and "Here's a health to those far away," during some of those twilight walks, after my boat was moored, which wanted only society to make them delightful, when amid the scent and glow of night-blowing flowers, the soft whisper of waving palms, and the warbling of the nightingale, watching the innumerable fire-flies, like airy glowworms, floating, rising, and sinking, in the gloom of the bamboo woods, and gazing on the

mighty river with the unclouded breadth of a tropical moon sleeping on its surface, I felt in my heart it is good to be here.

As we approach the frontiers of Bahar, these beauties disappear, and are replaced by two or three days' sail of hideously ugly, bare, treeless, level country, till some blue hills are seen, and a very pretty and woody tract succeeds with high hills little cultivated, but peopled by a singular and interesting race, the Welsh of India.

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I have now taken measures for placing an ordained missionary of the Church of England among them, and hope to be the means, by God's blessing, of gradually extending a chain of schools through the whole district, some parts of which are, however, unfortunately very unhealthy. I had myself not much opportunity, nor indeed much power of conversing with any of them; but I have since had the happiness of hearing that one old soubahdar said that he and his men had a desire to learn more of my religion, because I was not proud; there certainly seem fewer obstacles to conversion here than in any part of this country which I have ever seen or heard of.

On leaving the hills of the Jungleterry district, the flat country of Bahar and Allahabad, as far as Benares, shows a vast extent of fertile, cultivated, and populous soil.

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The whole scene, in short, is changed from Polynesia to the more western parts of Asia and the east of Europe, and I could fancy myself in Persia, Syria, or Turkey, to which the increasing number of Mussulmans, though still the minority, the minarets, and the less dark complexion of the people, much contribute.

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But though this difference exists between Bengal and Bahar, Bahar itself, I shortly afterwards found, was in many respects different from the Dooab, and still more from the dominion of the

King of Oude, in which I now am. Almost immediately on leaving Allahabad, I was struck with the appearance of the men, as tall and muscular as the largest stature of Europeans, and with the fields of wheat, as almost the only cultivation. * * *

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I was tempted too to exclaim,

"Bellum, ô terra hospita, portas:
Bello armantur equi; bellum hæc armenta
minantur."

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Since that time my life has been that of a Tartar chief, rather than an English clergyman. I rise by three in the morning, and am on horseback by four, for the sake of getting the march over, and our tents comfortably pitched, before the heat of the day.

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I have then a few hours to myself till dinner-time at four, after which we generally stroll about, read prayers, and send everybody to bed by eight o'clock, to be ready for the next day's march.

I have as yet said nothing of my professional labours (though in this respect I may say I have not been idle); very few Sundays have elapsed since I left Calcutta in which I have not been able to collect a Christian congregation, and not many on which I have not been requested to administer the Sacrament. I have already confirmed above three hundred persons, besides those I confirmed before I set out; and I have found, almost everywhere, a great and growing anxiety on the part of the English families which are scattered through this vast extent of country, both to obtain a more regular and stated performance of Divine Service than, in the present paucity of chaplains and missionaries, can be afforded to them. I have found, too, abundant reason to believe that the standard of morals and religion is rising much higher among them than it used to be, and that the Church of England, her ceremonies and clergy, are daily gaining popularity. We are not here an old establishment, acting chiefly on the defensive; we are a rising and popular sect, and among the candidates

for Confirmation, many of whom were grown up, and some advanced in life, there were many who had been brought up among Dissenters or the Church of Scotland, and who confessed that a few years back they should never have thought it possible for them to seek the benediction of a bishop.

With regard to the conversion of the natives, a beginning has been made, and though it is a beginning only, I think it a very promising one. I do not only mean that wherever our schools are established they gladly send their children to them, though this alone would be a subject of great thankfulness to God, but of direct conversion the number is as great as could well be expected, considering that it is only within the last five years that any ordained English missionary has been in the Presidency of Bengal, and that before that time nothing was even attempted by any members of our church, except Mr. Martyn and Mr. Corrie. Of the candidates for Confirmation whom I mentioned above, eighty were converted heathens, and there were many whose distant residences made it impossible for them to attend, and many more who were desirous to obtain the rite, whom their pastors did not think as yet sufficiently instructed.

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Great part of our Liturgy has been translated, and well translated too, into Hindoostanee, and I thought it fortunate that the Confirmation service, as well as the Communion, is found in the present compendium. The language is grave and sonorous, and as its turn of expression, like that of all other Eastern tongues, is Scriptural, it suits extremely well the majestic simplicity of our Prayer-Book. With all this employment, and all these hopes before me, you will easily believe I am not idle, and cannot be unhappy. Yet you will not, I am sure, suspect me of forgetting all I have left behind; and there are many little circumstances of almost daily occurrence, which give occasion to very sadly pleasing recollections. The other morning, while cautiously trotting before daybreak, over a wide,

waste, plashy common, I can hardly tell you how forcibly my fancy carried me back to Hodnet Heath, to my school-boy and college rides towards Watling-street, at an equally early hour, with our dear brother Tom, and all the long series of past pains and pleasures. On another occasion, while we were sitting at the tent-door under the shade of a noble peepul-tree, looking out with some anxiety over the wide sultry plain for the rear of our caravan, Lushington called out, as the long necks reared themselves amid some brushwood, "The camels are coming, oh!" I believe he thought from my silence that I did not understand the allusion, but in fact I could not answer. He had sent me to Moreton drawing-room and my dear Mary's piano-forte, and I was, I believe, a long time in getting back to the neighbourhood of the Ganges and Jumna. I have written a very long letter, but I do not think I shall have tired either of you. I meant to have enclosed one to my mother, but I really have no time now, and will write to her at a more advanced stage of my journey, and when I have something more to say. I know you will show her this letter; giving my best love to her and to Heber, and my blessing to your little Tom. I can hardly say how often and how much I long to see you all, and how constantly you are all in my thoughts and prayers.

Adieu, dear Charles and Mary.

Ever your affectionate brother,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBBER.

Almorah, Dec. 1, 1824.

YOUR letter of the 10th November has just reached me, having been sent from Delhi. I trust that long ere this you will have been convinced, by my Journal, that though there is a certain degree of irritability in the native mind in the northern and western provinces of Hindostan, there is nothing like revolt, and that I am running no sort of danger. To set your mind, however, more at ease, I have had a conversation

with ———, who, though not insensible to the fact that there are fewer troops than is advisable in these provinces (if troops were to be had), does not feel any apprehension of mischief occurring at present. Had any of the great native powers been prepared to strike, they would have been on horseback before now, and as soon as possible after the rains. And though there may be, here and there, a refractory zemindar on the frontier, no general or formidable rising can be now looked for, unless, which God forbid, some great disaster shall happen to our arms in the east. Rajpootana is said to be again quiet, and the transfer of Mhow to the Bombay army, by nearly doubling Sir David Ochterlony's disposable force, will enable him probably to keep it so.

I am not going near the district where Mr. Shore was wounded, and that too is said to be now again tranquil. Rohilcund is as quiet as it is ever likely to be, and of that district I have only a very few short marches to traverse, and in its *quietest part*; nor, so far as I can learn, am I at all an unpopular person there, or likely to be molested, even if some partial mischief should occur. Believe me, I will be prudent, and incur no needless danger. God bless and keep you for ever!

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Boitpoor, Rohilcund, Dec. 10, 1824.

DEAREST EMILY,—I send you two good packets of Journal, by which you will see I have had a very interesting journey through Kemaoon. My visit to Almorah has, I hope, not been useless, or one which I ought to regret, notwithstanding the delay it has occasioned me. The reasons which led me to go there (which indeed, as you are aware, has always been a part of my plan) you will see detailed in my Journal. I have learned some facts which, if my life is spared, may open a door for sending missionaries and copies of the Scriptures into Tartary, and even

China. I have also ascertained, from actual experience, that if our next arrival in the north of India falls at the proper season, neither the fatigue nor the inconveniences, though certainly neither of them are trifling, need deter you from enjoying the pleasure which I have received, and which, had you been with me, would have been greatly increased.

* * * *

For children and women-servants there is no mode of conveyance but small hammocks, slung on a bamboo, and each carried by two men, whilst you would have to encounter the actual bodily fatigue of sitting on a pony up and down steep hills for three and four hours together. Still these difficulties are not much greater than are encountered by travellers in Norway and the remoter parts of Scotland.

* * * *

I have at last received your letters, directed to Meerut, and that of Dr. Abel. They contain a very blended tissue of evil and good, for which I hardly know whether to lament or be grateful.

* * * *

The letters you enclose from home have also excited very painful feelings.

* * * *

Nor am I able to contemplate, without great concern and anxiety, my poor mother, at her time of life, seeking out a new residence. God, I hope, will support and strengthen her natural cheerful spirits and activity of mind.

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

In order to show you that I conceal nothing from you, I add, that a letter from Mr. Halhed, just received, apologizes for not being able to receive me at his house, in consequence of his being obliged to march against a small body of armed plunderers near the forest. Such little tumults are, as I have told you, not unfrequent in Rohilcund; but *this* is several days' march out of my way, and even were it not, my escort is too strong to encourage them to meddle with me. I mention it lest you should be alarmed by hearing anything of it from other quarters,

and because such matters are, at Calcutta, often exaggerated.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Mowah (Jyepoor Territory), Jan. 22, 1825.

MY DEAREST EMILY,—I take the opportunity of the return of Mr. Mac Sweyn's suwarra to Agra, to send you my Journal, as continued down to this morning. My next letter must be from Jyepoor, where, if it please God, I hope to arrive on the 28th. If you sail to Bombay, that will be the last letter which you are likely to receive from me during your stay in Bengal.

* * * *

I was very sorry to hear of poor . . . 's death, and cannot help thinking that the confined air of her quarters in the fort, added to her own regret for the foolish step she had taken in leaving you, hastened it. I now much regret that I did not, as I once thought of doing, call on her in one of my morning rides, to bid her good bye before I left Calcutta; she would have taken it kindly, but I was in a hurry, and not over well-pleased with her at the time.

I have just received a letter from Colonel Raper, the resident at the rannee's court, who sent me an additional escort of cavalry for my passage through the Jyepoor territory. I had, *previously*, no apprehensions, but you will be glad to hear that I am well guarded. The rannee is now again on perfect good terms with the English. Sir David Ochterlony is residing in the palace with her, and she has sent a vakeel and a guard of twenty-five horsemen to guide and guard me through her dominions. She has, in fact, carried most of her points with Government, which, in these troublesome times, had probably no desire to make new enemies. All is at present quiet in these parts; and, with the exception of the strange appearance of two thousand five hundred horse, no man knows whence, at Calpee, who plundered the city, and even ventured to exchange some shots with the garri-

son in the fort, all has been so for several months past. Any more serious mischief to which that *may* have been intended as a prelude will probably be prevented by the news of our successes at Rangoon.

I am quite well, and if you were with me should be quite happy. As it is, I enjoy very much this sort of wild travelling, and the spectacle of a people in a very simple state of society.

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Jyepoor, Jan. 28, 1825.

* * * *

I have written to you so lately that I should hardly have sent you another packet, if it were not under the idea that, unless I make haste, I shall hardly catch you before your embarkation for Bombay, should that event, as I continue to hope it may, take place. I hope, please God, to send an account of my further progress, to meet you, should you arrive there before me; but should such a letter not immediately make its appearance, do not anticipate any evil, since in the line of road which I am most likely to follow in my march from Nusseerabad, I am not certain that any dāk exists, except a very circuitous one.

* * * *

I little thought, when fancying the possible trials which we might have to go through in India, that the sea was ever to roll between you, our babies, and me! But go wherever you will, you are in the hands of a good God. I know you will not tempt His goodness unnecessarily by going in an improper vessel (an Arab I positively prohibit), or at an improper season; and the air of Calcutta, to which I have already trusted you so long, is, in my opinion, an element full as dangerous as that to which I am now trusting you. And I hope that the Great Protector, under whose care we are now running our separate course, will not only, if He sees it good for us, bring us safely and happily together in a

few months more, but that, through His mercy, this may be our last separation, of any length, on this side the grave!

An answer to this letter may have a chance of reaching me either at Mhow or Ahmedabad. I am not able to determine, till I reach Nusseerabad, which of these two routes it will be best for me to pursue. The first had been always contemplated by me, but since the Bengal army has been withdrawn, and replaced by fresh troops from Poonah, I do not know that I am likely to have much to do there; and by taking the more western road by Oodeypoor, Aboo, Palampoor, &c., I get, as I am told, a better road, visit a new and large station of the Bombay army at Deesa, and see some fine ruins at Aboo. Above all, Mhow will lie very well in the road which I propose to take with you in a future visitation, when the chance is, there will be more to do there than there is now. However, I hope to receive letters at Nusseerabad which will enable me to determine what is best: it will be usefulness, not curiosity, which will guide me. A letter to each of these places, Mhow and Ahmedabad, will be almost sure to reach me, and would be a great comfort to me.

* * * *

Do you know, dearest, that I sometimes think we should be more useful, and happier, if Cawnpoor or Benares, not Calcutta, were our home. My visitations would be made with far more convenience, the expense of house-rent would be less to the Company, and our own expenses of living would be reduced very considerably. The air, even of Cawnpoor, is, I apprehend, better than that of Bengal, and that of Benares decidedly so. The greater part of my business with Government may be done as well by letters as personal interviews; and, if the Archdeacon of Calcutta were resident there, it seems more natural that the Bishop of India should remain in the centre of his diocese. The only objection is the great number of Christians in Calcutta, and the consequent probability that my preaching is more useful there than it

would be anywhere else. We may talk these points over when we meet.

God bless you and your dear children!

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Bheelwarra, Meywar, Feb. 18, 1825.

DEAREST LOVE,—I have just, thank God, received your letter of February 1st, and I am truly rejoiced at the favourable account which it gives of both our treasures.

* * * *

You say nothing of yourself, and I cannot help being uneasy lest your anxiety should do you harm. God forgive me! I often regret that I left you. Yet I hope and trust that He will take care of you, and I know that it is He only on whose care all must depend, whether I am present or absent. It is *this* only, and the feeling that I have the opportunity of doing *Him* service where I am going, which keeps me yet in suspense about turning back to you. *He* knows how gladly (if I thought myself justified in doing it, now that all preparations have been made in Bombay to receive me) I should set my face eastward. I thought yesterday morning, when the drum beat for our march, of poor Tom Tough in Dibdin's ballad:—

“The worst time of all was when the little ones were sickly,
And if they'd live or die the doctor did not know,
The word was given to weigh so sudden and so quickly.
I thought my heart would break as I sung
‘out, Yo heave oh!’”

Yet if good news continues, I shall, like poor Tom Tough, persevere.

* * * *

Sometimes I would fain flatter myself that the children may still get so well before the end of this month, as to justify your sailing for Bombay. My own opinion is, I confess, that change of air, and sea air above all, is what they want, and that you will risk less by being removed from your pre-

sent excellent advice, than by remaining in that cruel climate during the rainy season.

Had your own health been such as to enable or justify you in coming with me in the first instance, and our children had accompanied you, I am often tempted to think they would both have remained well. But God only knows what is best for us; and while we act for the best, and trust in Him, there can be no ground for self-reproach. We both then did, undoubtedly, what we thought our duty, and it is possible that my present notions of the climate of Bengal are too unfavourable. Surely, however, we have no reason to think well of it!

* * * *

Adieu, dearest; God bless and protect you!—Direct to me at Mhow: if I do not go there, your letters will be forwarded.

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

—

TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES
W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Pertaubghur, Malwah, March 1, 1825.

MY DEAR WYNN,—

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* * * *
* * * *

In Hindostan, which name is confined by the natives to Upper India only, and more particularly to that part of it which was within the usual limits of the Mogul empire, and is now subject to the Company, there are few natural curiosities, and the distinguished works of architecture are chiefly confined to the great cities and their vicinity. They are, however, far superior to all which I had expected, and very different from the idea generally formed of them in Europe. I had heard much of the airy and gaudy style of Oriental architecture, a notion, I apprehend, taken from that of China only, since solidity, solemnity, and a richness of ornament, so well managed as not to interfere with solemnity, are the characteristics of all the ancient

buildings which I have met with in this country. I recollect no corresponding parts of Windsor at all equal to the entrance of the castle of Delhi, and its marble hall of audience; and even Delhi falls very short of Agra in situation, in majesty of outline, in size, and the costliness and beauty of its apartments.

* * * *

They are not the Mussulmans only who have surprised me. At Benares, indeed, the Hindoo works are all small, but in the wild countries which I am now traversing, and where the Hindoos have been pretty much left to themselves, there are two palaces, Umeer and Jyepoor, surpassing all which I have seen of the Kremlin, or heard of the Alhambra; a third, Joudpoor, which I have not seen, is said to be equal to either; and the Jain temples of Aboo, on the verge of the Western desert, are said to rank above them all.

Of the people, so far as their natural character is concerned, I have been led to form, on the whole, a very favourable opinion. They have, unhappily, many of the vices arising from slavery, from an unsettled state of society, and immoral and erroneous systems of religion. But they are men of high and gallant courage, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvement, with a remarkable aptitude for the abstract sciences, geometry, astronomy, &c., and for the imitative arts, painting and sculpture. They are sober, industrious, dutiful to their parents, and affectionate to their children, of tempers almost uniformly gentle and patient, and more easily affected by kindness and attention to their wants and feelings than almost any men whom I have met with. Their faults seem to arise from the hateful superstitions to which they are subject, and the unfavourable state of society in which they are placed. But if it should please God to make any considerable portion of them Christians, they would, I can well believe, put the best of European Christians to shame. They are the Sepoys and irregular horse of whom I chiefly speak, for of these it is that I have happened to see

most, having taken all opportunities of conversing with my escort, and having, for several weeks together, had scarcely anybody else to converse with. I find, however, that my opinion of both these classes of men is that of all the officers in the Company's service to whom I have named the subject; and so far as my experience reaches, which certainly is not great, I have no reason to suppose that the classes whom I have mentioned are not a fair average specimen of the other inhabitants of the country.

The English in the upper provinces are, of course, thinly scattered in proportion either to the multitude of heathen, or the extent of territory. They are, however, more numerous than I expected, though there are very few, indeed, who are not in the civil or military employ of Government. The indigo planters are chiefly confined to Bengal, and I have no wish that their number should increase in India. They are always quarrelling with and oppressing the natives, and have done much, in those districts where they abound, to sink the English character in native eyes. Indeed the general conduct of the lower order of Europeans in India is such as to show the absurdity of the system of free colonization which W—— is mad about.

* * * *

To return, however, to the English society in the upper provinces. It is of course composed of nearly the same elements with that of Calcutta, the officers who take their turns of duty here being most of them at different times called by business or promotion to the presidency. Each of the civil stations forms a little society within itself, composed of the judge, the collector, the registrar, the station surgeon, and postmaster. The military stations are strictly camps, composed of huts for the men, with thatched cottages for the officers, ranged in regular lines, with a hospital, and sometimes, though too seldom, a church and chaplain.

Neither the civil nor military officers have much intercourse with the natives, though between officers and magistrates of a certain rank, and the natives of distinction, there is generally an occa-

sional interchange of visits and civilities. Society, both civil and military is less formal up the country than in Calcutta, and this plainness and cordiality of manners increases as we approach the northern and western frontier, where everything still remains, as they themselves call it, "camp fashion."

* * * *

I dined not long since with a brigadier-general, where the feast consisted of boiled beef, roast mutton, boiled mutton, hashed mutton, mutton chops, and mutton broth. A man, however, would be very fastidious who would quarrel with such fare as this, accompanied as it was with perfect good manners, and extremely amusing and interesting conversation. The civilians live in more style, and appear in public with a train of attendants on horseback and foot.

* * * *

Yet even with this there is a plainness and freedom from restraint which they appear to lose when they come in sight of Government House, and which makes me apprehend that a life in Hindostan Proper is far happier, as well as more wholesome for body and mind, than on the banks of the Hooghly. Of course among these different functionaries there is an abundant difference of character and talent; but the impression made on my mind is favourable, on the whole, to their diligence and good intentions; nor can there be more useful or amiable characters than some of the elder servants of the Company, who, eschewing Calcutta altogether, have devoted themselves for many years to the advantage of the land in which their lot is thrown, and are looked up to, throughout considerable districts, with a degree of respectful attachment which it is not easy to believe counterfeited. Mr. Brooke, of Benares, is precisely a character of this description. Mr. Hawkins, of Bareilly, and Mr. Traill, the judge of Almorah, are others, and Sir David Ochterlony would have been an example still more conspicuous, were it not for the injurious confidence which he is said to place in his servants.

But though I fully believe the influence of Britain to have been honestly employed for the benefit of India, and to have really produced great good to the country and its inhabitants, I have not been led to believe that our Government is generally popular, or advancing towards popularity. It is, perhaps, impossible that we should be so in any great degree; yet I really think there are some causes of discontent which it is in our own power, and which it is our duty, to remove or diminish. One of these is the distance and haughtiness with which a very large proportion of the civil and military servants of the Company treat the upper and middling class of natives. Against their mixing much with us in society, there are certainly many hindrances, though even their objection to eating with us might, so far as the Mussulmans are concerned, I think, be conquered by any popular man in the upper provinces, who made the attempt in a right way. But there are some of our amusements, such as private theatrical entertainments and the sports of the field, in which they would be delighted to share, and invitations to which would be regarded by them as extremely flattering, if they were not, perhaps with some reason, voted bores, and treated accordingly. The French, under Perron and Des Boignes, who in more serious matters left a very bad name behind them, had, in this particular, a great advantage over us, and the easy and friendly intercourse in which they lived with natives of rank is still often regretted in Agra and the Doab. This is not all, however. The foolish pride of the English absolutely leads them to set at nought the injunctions of their own Government. The tussildars, for instance, or principal active officers of revenue, ought, by an order of council, to have chairs always offered them in the presence of their European superiors, and the same, by the standing orders of the army, should be done to the soubahdars. Yet there are hardly six collectors in India who observe the former etiquette; and the latter, which was fifteen years ago never omitted in the army, is now

completely in disuse. At the same time the regulations of which I speak are known to every tussildar and soubahdar in India, and they feel themselves aggrieved every time these civilities are neglected; men of old families are kept out of their former situation by this and other similar slights, and all the natives endeavour to indemnify themselves for these omissions on our part by many little pieces of rudeness, of which I have heard Europeans complain, as daily increasing among them.

* * * *

In almost every part of my journey, I have found the minds of the Europeans more favourably disposed to religion than I expected, and anxious, in a degree proportioned to their paucity, to avail themselves of every opportunity which offered for attending the rites of the Church. The native Christians of the Roman Catholic persuasion amount, I am told, to some thousands, and do not bear a good character. Those who are members of the Church of England in this presidency have chiefly been converted by Archdeacon Corrie, and by his disciples, Bowley, Abdul Musseeh, and Anund Musseeh, and by Mr. Fisher of Meerut. Their number does not exceed, at most, five hundred adults, who are chiefly at the stations of Benares, Chunar, Buxar, Meerut, and Agra, a large proportion being the wives of European soldiers. Even this number is greater than might have been expected, when we consider how few years have passed since Mr. Corrie first came into the country. He was contemporary with Martyn, and before their time nothing was attempted here by the Church of England. I have made many inquiries, but cannot find that any jealousy on this head exists at present among the natives. Corrie, indeed, himself, from his pleasing manners, his candid method of conversing with them on religious topics, his perfect knowledge of Hindoostanee, and his acquaintance with the topics most discussed among their own learned men, is a great favourite among the pundits of Benares, and the syuds and other learned Mussulmans at Agra, who seem to like

conversing with him even where they differ most in their opinion. This good man, with his wife and children, went with me as far as Lucknow, and he has since gone to pass the hot weather in the Dhoon, his health being, I grieve to say, in a very precarious condition. At the same time I lost the society of a very agreeable fellow-traveller, the son of Mr. Lushington of the Treasury. My journey from thence to Delhi was, generally speaking, made alone; but I had then a medical man assigned to me by General Reynell. The want of such a person I had felt severely, both in the case of poor Stowe, and afterwards during my own illness, and when I had four men in my camp ill of jungle-fever.

Mr. Adam, in spite of all which has been said and written, is, and uniformly has been, one of the most popular men in India. He is, perhaps, the only public man in whom, in any great degree, both Europeans and natives have confidence; and his absence from Calcutta during the early part of the war, and his present determination, which has just reached these provinces, to return to Europe, have been regarded by all, without exception, whom I have heard speak on the subject, as the heaviest calamities which could have befallen British India. I was Mr. Adam's guest for a few days at Almorah, and greatly pleased both with his manners and conversation; but he was then weak both in health and spirits, and my opinion of him has been formed rather from what I heard, than what I have myself known of him.

The character which Malcolm has left behind him in Western and Central India is really extraordinary. As political agent, he had many difficulties to contend with, of which the jealousy entertained of him, as a Madras officer, by the Bengal army, is not the least. But during his stay he seems to have conciliated all classes of Europeans in a manner which hardly any other man could have done, while the native chiefs whom I have seen asked after him with an anxiety and regard

which I could not think counterfeited, inasmuch as they did not pretend anything equal to it when speaking of other great men.

I have, I fear, wearied you, and have been infinitely longer than I myself anticipated; but I know how deep an interest you take in all which relates to this country, and, except these long despatches, and my daily prayers for you and yours, I have now no opportunity of showing how sincerely I am,

Dear Wynn,
Your obliged and affectionate friend,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Doodeah (Guzerát), March 13, 1825.

YOUR letter of the 9th February has just been forwarded to me from Baroda. I need not say how great a comfort it was to me to hear from you again in the midst of these wilds, and when, for a week to come, I hardly flattered myself with that expectation. It is of four days' later date than your last, and, thank God, the accounts continue favourable.

I am and have been in perfect health, and have performed my journey through all which was considered the adventurous part of the road very peaceably and quietly. Nothing can be wilder or more savage than these jungles, but they contain many spots of great romantic beauty, though the mountains are certainly mere playthings after Himalaya. The various tribes of the countries through which I have passed interested me extremely: their language, the circumstances of their habitation, dress, and armour, their pastoral and agricultural way of life; their women grinding at the mill, their cakes baked on the coals, their corn trodden out by oxen; their maidens passing to the well, their travellers lodging in the streets, their tents, their camels, their shields, spears, and coats of mail; their Mussulmans, with a religion closely copied from that of Moses; their Hin-

doo tribes worshipping the same abominations with the same rites as the ancient Canaanites; their false prophets swarming in every city, and foretelling good or evil as it suits the political views of their employers; their judges sitting in the gate, and their wild Bheels and Khoolies dwelling, like the ancient Amorites, in holes and clefts of the rocks, and coming down with sword and bow to watch the motions or attack the baggage of the traveller, transported me back three thousand years, and I felt myself a contemporary of Joshua or Samuel!

I have a large packet of Journal for you, which I shall keep till I hear from you again, lest you should, after all, have sailed from Calcutta.

God bless you, dearest!

REGINALD. CALCUTTA.

TO R. J. WILMOT HORTON, ESQ.

Barreah (Guzerat), March, 1824.

MY DEAR WILMOT,—

* * * *

I have now, since the middle of last June, pretty nearly seen the eastern, northern, and western extremities of British India, having been to Dacca and Almorah, and having now arrived within a few days' march of Ahmedabad, visiting by the way several of the most important independent or tributary principalities.

Of the way of performing this long journey I was myself very imperfectly informed before I began it, and even then it was long before I could believe how vast and cumbersome an apparatus of attendance and supplies of every kind was necessary to travel in any degree of comfort or security. On the river, indeed, so long as that lasted, one's progress is easy and pleasant (bating a little heat and a few storms), carried on by a strong south-eastern breeze, in a very roomy and comfortable boat, against the stream of a majestic body of water; but it is after leaving the Ganges for the land journey that, if not "the tug," yet no small part of the

apparatus, *proventus et commeatus*, of "war" commences.

It has been my wish, on many accounts, to travel without unnecessary display; my tents, equipments, and number of servants are all on the smallest scale which comfort or propriety would admit of; they all fall short of what are usually taken by the collectors of districts, and, in comparison with what the commander-in-chief had the year before last, I have found people disposed to cry out at them as quite insufficient. Nor have I asked for a single soldier or trooper beyond what the commanding officers of districts have themselves offered as necessary and suitable; yet for myself and Dr. Smith, the united numbers amount to three elephants, above twenty camels, five horses, besides ponies for our principal servants, twenty-six servants, twenty-six bearers of burthens, fifteen clashes to pitch and remove tents, elephant and camel drivers, I believe, thirteen, and, since we have left the Company's territories and entered Rajpootana, a guard of eighteen irregular horse and forty-five Sepoys on foot. Nor is this all; for there is a number of petty tradesmen and other poor people whose road is the same as ours, and who have asked permission to encamp near us, and travel under our protection; so that yesterday, when I found it expedient, on account of the scarcity which prevails in these provinces, to order an allowance of flour, by way of Sunday dinner, to every person in the camp, the number of heads returned was one hundred and sixty-five. With all these formidable numbers, you must not, however, suppose that any exorbitant luxury reigns in my tent; our fare is, in fact, as homely as any two farmers in England sit down to; and if it be sometimes exuberant, the fault must be laid on a country where we must take a whole sheep or kid, if we would have animal food at all, and where neither sheep nor kid will, when killed, remain eatable more than a day or two. The truth is, that where people carry everything with them—bed, tent, furniture, wine, beer, and crockery—for six

months together, no small quantity of beasts of burden may well be supposed necessary; and in countries such as those which I have now been traversing, where every man is armed, where every third or fourth man, a few years since, was a thief by profession, and where, in spite of English influence and supremacy, the forests, mountains, and multitudes of petty sovereignties afford all possible scope for the practical application of Wordsworth's "good old rule," you may believe me that it is neither pomp nor cowardice which has thus fenced your friend in with spears, shields, and bayonets. After all, though this way of life has much that is monotonous and wearisome, though it grievously dissipates time and thought, and though it is almost incompatible with the pursuits in which I have been accustomed to find most pleasure, it is by no means the worst part of an Indian existence. It is a great point in this climate to be actually compelled to rise, day after day, before the dawn, and to ride from twelve to eighteen miles before breakfast. It is a still greater to have been saved a residence in Calcutta during the sultry months, and to have actually seen and felt frost, ice, and snow on the summits of Kemaon, and under the shadow of the Himalaya. And though the greater part of the Company's own provinces, except Kemaon, are by no means abundant in objects of natural beauty or curiosity, the prospect offering little else than an uniform plain of slovenly cultivation, yet in the character and manners of the people there is much which may be studied with interest and amusement, and in the yet remaining specimen of Oriental pomp at Lucknow, in the decayed, but most striking and romantic magnificence of Delhi, and in the Taje-Mahal of Agra (doubtless one of the most beautiful buildings in the world), there is almost enough, even of themselves, to make it worth a man's while to cross the Atlantic and Indian oceans.

Since then I have been in countries of a wilder character, comparatively seldom trodden by Europeans, exempt during the greater part of their history

from the Mussulman yoke, and retaining, accordingly, a great deal of the simplicity of early Hindoo manners, without much of that solemn and pompous uniformity which the conquests of the house of Timur seem to have impressed on all classes of their subjects. Yet here there is much which is interesting and curious. The people, who are admirably described (though I think in too favourable colours) by Malcolm in his "Central India," are certainly a lively, animated, and warlike race of men, though, chiefly from their wretched government, and partly from their still more wretched religion, there is hardly any vice, either of slaves or robbers, to which they do not seem addicted. Yet such a state of society is, at least, curious, and resembles more the picture of Abyssinia, as given by Bruce, than that of any other country which I have seen or read of; while here, too, there are many wild and woody scenes which, though they want the glorious glaciers and peaks of the Himalaya, do not fall short in natural beauty of some of the loveliest glens which we went through, ten years ago, in North Wales; and some very remarkable ruins, which, though greatly inferior as works of art to the Mussulman remains in Hindostan Proper, are yet more curious than them, as being more different from anything which an European is accustomed to see or read of.

One fact, indeed, during this journey has been impressed on my mind very forcibly, that the character and situation of the natives of these great countries are exceedingly little known, and in many instances grossly misrepresented, not only by the English public in general, but by a great proportion of those also who, though they have been in India, have taken their views of its population, manners, and productions from Calcutta, or at most from Bengal. I had always heard, and fully believed till I came to India, that it was a grievous crime, in the opinion of the Brahmins, to eat the flesh or shed the blood of any living creature whatever. I have now myself seen Brahmins of the highest caste cut off

the heads of goats as a sacrifice to Doorga; and I know, from the testimony of Brahmins, as well as from other sources, that not only hecatombs of animals are often offered in this manner as a most meritorious act (a raja about twenty-five years back offered sixty thousand in one fortnight), but that any person, Brahmins not excepted, eats readily of the flesh of whatever has been offered up to one of their divinities, while, among almost all the other castes, mutton, pork, venison, fish, anything but beef and fowls, are consumed as readily as in Europe. Again, I had heard all my life of the gentle and timid Hindoos, patient under injuries, servile to their superiors, &c. Now this is, doubtless, to a certain extent, true of the Bengalees (who, by the way, are never reckoned among the nations of Hindostan by those who speak the language of that country), and there are a great many people in Calcutta who maintain that all the natives of India are alike. But even in Bengal, gentle as the exterior manners of the people are, there are large districts, close to Calcutta, where the work of carding, burning, ravishing, murder, and robbery goes on as systematically, and in nearly the same manner, as in the worst part of Ireland; and on entering Hindostan, properly so called, which, in the estimation of the natives, reaches from the Rajmahâl hills to Agra, and from the mountains of Kemaon to Bundelcund, I was struck and surprised to find a people equal in stature and strength to the average of European nations, despising rice and rice-eaters, feeding on wheat and barley-bread, exhibiting in their appearance, conversation, and habits of life, a grave, proud, and decidedly a martial character, accustomed universally to the use of arms and athletic exercises from their cradles, and preferring, very greatly, military service to any other means of livelihood. This part of their character, but in a ruder and wilder form, and debased by much alloy of treachery and violence, is conspicuous in the smaller and less good-looking inhabitants of Rajpootana and Malwah; while the

mountains and woods, wherever they occur, show specimens of a race entirely different from all these, and in a state of society scarcely elevated above the savages of New Holland or New Zealand; and the inhabitants, I am assured, of the Deekan, and of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, are as different from those which I have seen, and from each other, as the French and Portuguese from the Greeks, Germans, or Poles; so idle is it to ascribe uniformity of character to the inhabitants of a country so extensive, and subdivided by so many almost impassable tracts of mountain and jungle, and so little do the majority of those whom I have seen deserve the gentle and imbecile character often assigned to them. Another instance of this want of information, which, at the time of my arrival, excited much talk in Bengal, was the assertion made in Parliament, I forget by whom, that "there was little or no sugar cultivated in India, and that the sugar mostly used there came from Sumatra and Java." Now this even the Cockneys of Calcutta must have known to be wrong, and I can answer for myself, that in the whole range of Calcutta, from Dacca to Delhi, and thence through the greater part of Rajpootana and Malwah, the raising of sugar is as usual a part of husbandry as turnips or potatoes in England; and that they prepare it in every form, except the loaf, which is usually met with in Europe. This, however, is not the most material point in which the state of arts and society in India has been underrated. I met, not long since, with a speech by a leading member of the Scotch General Assembly, declaring his "conviction that the truths of Christianity could not be received by men in so rude a state as the East Indians; and that it was necessary to give them first a relish for the habits and comforts of civilized life before they could embrace the truths of the Gospel." The same slang (for it is nothing more) I have seen repeated in divers pamphlets, and even heard it in conversations at Calcutta. Yet, though it is certainly true that the lower classes

of Indians are miserably poor, and that there are many extensive districts where, both among low and high, the laws are very little obeyed, and there is a great deal of robbery, oppression, and even ferocity, I know no part of the population, except the mountain tribes already mentioned, who can, with any propriety of language, be called uncivilised.

Of the unpropitious circumstances which I have mentioned, the former arises from a population continually pressing on the utmost limits of subsistence, and which is thus kept up, not by any dislike or indifference to a better diet, or more ample clothing, or more numerous ornaments than now usually fall to the peasant's share (for, on the contrary, if he has the means he is fonder of external show and a respectable appearance than those of his rank in many nations of Europe), but by the foolish superstition, which Christianity only is likely to remove, which makes a parent regard it as unpropitious to allow his son to remain unmarried, and which couples together children of twelve or fourteen years of age. The second has its origin in the long-continued misfortunes and intestine wars of India, which are as yet too recent (even when their causes have ceased to exist) for the agitation which they occasioned to have entirely sunk into a calm. But to say that the Hindoos or Mussulmans are deficient in any essential feature of a civilised people, is an assertion which I can scarcely suppose to be made by any who have lived with them. Their manners are, at least, as pleasing and courteous as those in the corresponding stations of life among ourselves; their houses are larger, and, according to their wants and climate, to the full as convenient as ours; their architecture is at least as elegant, and, though the worthy Scotch divines may doubtless wish their labourers to be clad in "hoddin grey," and their gentry and merchants to wear powder and mottled stockings, like worthy Mr. ——— and the other elders of his kirk-session, I really do not think that they would gain either in cleanliness, elegance, or

comfort, by exchanging a white cotton robe for the completest suit of dittos. Nor is it true that in the mechanic arts they are inferior to the general run of European nations. Where they fall short of us (which is chiefly in agricultural implements and the mechanics of common life) they are not, so far as I have understood of Italy and the south of France, surpassed in any great degree by the people of those countries. Their goldsmiths and weavers produce as beautiful fabrics as our own, and it is so far from true that they are obstinately wedded to their old patterns, that they show an anxiety to imitate our models, and do imitate them very successfully. The ships built by native artists at Bombay are notoriously as good as any which sail from London or Liverpool. The carriages and gigs which they supply at Calcutta are as handsome, though not as durable, as those of Long Acre. In the little town of Monghyr, three hundred miles from Calcutta, I had pistols, double-barrelled guns, and different pieces of cabinet-work brought down to my boat for sale, which, in outward form (for I know no further), nobody but perhaps Mr. ——— could detect to be of Hindoo origin; and at Delhi, in the shop of a wealthy native jeweller, I found brooches, ear-rings, snuff-boxes, &c., of the latest models (so far as I am a judge), and ornamented with French devices and mottos.

The fact is, that there is a degree of intercourse maintained between this country and Europe, and a degree of information existing among the people as to what passes there, which, considering how many of them neither speak nor read English, implies other channels of communication besides those which we supply, and respecting which I have been able as yet to obtain very little information. Among the presents sent last year to the Supreme Government by the little state of Ladak in Chinese Tartary, some large sheets of gilt leather, stamped with the Russian eagle, were the most conspicuous. A traveller, who calls himself a Transylvanian, but who is shrewdly suspected of being a Russian

spy, was, when I was in Kemaon, arrested by the commandant of our fortresses among the Himalaya mountains; and, after all our pains to exclude foreigners from the service of the native princes, two chevaliers of the Legion of Honour were found, above twelve months ago, and are still employed in casting cannon and drilling soldiers for the Seik Raja, Runjeet Singh. This, you will say, is no more than we should be prepared to expect, but you probably would not suppose (what I believe is little, if at all, known in Russia itself) that there is an ancient and still frequented place of Hindoo pilgrimage not many miles from Moscow, or that the secretary of the Calcutta Bible Society received, ten months ago, an application (by whom translated I do not know, but in very tolerable English) from some priests on the shore of the Caspian Sea, requesting a grant of Armenian Bibles. After this you will be the less surprised to learn that the leading events of the late wars in Europe (particularly Buonaparte's victories) were often known, or at least rumoured, among the native merchants in Calcutta before Government received any accounts from England, or that the suicide of an English minister (with the mistake, indeed, of its being Lord Liverpool instead of the Marquis of Londonderry) had become a topic of conversation in the "burrah bazar" (the native exchange) for a fortnight before the arrival of any intelligence by the usual channels.

With subjects thus inquisitive, and with opportunities of information, it is apparent how little sense there is in the doctrine that we must keep the natives of Hindostan in ignorance, if we would continue to govern them. The fact is, that they know enough already to do us a great deal of mischief if they should find it their interest to make the trial. They are in a fair way, by degrees, to acquire still more knowledge for themselves; and the question is, whether it is not the part of wisdom, as well as duty, to superintend and promote their education while it is yet in our power, and to supply them with such knowledge as will be

at once most harmless to ourselves, and most useful to them.

In this work the most important part is to give them a better religion. Knowing how strongly I feel on this subject, you will not be surprised at my placing it foremost. But even if Christianity were out of the question, and if, when I had wheeled away the rubbish of the old pagodas, I had nothing better than simple Deism to erect in their stead, I should still feel some of the anxiety which now urges me. It is necessary to see idolatry to be fully sensible of its mischievous effects on the human mind. But of all idolatries which I have ever read or heard of, the religion of the Hindoos, in which I have taken some pains to inform myself, really appears to me the worst, both in the degrading notions which it gives of the Deity; in the endless round of its burdensome ceremonies, which occupy the time and distract the thoughts, without either instructing or interesting its votaries; in the filthy acts of uncleanness and cruelty, not only permitted but enjoined, and inseparably interwoven with those ceremonies; in the system of castes, a system which tends, more than anything else the Devil has yet invented, to destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and to make nine-tenths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the remainder; and in the total absence of any popular system of morals, or any single lesson which the people at large ever hear, to live virtuously and do good to each other. I do not say, indeed, that there are not some scattered lessons of this kind to be found in their ancient books; but those books are neither accessible to the people at large, nor are these last permitted to read them; and, in general, all the sins that a Sudra is taught to fear are, killing a cow, offending a Brahmin, or neglecting one of the many frivolous rites by which their deities are supposed to be conciliated. Accordingly, though the general sobriety of the Hindoos (a virtue which they possess in common with most inhabitants of warm climates) affords a very great facility to the maintenance

of public order and decorum, I really never have met with a race of men whose standard of morality is so low, who feel so little apparent shame on being detected in a falsehood, or so little interest in the sufferings of a neighbour, not being of their own caste or family; whose ordinary and familiar conversation is so licentious; or, in the wilder and more lawless districts, who shed blood with so little repugnance. The good qualities which there are among them (and, thank God, there is a great deal of good among them still) are, in no instance that I am aware of, connected with or arising out of their religion, since it is in no instance to good deeds, or virtuous habits of life, that the future rewards in which they believe are promised. Their bravery, their fidelity to their employers, their temperance, and (wherever they are found) their humanity, and gentleness of disposition, appear to arise exclusively from a natural happy temperament, from an honourable pride in their own renown, and the renown of their ancestors; and from the goodness of God, who seems unwilling that his image should be entirely defaced even in the midst of the grossest error. The Mussulmans have a far better creed, and, though they seldom either like the English, or are liked by them, I am inclined to think are, on the whole, a better people. Yet, even with them, the forms of their worship have a natural tendency to make men hypocrites, and the overweening contempt with which they are inspired for all the world beside, the degradation of their women by the system of polygamy, and the detestable crimes which, owing to this degradation, are almost universal, are such as, even if I had no ulterior hope, would make me anxious to attract them to a better or more harmless system.

In this work, thank God, in those parts of India which I have visited, a beginning has been made, and a degree of success obtained, at least commensurate to the few years during which our missionaries have laboured; and it is still going on in the best and safest way, as the work of private persons

alone; and, although not forbidden, in no degree encouraged by Government. In the mean time, and as an useful auxiliary to the missionaries, the establishment of elementary schools for the lower classes and for females is going on to a very great extent, and might be carried to any conceivable extent to which our pecuniary means would carry us. Nor is there any measure from which I anticipate more speedy benefit than the elevation of the rising generation of females to their natural rank in society, and giving them (which is all that, in any of our schools, we as yet venture to give) the lessons of general morality extracted from the Gospel, without any direct religious instruction. These schools, such of them at least as I have any concern with, are carried on without any help from Government. Government has, however, been very liberal in its grants, both to a Society for National Education, and in the institution and support of two colleges of Hindoo students of riper age, the one at Benares, the other at Calcutta. But I do not think any of these institutions, in the way after which they are at present conducted, likely to do much good. In the elementary schools supported by the former, through a very causeless and ridiculous fear of giving offence to the natives, they have forbidden the use of the Scriptures or any extracts from them, though the moral lessons of the Gospel are read by all Hindoos who can get hold of them, without scruple, and with much attention; and though their exclusion is tantamount to excluding all moral instruction from their schools, the Hindoo sacred writings having nothing of the kind, and, if they had, being shut up from the majority of the people by the double fence of a dead language, and an actual prohibition to read them, as too holy for common eyes or ears. The defects of the latter will appear, when I have told you that the actual state of Hindoo and Mussulman literature, *mutatis mutandis*, very nearly resembles what the literature of Europe was before the time of Galileo, Copernicus, and Bacon. The Mussulmans take their logic

from Aristotle, filtered through many successive translations and commentaries; and their metaphysical system is professedly derived from Plato ("Filatoun"). The Hindoos have systems not very dissimilar from these, though, I am told, of greater length, and more intricacy; but the studies in which they spend most of their time are the acquisition of the Sanscrit, and the endless refinements of its grammar, prosody, and poetry. Both have the same Natural Philosophy, which is also that of Aristotle in Zoology and Botany, and Ptolemy in Astronomy, for which the Hindoos have forsaken their more ancient notions of the seven seas, the six earths, and the flat base of Padalon, supported on the back of a tortoise. By the science which they now possess, they are some of them able to foretell an eclipse, or compose an almanac; and many of them derive some little pecuniary advantage from pretensions to judicial astrology. In medicine and chemistry they are just sufficiently advanced to talk of substances being moist, dry, hot, &c., in the third or fourth degree; to dissuade from letting blood, or physicking, on a Tuesday, or under a particular aspect of the heavens, and to be eager in their pursuit of the philosopher's stone, and the elixir of immortality.

The task of enlightening the studious youth of such a nation would seem to be a tolerably straightforward one. But though, for the college in Calcutta (not Bishop's College, remember, but the Sanscrit, or Hindoo College), an expensive set of instruments has been sent out, and it seems intended that the natural sciences should be studied there, the managers of the present institution take care that their boys should have as little time as possible for such pursuits, by requiring from them all, without exception, a laborious study of Sanscrit, and all the useless, and worse than useless, literature of their ancestors. A good deal of this has been charged (and in some little degree charged with justice) against the exclusive attention paid to Greek and logic, till lately, in Oxford. But in Oxford we have never been guilty

(since a better system was known in the world at large) of teaching the physics of Aristotle, however we may have paid an excessive attention to his metaphysics and dialectics.

In Benares, however, I found in the institution supported by Government, a professor lecturing on astronomy after the system of Ptolemy and Albunazar, while one of the most forward boys was at the pains of casting my horoscope; and the majority of the school were toiling at Sanscrit grammar. And yet the day before, in the same holy city, I had visited another college, founded lately by a wealthy Hindoo banker, and entrusted by him to the management of the Church Missionary Society, in which, besides a grammatical knowledge of the Hindoostanee language, as well as Persian and Arabic, the senior boys could pass a good examination in English grammar, in Hume's History of England, Joyce's Scientific Dialogues, the use of the globes, and the principal facts and moral precepts of the Gospel, most of them writing beautifully in the Persian, and very tolerably in the English character, and excelling most boys I have met with in the accuracy and readiness of their arithmetic. The English officer who is now in charge of the Benares Vidyalaya is a clever and candid young man, and under him I look forward to much improvement. Ram Mohun Roy, a learned native, who has sometimes been called, though I fear without reason, a Christian, remonstrated against this system last year, in a paper which he sent me to be put into Lord Amherst's hands, and which, for its good English, good sense, and forcible arguments, is a real curiosity, as coming from an Asiatic. I have not since been in Calcutta, and know not whether any improvement has occurred in consequence. But from the unbounded attachment to Sanscrit literature displayed by some of those who chiefly manage those affairs, I have no great expectation of the kind. Of the value of the acquirements which so much is sacrificed to retain, I can only judge from translations, and they certainly do not seem

to me worth picking out of the rubbish under which they were sinking. Some of the poetry of the Mahabarah, I am told, is good, and I think a good deal of the Ramayuna pretty. But no work has yet been produced which even pretends to be authentic history. No useful discoveries in science are, I believe, so much as expected, and I have no great sympathy with those students who value a worthless tract, merely because it calls itself old, or a language which teaches nothing, for the sake of its copiousness and intricacy. If I were to run wild after Oriental learning, I should certainly follow that of the Mussulmans, whose histories seem really very much like those of Europe, and whose poetry, so far as I am yet able to judge, has hardly had justice done to it in the ultra-flowery translations which have appeared in the West. But, after all, I will own that my main quarrel with the institutions which I have noticed is their needless and systematic exclusion of the Gospels, since they not only do less good than they might have done, but are, actually, in my opinion, productive of serious harm, by awakening the dormant jealousy of the native against the schools which pursue a different system.

During my long journey through the northern half of this vast country, I have paid all the attention I could spare to a topic on which Schlegel bitterly reproves the English for their inattention to, the architectural antiquities of Hindostan. I had myself heard much of these before I set out, and had met with many persons both in Europe and at Calcutta (where nothing of the kind exists), who spoke of the present natives of India as a degenerate race, whose inability to rear such splendid piles was a proof that these last belong to a remote antiquity. I have seen, however, enough to convince me, that both the Indian masons and architects of the present day only want patrons sufficiently wealthy or sufficiently zealous, to do all which their ancestors have done; and that there are very few structures here which can, on any satisfactory grounds, be referred to a date so early as the

greater part of our own cathedrals. Often in Upper Hindostan, and still more frequently in Rajpootana and Malwah, I have met with new and unfinished shrines, cisterns, and ghâts, as beautifully carved, and as well proportioned, as the best of those of an earlier date. And though there are many buildings and ruins which exhibit a most venerable appearance, there are several causes in this country which produce this appearance prematurely. In the first instance, we ourselves have a complex impression made on us by the sight of edifices so distant from our own country, and so unlike whatever we have seen there. We multiply, as it were, the geographical and moral distance into the chronological, and can hardly persuade ourselves that we are contemporaries with an object so far removed in every other respect. Besides this, however, the finest masonry in this climate is sorely tried by the alternate influence of a pulverizing sun, and a continued three months' rain. The wild fig-tree (peepul, or ficus religiosa), which no Hindoo can root out, or even lop, without a deadly sin, soon sows its seeds and fixes its roots in the joints of the arching, and being of rapid growth at the same time, in a very few years increases its picturesque and antique appearance, and secures its eventual destruction; lastly, no man in this country repairs or completes what his father has begun, preferring to begin something else, by which his own name may be remembered. Accordingly, in Dacca are many fine ruins, which at first impressed me with a great idea of their age. Yet Dacca is a modern city, founded, or at least raised from insignificance, under Shah Jehanguire in A.D. 1608; and the tradition of the place is that these fine buildings were erected by European architects in the service of the then governor. At Benares, the principal temple has an appearance so venerable that one might suppose it to have stood unaltered ever since the Greta Yug, and that Menu and Capila had performed austerities within its precincts. Yet it is historically certain that all the Hindoo

temples of consequence in Benares were pulled down by Aurungzebe, the contemporary of Charles the Second, and that the present structures must have been raised since that time. The observatories of Benares, Delhi, and Jyepoor, I heard spoken of in the carelessness of conversation, not only as extremely curious in themselves (which they certainly are), but as monuments of the ancient science of the Hindoos. All three, however, are known to be the work of the Raja Jye Singh, who died in 1742.

A remote antiquity is, with better reason, claimed for some idols of black stone, and elegant columns of the same material, which have been collected in different parts of the districts of Rho-tas, Bulnem, &c. These belong to the religion of a sect (the Buddhists) of which no remains are now found in those provinces. But I have myself seen images exactly similar in the newly-erected temples of the Jains, a sect of the Buddhists, still wealthy and numerous in Guzerât, Rajpootana, and Malwah: and in a country where there is literally no history, it is impossible to say how long since or how lately they may have lost their ground in the more eastern parts of Gundwana. In the wilds which I have lately been traversing, at Chittore Ghur more particularly, there are some very beautiful buildings, of which the date was obviously assigned at random, and which might be 500 or 1000, or 1500 years old, for all their present guardians know about the matter. But it must always be borne in mind, that 1000 years are as easily said as ten, and that in the mouth of a cicerone they are sometimes thought to sound rather better. The oldest things which I have seen, of which the date could be at all ascertained, are some detached blocks of marble, with inscriptions, but of no appalling remoteness; and two remarkable pillars of black mixed metal, in a Patan fort near Delhi, and at Cuttab-Minar, in the same neighbourhood, both covered with inscriptions, which nobody can now read, but both mentioned in Mussulman history as in their present situation at the time when the

"believers" conquered Delhi, about A.D. 1000. But what is this to the date of the Parthenon? or how little can these trifling relics bear comparison with the works of Greece and Egypt! Ellora and Elephanta I have not yet seen; I can believe all which is said of their size and magnificence; but they are without date or inscription; they are, I understand, not mentioned, even incidentally, in any Sanscrit manuscript. Their images, &c., are the same with those now worshipped in every part of India, and there have been many rajas and wealthy individuals in every age of Indian history, who have possessed the means of carving a huge stone quarry into a cathedral. To our cathedrals, after all, they are, I understand, very inferior in size. All which can be known is, that Elephanta must probably have been begun (whether it was ever finished seems very doubtful) before the arrival of the Portuguese at Bombay; and that Ellora may reasonably be concluded to have been erected in a time of peace under a Hindoo prince, and therefore either before the first Afghan conquest, or subsequently during the recovered independence of that part of Candesh and the Deekan. This is no great matter certainly, and it *may* be older; but all I say is, that we have no reason to conclude it is so, and the impression on my mind decidedly accords with Mill, that the Hindoos after all, though they have doubtlessly existed from very great antiquity as an industrious and civilized people, had made no great progress in the arts, and took all their notions of magnificence from the models furnished by their Mohammedan conquerors.

We are now engaged, as you are aware, in a very expensive and tedious war, in countries whither the Mohammedans were never able to penetrate. This tediousness, together with the partial reverses which the armies have sustained, has given rise to all manner of evil reports among the people of Hindostan, and to a great deal of grumbling and discontent among the English. After all, I cannot myself perceive that there is anybody to blame.

Everybody cried out for war in the first instance, as necessary to the honour of the Government, and murmured greatly against Lord Amherst for not being more ready than he was to commence it. Of the country which we were to invade no intelligence could be obtained; and in fact our armies have had little to contend with, except a most impracticable and unknown country. It is unfortunate, however, that after a year and a half of war we should, except in point of dear-bought experience, be no further advanced than at the beginning, and there are very serious grounds for apprehending, that if any great calamity occurred in the East, a storm would follow on our north-western and western frontier, which, with our present means, it would be by no means easy to allay. Something, however, has been gained: if we can do little harm to the Birmanians, it is evident, from their conduct in the field, that, beyond their own jungles, they can do still less harm to us. And the inhabitants of Calcutta, who about this time last year were asking leave to send their property into the citadel, and packing off their wives and children across the river, will hardly again look forward to seeing their war-boats on the salt-water lake, or the golden umbrellas of their chiefs erected on the top of St. John's Cathedral. I was then thought little better than a madman for venturing to Dacca. Now the members of government are called all manner of names because their troops have found unexpected difficulty in marching to Ummerapoor.

For me there are very many ingredients of happiness; much to be seen, much to be learned, and much, I almost fear too much, to be done or attempted. I have been hitherto so fortunate as to be on the best possible terms with the Government, and on very friendly terms with nine out of ten of my few clergy; and in my present journey I have, I hope, been the means of doing some good, both to them and their congregations. Indeed, my journey has been perfectly professional; and, though I certainly did not

shut my eyes or ears by the way, I have been at no place which was not either a scene of duty, or in the direct and natural way to one. And everywhere I am bound to say I have met with great kindness and attention from the local magistrates, down to the European soldiers, and from the rajas and kings down to the poor native Christians.

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO R. J. WILMOT HORTON, ESQ.

Bombay, May 10, 1825.

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The recent invasion of Cutch by some of the wild people of the Sindian provinces, which at one time menaced serious consequences, has now subsided, and was, probably, only an effect of the dismal distress from drought and famine under which all those miserable and turbulent countries are now suffering. But the attention of all India is fixed on the siege of Bhurtpoor in Rajpootana, on the event of which, far more than on anything which may happen in the Birman empire, the renown of the British arms, and the permanency of the British empire in Asia, must depend. The Jâts are the finest people in bodily advantages and apparent martial spirit whom I have seen in India, and their country one of the most fertile and best cultivated. Having once beaten off Lord Lake from their city, they have ever since not only regarded themselves as invincible, but have been so esteemed by the greater part of the Maharattas, Rajpoots, &c., who have always held up their example as the rallying point and main encouragement to resistance, insomuch that, even when I was passing through Malwah, "gallantees shows," like those carried about by the Savoyards, were exhibited at the fairs and in the towns of that wild district, which displayed, among other patriotic and popular scenes, the red coats driven back in dismay from the ramparts, and

the victorious Jâts pursuing them sabre in hand.

Their fortress, too, has really all the advantages which can arise from an excellent situation, an imposing profile, a deep and wide ditch, a good show of cannon, and a very numerous and hardy garrison, while the means which Sir D. Ochterlony has been able to collect against it, though really far more considerable than could, under all circumstances, have been expected, are described, in a letter from General Reynell, as *very barely* adequate to all which they have to do; while the present intensely hot season is a circumstance greatly unfavourable. Still I do not find that any of my military acquaintance despond. On the contrary, they all appear to rejoice at the opportunity offered for effacing the former very injurious impression which had been made by Lord Lake's failure, though they admit that, should our army fail again, few events would go so near to fulfil the shouts of the mob a few months back in the streets of Delhi,—"Company ka raj ko guia!" "The rule of the Company is at an end!" Meantime, heartily as I desire the success of our arms, and the more so because the cause, I believe, is really a just one, I am very sorry for the Jâts themselves, with whose rough independent manner I was much pleased, and who showed me all possible civilities and hospitality in passing through their country. One strange feature in the case is, that the war and siege have been commenced by Sir D. Ochterlony on his own sole authority, and without any communication with the Supreme Government! I believe he was fully justified by the urgency of the case; but this is one among many proofs which have fallen under my notice, how impossible it is to govern these remote provinces from Calcutta, and how desirable it is to establish a separate presidency for Northern and Central India, either at Agra, Meerut, or perhaps Sangor.

In the midst of these troubles, and of those other smaller blood-lettings which are pretty constantly going on in one part or other of this vast country,

I have had much reason to be thankful for my own peaceable progress through districts where, a very few weeks sooner or later, I should have met with obstacles far beyond the reach of that little military array which I described in my last letter. I passed Bhurtpoor a month before the war began, and Jyepoor little more than a month after the revolution which had taken place there was tolerably settled. A similar good fortune attended me with regard to a rebellion in Doongurpoor, and a very sanguinary quarrel between two rival Mussulman sects, at Mundissore; while, in crossing the jungles between Malwah and Guzerât, had I been ten days later, I should have found the road literally impassable, through the exhaustion of the wells in the present drought, and the almost total drying up of the Mhye and its tributary streams. As it was, I suffered from nothing but heat, which, in Guzerât, I found very intense, the thermometer frequently standing at 109° in my tent. My medical companion, and most of my servants, had fevers. I myself weathered the march very tolerably, though I certainly was not sorry to find myself "once more upon the waters, yet once more," at Surat. From that city I embarked on the 18th of April for Bombay, a pleasant three days' passage. This is a very beautiful little island, though now sadly burnt up. As a town and place of residence, it cannot compare with Calcutta, though in climate, at this season, it is superior. Its main advantage, however, is the society of Mr. Elphinstone, one of the ablest and most gentlemanly men I have ever known, and possessing a degree of popularity and personal influence, as well as an intimate knowledge of every person and thing within the Government, which I never saw before, except, perhaps, in the Duke of Richelieu, at Odessa.

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REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO JOHN THORNTON, ESQ.

Bombay, May 12, 1825.

I HAVE owed you a letter so long that I feel now, like other tardy debtors, almost ashamed to pay it. My silence, however, has not been occasioned by my having ceased, I may say even for a day, to recollect and love you, but from various causes arising out of the way of life in which I have been engaged, which have left me little time to attend to the epistolary duties of friendship.

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During the whole of my residence in this country, and more than ever since, in the course of this long journey, I have been enabled to see and hear a good deal of the advantages and disadvantages of an Indian life; your boys have been very frequently in my mind, and my general impression has certainly been that, though, except under very unusual circumstances, great wealth is now no longer to be looked for in India, and though the dangers of the climate are, I think, rather underrated than otherwise in Europe, the service still is one of the best within an Englishman's reach, as affording to every young man of talent, industry, and good character, a field of honourable and useful exertion, and a prospect of moderate competency, without any greater risk of health and life than, with such views before him, and with a reliance on God's good providence, a Christian is fully justified in encountering. One great and grievous evil,—the long and almost hopeless separation from country and friends, is now greatly abated by the plan said to be adopted by the Court of Directors, which not only secures to their civil servants a pension after a certain length of residence in India, but allows likewise of a furlough after a portion of that time is expired. And I need hardly, I trust, say that during the time which your sons must be separated from you, I hope they will always look on me as their uncle, and that it will be a pride and pleasure to my wife and

myself to supply, as far as we can supply, the place of Mrs. Thornton and yourself to them.

With regard to the moral and religious dangers of India, I am not justified in concealing from you that they are still many and great. I do not, indeed, think that the temptations to gross immorality are more numerous here than elsewhere. Drunkenness is almost unknown in good society, and its effects on the health are so rapid and terrible, and it is regarded with so much dislike and disgust by the majority of those by whose influence public opinion is guided, that there is little reason to apprehend its ever becoming fashionable. And connection with native women, though sadly common among the elder officers of the army, is, so far as I can learn, among the younger servants, either civil or military, at present by no means a fashionable vice. It is the same with gambling, the turf, and other similar pursuits; they are not followed by many, and those who do follow them are, I think, regarded by the young men themselves as more or less raffs. The dangers of India seem to me to be, in Calcutta,—ostentatious expense and continued dissipation; and, in the remoter stations still more than in Calcutta, a forgetfulness and disuse of the external means of grace and godliness. A greater danger than either of these has been very common, but is now I am told less frequent or less prominent than it used to be, I mean an unbelief in, and denial of, Christianity. Of this last it was not likely that I should myself see many instances, but that it is sometimes to be met with I have learned from a very amiable young man, who had heard some specious and mischievous arguments during the course of his residence which had disquieted him a good deal, and of which I am happy to believe that I succeeded in effacing the impression. But these dangers, great as they are, are certainly not peculiar to India. They will be found more or less everywhere, where young persons are left to themselves, as all young men must be in a great degree at an early age. And there are, by God's

mercy, some countervailing circumstances which make me think both that India is, in these respects, less dangerous now than it was, and which may afford a reasonable hope to a Christian parent that a youth well grounded in his principles will pass unharmed through the trial. In the first place, a boy who desires to live a wise and Christian life, however he may be endangered by bad example and bad advice, will at least not find himself alone in his good resolutions. He will almost every where throughout India find others of his own age to countenance him, both in the civil and military services, and many of these men too highly esteemed for talents and expectations to admit of the cause which they support being depressed or generally unpopular. I have met, to my very great comfort and satisfaction, with many of these good young men, more (as might be expected from their greater number) in the military than the civil service, but enough in both to give a reasonable hope that if your sons come out such as I hope to see them, they will find many like-minded with themselves, and go want of friends of the best and most valuable description.

Another great blessing, and one which must contribute greatly to continue and increase the advantage which I have just mentioned, is that, I think, the greater part of the young married women who make up in the Mofussil stations almost the only female society, and who exert, as may be expected, a very important influence over, not their husbands only, but their husbands' friends and guests, are domestic, well-disposed, and religious. Married for the most part very early, thrown by the circumstances of the climate, and by the active and continual employments in which the men are engaged, very much on themselves, and to seek amusement in reading or with their children, they are, even in Calcutta, more generally domestic, retired, and quiet, than might have been expected, and in the country stations, where their seclusion is necessarily greater, they most of them appeared to me to have

thought more, and to have less reluctance to converse on religion than the generality of females in England.

Another favourable circumstance to the maintenance and increase of Christian principles in India, is the character of the great majority of the clergy now amongst us. In this respect a very happy change has taken place within the last few years.

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Out of twenty-six resident clergymen of the church of England on the Bengal establishment, with the greater number of whom I am personally acquainted, I find none whose lives are tainted with the suspicion of immorality, none who are habitually careless in the discharge of their duty, and except one unfortunate case hardly anything has occurred to give me pain during my visitation, while there are really some among them whose names would rank high for talent, temper, zeal, soundness of doctrine, and holiness of life, in the best and brightest periods of ecclesiastical history. Such an one is my excellent friend Corrie, whose character, much as I valued and loved him before, I only learned to understand and appreciate fully during my journey through Hindostan, from tracing in almost every part of it the effects of his labours, and the honour in which his name is held both by Christians, Hindoos, and Mussulmans.

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This is, however, a parenthesis. I am now speaking of the means of religious improvement afforded to a young man in India, and I am very thankful to be able to say, that though we are still most lamentably short of hands, for one and thirty chaplains is a very bare complement, and it will seldom happen that more than one half of those will be resident and effective at the same time; still, if a young man can get the opportunity of hearing a sermon in Bengal, the chance is, that he will hear what will do him good. Nor is this all; if a young man is actually religious, I know few countries where he runs so little risk of having

his religion embittered by religious controversy. Except in Calcutta itself, and its neighbourhood, there is actually no sect worth naming, except the Church of England. All the Scotch who are worth having, when out of Calcutta, come to church with us, and many officers of that nation have been confirmed by me, as an indication of their purpose to join us entirely. And though there are some hot-headed zealots of the two parties within the church, whom I have some difficulty in keeping from occasional quarrels, few countries can be found in which the feuds between Calvinists and Arminians are at present heard less of than in India. All the members of the church are, in fact, busy, and there are so many, and so important objects at which all must labour, that we have neither time nor hands to spare, for calling names and throwing dirt in each other's faces.

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Under all these circumstances, with the advantage of a good education in England, and with those continued and prevailing prayers with which you and their mother will follow them wherever they go, I certainly see no reason to dissuade you from trusting your boys in this other world, for such it doubtless may be called, when compared with the scenery, habits, and circumstances of Europe. Heaven grant that both in a worldly and heavenly view, the experiment may be a happy one!

Thus far I had written six weeks ago, and soon after my arrival within the bounds of the Bombay Presidency. I had then no immediate opportunity of sending my letter. I have been since so much engaged, that I have, from week to week, been induced to defer putting the finishing stroke to it. What follows must be chiefly on business. I hope the Church Missionary Society received, long since, my acknowledgments of their continued and splendid munificence to Bishop's College. It is my hope, as soon as I return to Calcutta, to carry into effect their wishes, in founding one scholarship, at least, to bear their name, and

to hold the same place in the establishment with those of the other societies, and to increase the numbers in succeeding years to any amount they may wish, and the limits of the building may suffice for. In the first instance I have been led to apply their bounty to the completion of the college buildings, more particularly the chapel, where it will be acknowledged by an inscription, and for which the bare funds of the institution were perfectly insufficient. Indeed, we are still exceedingly poor. The expense, both of building and of the monthly bills, has far exceeded every calculation which Bishop Middleton had made; and though the diet, &c., both of students and missionaries, is conducted on a scale of the utmost frugality consistent with health and decency, all our means would be insufficient, if it were not for the hopes which I am endeavouring to realize, of a general collection and subscription in the different presidencies of India. In every thing but money the College goes on as well as an infant establishment can do. The principal is really indefatigable, and the five youths who are now under his care are spoken of by him as most promising, and in terms not only of approbation, but affection.

I will only add, that the more which I see of India, the more I am convinced that its conversion will be best accomplished by the agency of natives of the country, and that we have already almost reached the moment when it will be no longer desirable to incur the great expense of sending out missionaries from Europe.

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I really hope that a little energy and prudence only are necessary, with God's blessing, to make your society a far more efficient source of light and health to India than it has yet been, and for our augmented endeavours there is great and blessed encouragement in the good which has already been done. I was not able to visit Burdwan; but in the stations which I did visit, I had the happiness of confirming and adminis-

tering the Sacrament to above two hundred native converts, all, so far as I could learn, well informed in their religion; and all, so far as I could judge, actuated by a devotional spirit, the meekest, the most intense, and touching, which in any body of people I ever witnessed. Nor was the promise held out by the children, the schools, and the individuals scattered through the country, whom I met from time to time, but who could not be collected to receive Confirmation, less delightful to me. Surely this is no inconsiderable progress, when we take into consideration the few years that the Church of England has made any attempt to spread her doctrines in the north of India.

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I have now about half finished the visitation of my diocese, a task which has employed me above ten months of almost constant travelling, during which I have seldom slept under any roof but that of my tent, or in the cabin of my boat, and have traversed, I should guess, not much less than three thousand miles either by water or on horseback. During all this time I have been greatly favoured in the general health and protection which God has extended to me, in His help under a sharp fever, when I was far removed from all medical aid, and without any friend or countryman near me; in being preserved from infection in districts where several of my people fell dangerously ill, and from wars and violence in those parts of central India where tranquillity can never long be counted on.

I passed Bhurtpoor about a month before, and Jyepoor a month after, disturbances which would have, probably, put an effectual stop to my progress; and a similar good fortune attended me in the neighbourhoods of Mundissore and Doongurpoor, as well as in Guzerât, all which districts have been more or less disturbed and dangerous. In almost every instance I met with hospitality and kindness, not only from my own countrymen, but from the native princes; and I have reason to

hope that I have made myself not unacceptable either to Christians or heathens. Meantime I have found much to interest and delight me during my long journey. I thought much of you and of my long ramble with you, as I stood on the cedar-tufted mountains of Kemaon, 8000 feet above the level of the sea, and with the range of Himalaya, 25,800 feet high, within forty miles' distance. I thought of you again, and wished much for you, while visiting the noble marble palace of Delhi and Agra; and while I was comparing, in recollection, my Rajpoot and Maharratta escorts, with our Cossack friends in the Cuban. By the way, "Cosák" is the common word for a predatory horseman all through northern and central India. Still, however, with all these qualifications of curiosity, I have had many things to keep me from forgetting the peculiar and appropriate object of my journey, as you will believe when I mention, that though many of my Sundays were, of course, necessarily passed in wildernesses remote from European or Christian society, yet I have found occasion and opportunity to preach above fifty times since I left Calcutta. And though I have certainly not shut my eyes to the different objects of interest and beauty near which my route carried me, I can truly say that I have never gone out of my way in pursuit of such objects, and have been nowhere where I had not professional duties to perform, or which was not in the direct road to some scene of such duties. After all, in looking back at the vast and promising field which I have passed, my heart is ready to sink when I recollect how much more I might have done, and how many things I have omitted or hurried over. Another time, if I am spared to perform the same journey again, I shall know better how to arrange my plans, and Heaven grant that I may be more diligent in carrying them into effect! My wife and little Emily came hither by sea ten days ago.

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We are to remain here till after the first fall of rain. Then I purpose to march to Poonah, and after re-

turning hither, to sail to Calcutta, taking Cannamore, Cochin, the Syrian churches; and Ceylon in my way. I trust to be at home again by the beginning of the cool weather. Madras, and the remainder of India, Bangalore, Hyderabad, and Nagpoor, I must reserve to another year. I have much to do in all these places, but I cannot, without inconvenience to the whole diocese, be so long absent from Calcutta as would be necessary for me to visit all India in a single journey.

Dear Thornton,
Ever your obliged and affectionate friend,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD GREN-
VILLE.

Bombay, June 1, 1825.

MY LORD,—I beg your Lordship to accept my best thanks for your obliging letter, as well as for the valuable and interesting present which it announces. The latter is, I trust, awaiting my arrival at Calcutta; the former reached me a few weeks since on my arrival within the bounds of this Government. It will, on every account, give me most sincere pleasure to find myself able, in the slightest degree, to contribute to the completeness of your Lordship's collection of plants, and I have written to Mr. Traill, a gentleman who holds the chief civil employment in Kemaon, and who is more intimately acquainted than most persons whom I know with the forest and glaciers of the Himalaya, requesting him to send down to Calcutta, with the precautions your Lordship suggests, some acorns of the mountain Ilex, and some cones of all the different species of pine which he can obtain within the limits of his jurisdiction, the soil, climate, and productions of which differ, as I understand, in no material respect, from those of the other and unconquered provinces of the Nepâlese monarchy. A visit which I paid to those glorious mountains in November and December last, was unfortunately too

much limited by the short time at my disposal, and by the advanced season, to admit of my penetrating far into their recesses, nor am I so fortunate as to be able to examine their productions with the eye of a botanist. But though the woods are very noble, and the general scenery possesses a degree of magnificence such as I had never before either seen or (I may say) imagined, the species of pine which I was able to distinguish were not numerous. The most common is a tall and stately, but brittle fir, in its general character not unlike the Scottish, but with a more branching head, which in some degree resembles that of the Italian pine. Another, and of less frequent occurrence, is a splendid tree with gigantic arms and dark narrow leaves, which is accounted sacred, and chiefly seen in the neighbourhood of ancient Hindoo temples, and which struck my unscientific eye as very nearly resembling the cedar of Lebanon. But these I found flourishing at near 9000 feet above the level of the sea, and where the frost was as severe at night as is usually met with at the same season in England. But between this, which was the greatest height that I climbed, and the limit of perpetual snow, there is doubtless ample space for many other species of plants, to some of which a Dropmore winter must be a season of vernal mildness. The ilex, which was the only species of oak I saw, grows to a great size on the sides of the secondary range, mingled with the walnut, the crab, the small black cherry, and a truly European underwood of blackthorn, brambles, raspberries, dog-roses, and very tall and formidable nettles, whose stings excited much astonishment and some alarm in my Hindoostanee followers, while I know not whether the feelings which the scenery suggested to me were more painful or pleasing, so completely was I often carried back to some parts of Shropshire and Montgomeryshire. I am not ashamed to say that the tears were more than once in my eyes as I rode through thickets, the very air of which breathed England, and by streams and little mountain lakes, as cold, as black,

as clear and noisy, as if they had issued from Snowdon, though the spell was dissolved from time to time by the sight of mountains such as Europe has not to show, and by the occasional glimpses of the still lower valleys, dark with the exuberant foliage of an Indian wood, and abounding in the usual eastern accompaniments of monkeys, gigantic snakes, and malignant vapours. These monkeys and snakes are found but a little way up the hills, while on the other hand the chamois is not seen below the highest peaks of the secondary range, and the yâk or Tibet cow pines away when removed from the neighbourhood of its native glaciers. But there are other animals to whom heat and cold seem matters of great indifference. The bear, the wolf, and the hyæna abound wherever there is food and covert, and the tiger is found of undiminished size and ferocity, from the lowest level of the Terrai, or marshy forest, at the foot of the hills, up to the edge of the ice, and I believe even beyond the passes into Chinese Tartary.

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Your lordship will readily believe that I was not inattentive to the question which was much debated at the time of my leaving Europe, respecting the real height of these celebrated hills. I conversed on the subject with several of the officers concerned in the survey, who are men of undoubted talent and science. Their measurements, they all assured me, were taken with high-priced instruments, on repeated trials, and with a careful comparison of their respective operations, sharpened, indeed, by a natural jealousy of the extraordinary results to which those operations conducted them. For many of the highest peaks they had extremely favourable bases, and I can have no doubt, therefore, that their published tables may be depended on, and that Nundi Devi (which I feel some exultation in saying is completely within the limits of the British empire) is really somewhere about 25,800 feet above the sea. Bha-drinâth, Kedernâth, and the three-fold peak above Gangotree, are all consider-

ably lower, though the Brahmins are very unwilling to allow that these last are not the highest of all. Some of the Sepoys who form my escort were of this caste, and I shall not easily forget the enthusiastic delight which they expressed on first obtaining a view of Meru. I am willing to hope that your lordship may not be uninterested in these few and imperfect memoranda of the most remarkable and celebrated natural objects which India has to offer.

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With the most sincere good wishes for the health and prosperity of your lordship and your house,

I remain, my lord,

With much esteem and respect,

Your lordship's

obliged and faithful humble servant,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

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TO THE HON. MRS. DOUGLAS.

Bombay, June 7, 1825.

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I HAVE, both for myself and mine, many mercies for which to be thankful, both for my own general good health and personal safety, in countries not the most friendly to the human constitution, and where the safeguard of laws is little known; in my recovery from one sharp fit of fever, of a kind which, though new in India, ran through almost all the presidency of Bengal during the latter part of the last rains; and, still more, in the recovery and restoration of my wife and children, in repeated attacks of fever, as well as for their safety under the less frequent and more romantic peril of their immediate neighbourhood to a conspiracy, a battle, and what might have been a massacre. From Emily herself you will, probably, have heard the details of the extraordinary and calamitous events at Barrack-poor, of which she was an ear, and almost an eye-witness.

For myself, I have every reason to think that India agrees with me; and, though I do not pretend to be without occasional regrets, and fits of home-

sickness, I continue to like the country and the people, and to find the climate not intolerable. The months of April and May are, indeed, very and *painfully* oppressive, and those of September and the early part of October little less so. But the rainy months, though annoying and wearisome, are, for the most part, tolerably cool, and the winter months, from November to the middle of March, afford as agreeable a climate as any country can boast of. The country, of course, varies much in scenery and productions on so wide a surface as I have now traversed; and though India, speaking of it generally, can hardly be spoken of as a picturesque region, and though its general fertility and wealth have also been greatly overrated, it contains many tracts of wild and original beauty, many very agreeable expanses of highly-peopled and highly-cultivated lands, many noble rivers, some unequalled mountains, and many works of ancient art, which may be fairly compared with, and perhaps even preferred to, the most celebrated structures in Europe.

The different nations which I have seen in India (for it is a great mistake to suppose that all India is peopled by a single race, or that there is not as great disparity between the inhabitants of Guzerât, Bengal, the Doab, and the Deckan, both in language, manners, and physiognomy, as between any four nations in Europe) have, of course, in a greater or less degree, the vices which must be expected to attend an arbitrary government, a demoralising and absurd religion, and (in all the independent states, and in some of the districts which are partially subject to the British) a laxity of law, and an almost universal prevalence of intestine feuds and habits of plunder. Their general character, however, has much which is extremely pleasing to me: they are brave, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvement, with a remarkable talent for the sciences of geometry, astronomy, &c., as well as for the arts of painting and sculpture. In all these points they have had great difficulties to struggle with, both from the want of models,

instruments, and elementary instruction; the indisposition, or rather the horror, entertained, till lately, by many among their European masters for giving them instruction of any kind, and now, from the real difficulty which exists of translating works of science into languages which have no corresponding terms. More has been done, and more successfully, to obviate these evils in the Presidency of Bombay than in any part of India which I have yet visited, through the wise and liberal policy of Mr. Elphinstone; to whom this side of the Peninsula is also indebted for some very important and efficient improvements in the administration of justice, and who, both in amiable temper and manners, extensive and various information, acute good sense, energy, and application to business, is one of the most extraordinary men, as he is quite the most popular governor, that I have fallen in with.

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Believe me, ever your affectionate friend and cousin,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE REV. J. J. BLUNT.

Bombay, June 10, 1825.

I AM ashamed to recollect how long it is since I wrote to you, but you will excuse me when you are aware of the many circumstances which must prevent my ever becoming a good correspondent. I do not, indeed, think that in the regular and ordinary functions of my diocese, there is more or even so much to be done as in any of the more extensive bishoprics of England; the small number of the clergy must prevent this being the case. But on the other hand, everything which is done must be done by myself, both in its spirit and its details; and partly owing to the manner in which we are scattered, and partly to the general habit of the country, all must be done in writing. Questions, which in England would not occupy more than five minutes' conversation, may here sometimes call for a

letter of six or eight pages; and as nothing, or almost nothing which concerns the interests or duties of the clergy, can be settled without a reference to Government, I have, in fact, at least two sets of letters to write and receive in every important matter which comes before me. As visitor of Bishop's College, I receive almost every week six or seven sheets of close writing on the subject. I am called on to give an opinion on the architecture, expense, and details of every church which is built, or proposed to be built, in India; every application for salary of either clerk, sexton, schoolmaster, or bell-ringer must pass through my hands, and be recommended in a letter to Government. I am literally the conductor of all the missions in the three presidencies; and, what is most serious of all, I am obliged to act in almost everything from my own single judgment, and on my own single responsibility, without any more experienced person to consult, or any precedent to guide me. I have, besides, not only the Indian clergy and the Indian government to correspond with, but the religious societies at home, whose agent I am, and to whom I must send occasional letters, the composition of each of which occupies me many days: while, in the scarcity of clergy which is, and must be felt here, I feel myself bound to preach, in some one or other of the churches or stations, no less frequently than when I was in England.

All this, when one is stationary at Calcutta, may be done, indeed, without difficulty; but my journeys throw me sadly into arrears; and you may easily believe, therefore, not only that I am obliged to let slip many opportunities of writing to my friends at home, but that my leisure for study amounts to little or nothing, and that even the native languages, in which it has been my earnest desire to perfect myself, I am compelled to acquire very slowly, and by conversation more than by reading. With all this, however, in spite of the many disadvantages of climate and banishment, I am bound to confess that I like both my employments and my present country. The work is as

much as I can do, and more than, I fear, I can do well; but a great deal of it is of a very interesting nature, and India itself I find so full of natural beauties and relics of ancient art, and there are so many curious topics of inquiry or speculation connected with the history and character of its inhabitants, their future fortunes, and the policy of Great Britain concerning them, that in every ride which I have taken, and in every wilderness in which my tent has been pitched, I have as yet found enough to keep my mind from sinking into the languor and apathy which have been regarded as natural to a tropical climate.

To my preservation thus far from such a result, a tendency to which I certainly see in many of my friends, it is probable that the frequent change of scene, and the necessity of daily bodily exercise and even fatigue, to which I have been for the last ten months habituated, have much contributed. Indeed Sir John Malcolm foretold that I should be highly pleased with my first visitation, though he warned me also that I should find it an inexpressibly wearisome duty to march over the same immense extent of ground, visiting the same places a second and a third time. Of this, however, I am content to run the risk, and I look forward to my future journeys with anything but a gloomy anticipation, since I hope that in them I shall be accompanied by my wife and children.

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During a great part of the year the climate is sufficiently disagreeable; it is by no means pleasant to be kept a close prisoner to the house from soon after sunrise to a little before sunset, at the peril of a fever, or of a stroke of the sun, if one ventures to brave his terrors. It is a poor comfort to a person suffering, as I am at this moment, under what is called prickly heat, exactly resembling the application of red-hot needles to different parts of the body and limbs, to be told that this is a sign of health, and that while it continues he is not likely to have the cholera morbus. Nor is it comfortable at night,

during the rainy season, to have the option between utter sleeplessness, if you choose to shut the window, and having one's bed, and everything in the room, soaked through by the storm beating in if you think fit to leave it open. Nor can any comparison be formed between the degrees of fatigue occasioned by clerical duties in England and in India, when I come out of the pulpit, as was the case but yesterday, with my lawn sleeves as if they had been soaked in water. All these are easy to be borne so long as Providence gives health and strength, and many of them are only confined to particular seasons; and in all seasons considerable difference exists in different parts of India. The northern stations are, I think, most favoured, enjoying a longer continuance of cool weather, an air at all times drier and more elastic, and, except during the hot winds, by no means uncongenial to an English constitution. I have been greatly struck with the difference in muscle, complexion, and apparent strength between persons stationed in the upper provinces and those resident in Calcutta or Bombay. Yet so impartial is death in his visits, and so much may prudence and good management effect towards obviating natural inconveniences, that it is not found that on the whole there is greater mortality among the European inhabitants of these last-named cities, than among those of Delhi, Meerut, and Bareilly.

Of the people of this country I gave you, if I recollect right, a tolerably long account in my last letter.

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Their anxiety after improvement is exceedingly great, and the steps which are now taking, particularly by the Government of Bombay, to translate useful books, especially mathematical and philosophical, into their languages, is likely, I hope, to produce effects even beyond the civil and secular improvements, which is their more immediate object. The labours of our missionaries in those parts of India which I have seen, have not as yet produced any great or striking show of converts, but they have undoubtedly been as

successful as could fairly be expected, considering the short time which has elapsed since the attention of the English Church was called to this new harvest. In the south, the number of native Christians, even without reckoning the Syrian and Romish churches, is great, and has been stated to me on the best authority as between 40,000 and 50,000. And I have myself set on foot a new mission among the Puharees, whose different ramifications extend from Rajmahâl on the Ganges, through all Central India, to the Deccan and the Arabian Sea, which already wears a promising appearance, and from which I anticipate, perhaps too sanguinely, very great advantage.

Many thanks for the interesting details which you have sent me of your own pursuits, and of our beloved little flock at Hodnet. I rejoice that you have become acquainted with my excellent and kind-hearted uncle and aunt, whom nobody can know without loving and valuing. Your accounts of the poor old people have carried me back very forcibly (I hardly know whether painfully or agreeably) to some of the happiest days of my life, though I have never had reason to complain of a want of happiness, and you will much oblige me by remembering me most kindly to some of my best-known parishioners. May I also request of you to take charge of ten pounds, to distribute next Christmas among any of the inhabitants who need it most.

Believe me, dear Blunt,

Ever your sincere friend,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

Mrs. Heber desires me to send you her kind regards and good wishes.

TO MRS. HEBER.

Point de Galle, Sept. 27, 1825.

DEAREST MOTHER,—I write from a small port near the southern extremity of Ceylon, where we are waiting for a fair wind, in order to embark for Calcutta, and where I am happy to steal

the first few moments of leisure which have occurred to me for some time, to tell you that we are all three well, that we have received good accounts of our dear little Harriet, and that we are thus far prosperously advanced in our voyage to rejoin her. We left Bombay, where I had been detained much longer than I expected, on the 15th of last month, and had a favourable voyage to this island, of which we have now seen a considerable portion. All which we have seen is extremely beautiful, with great variety of mountain, rock, and valley, covered from the hill-tops down to the sea with unchanging verdure, and, though so much nearer the Line, enjoying a cooler and more agreeable temperature than either Bombay or Calcutta. Here I have been more than ever reminded of the prints and descriptions in Cook's "Voyages." The whole coast of the island is marked by the same features, a high white surf dashing against coral rocks, which, by the way, though they sound very romantically, differ little in appearance from sand-stone: a thick grove of coco-trees, plantains, and bread-fruit, thrusting their roots into the very shingles of the beach, and hanging their boughs over the spray; low thatched cottages scattered among the trees, and narrow canoes, each cut out of the trunk of a single tree, with an out-rigger to keep it steady, and a sail exactly like that used in Otaheite. The people, too, who differ both in language and appearance from those of Hindostan, are still more like the South Sea islanders, having neither turban nor cap, but their long black hair fastened in a knot behind, with a large tortoise-shell comb, and seldom any clothing but a cotton cloth round their waist, to which the higher ranks add an old-fashioned blue coat, with gold or silver lace, and a belt and hanger to match, a fashion which they apparently received from their Dutch conquerors, and which has a very whimsical appearance. The Candians, who inhabit the interior of the island, and whose country, as you know, was conquered by the English about ten years ago, wear a more showy dress, and one more uni-

formly Oriental. They are now all tolerably reconciled to our government, as well as the Cingalese, or inhabitants of the sea-coast, and their chiefs are rapidly acquiring a knowledge of our language and imitating our customs. We went up with the Governor, Sir Edward Barnes, who, as well as Lady Barnes, have shown us much attention and kindness, to Candy, where I preached, administered the Sacrament, and confirmed twenty-six young people in the audience-hall of the late King of Candy, which now serves as a church. Here, twelve years ago, this man, who was a dreadful tyrant, and lost his throne in consequence of a large party of his subjects applying to General Brownrigge for protection, used, as we were told, to sit in state to see those whom he had condemned trodden to death and tortured by elephants trained for the purpose. Here he actually compelled, by torments, the wife of one of his prime ministers, whom he suspected of plotting against him, to bruise with her own hands two of her children to death with a pestle and large mortar, before he put her to death also; and here at that time no Englishman or Christian could have appeared except as a slave, or at the risk of being murdered with every circumstance of cruelty. And now in this very place an English governor and an English congregation, besides many converted natives of the island, were sitting peaceably to hear an English bishop preach! Christianity has made perhaps a greater progress in this island than in all India besides. The Dutch, while they governed the country, took great pains to spread it; and the black preachers whom they left behind, and who are still paid by the English Government, show a very great reverence for our Common Prayer, which is translated into their language, and a strong desire to be admitted members of the Church of England. One excellent man, named Christian David, I ordained last year in Calcutta, and there are several more in training. There are also some very meritorious missionaries in the island. One of them is the son of our neighbour, Mr. Mayor, of Shawbury, who, together

with another Shropshire man, Mr. Ward, has got together a very respectable congregation of natives, as well as a large school, and built a pretty church, which I consecrated last Sunday, in one of the wildest and most beautiful situations I ever saw. The effects of these exertions have been very happy, both among the Roman Catholic descendants of the Portuguese, and the heathen. I have confirmed, since I came into the island, 360 persons, of whom only sixty were English, and in the great church at Colombo I pronounced the blessing in four different languages, English, Portuguese, Cingalese, and Tamul.

Those who are still heathen are professedly worshippers of Buddh;* but by far the greater part reverence nothing except the Devil, to whom they offer sacrifices by night, that he may do them no harm. Many of the nominal Christians are infected with the same superstition, and are therefore not acknowledged by our missionaries; otherwise, instead of 300 to be confirmed, I might have had several thousand candidates. Many thanks for the kind trouble you took to get subscriptions for the female schools at Calcutta. I hope we shall be able to raise nearly money enough for them in India. On the whole I rejoice to believe that, in very many parts of this great country, "the fields are white already to harvest;" and it is a circumstance of great comfort to me, that in all the good which is done, the Church of England seems to take the lead, that our Liturgy has been translated into five languages most used in these parts of the world, and that all Christian sects in the East seem more and more disposed to hold it in reverence. Still little, very little is done in comparison with all which is to do.

Ever your affectionate son,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE REV. JOHN MAYOR, VICAR OF
SHAWBURY IN SHROPSHIRE.

Galle, Sept. 28, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—I seize a few moments of the first leisure which I have had for a long time, while waiting a change of wind to enable our ship to leave this harbour for Calcutta, to give you some account of those most dear to you in this island. I arrived at this port five weeks ago, in visiting the different parts of my great diocese; and had the pleasure to be greeted, among those who first came off to our vessel, by your son Robert, looking stout and well, and very little altered from what he was when I last saw him in England. He remained on board the greater part of the day; but the fatigue which we had all to undergo before we got on shore, the sea being stormy, and our vessel in a bad situation, unfortunately brought on an attack of fever, which prevented his accompanying us, as was his first intention, to Colombo. His disorder since has completely left him.

Mrs. Heber and I had the pleasure, on our return from the north, of passing the best part of three days with him and Mrs. Mayor, in their romantic abode at Baddagame; where we also found his colleague, Mr. Ward, with his wife and family, in perfect health and contented cheerfulness. I consecrated their church, which is really an extraordinary building, considering the place in which and the circumstances under which it has been erected; and I had also the happiness of administering Confirmation and the Lord's Supper to a small but promising band of their converts and usual hearers; and I can truly say, both for my wife and myself, that we have never paid a visit which has interested and impressed us more agreeably, from the good sense, good taste, and right feeling—the concord, zeal, and orderly and industrious piety which appeared to pervade both families and every part of their establishment. Both of them are, in fact, all which you or I could wish them—

* The Moudelier of Candy, G. P. G. de Sarum, gave the Bishop a sermon in the Pali language and Cingalese character, said to have been written by Buddh himself, being one of 17,575 he preached in his way between Rajmahanoora and Nalundranoora, concerning the state of absorption into the Deity.—Ed.

active, zealous, well-informed, and orderly clergymen—devoted to the instruction and help of their heathen neighbours—both enjoying a favourable report, I think I may say without exception, from the governor, public functionaries, and, in general, from all the English in the colony whom I have heard speak of them.

The cause of Christianity is, I hope, going on well here. There is, among the Cingalese and Tamul population, a very large proportion of nominal Christians; who, although unhappily they are only nominal, because their fathers were so before them, or because the profession is creditable, and though too many of them still pay their superstitious homage to Buddha and to the Evil Principle, have, notwithstanding, fewer external difficulties to contend with, in embracing the true faith, than fall to the share of the poor Hindoos. Among these, and in part among the professed Pagans, I am rejoiced to find that conversions are going on, if not very rapidly, yet steadily; and that the rising generation afford excellent hopes of repaying richly, and even in our own time, the labours of the good men who have given up parents, and friends, and country in their service. I have had myself the pleasure of confirming in this place, Candy, and Colombo, three hundred natives of the island—Portuguese (that is, descendants of Portuguese), Cingalese, and Malabarians: besides which, had I been able to go to Jaffna, for which the season has too far advanced, I am assured that I should have had at least one hundred candidates more. In the great church at Colombo, I had to pronounce the blessing in four different languages. Surely this should encourage our best hopes and best exertions, and should fill us with gratitude to God, who has already made “the fields white unto the harvest.”

It gave me much pleasure to hear from your son of your prolonged good health, and that of your family. The signal for sailing is given, and I have only time to add my best wishes to them, and to beg you to tell our common friends in Shropshire, that I often,

very often, think of them. I and mine, thank God, are perfectly well.

Dear Sir, ever truly yours,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO RICHARD HEBER, ESQ.

Calcutta, Dec. 15, 1825.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Your kind letter, which I received in the last month, soon after my return from Ceylon, gave me very sincere pleasure.

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I have, indeed, been a very bad correspondent; and I fear that both my private friends and the different public bodies with which I am connected have all alike some cause to complain of me. With regard to these last, however, and more particularly the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, I really did not suppose that they desired to hear from me, unless I had something worth communicating, connected with them or their committees, or their missions, in England; and as I have not yet visited Madras, where only they have any establishments particularly worth speaking of, I had not, till since my return to Calcutta, any adequate motive for troubling them, or taking up a portion of my own time, which I could very ill spare. If, however, they suppose that because I have not written them long letters, I have neglected their interest here, or that I have paid more attention to any other religious society, except that for the Propagation of the Gospel, to whom I had a great deal to say, they are most exceedingly mistaken. Their agents and missionaries here, I am convinced, will bear me witness, that I have worked as hard in their cause, and been as importunate in soliciting subscriptions for them, as anybody could be; and in consequence of the ill state of their funds, my own subscriptions and donations (besides the share they have had of the sum entrusted to me by the Parent Society) more than double those which I, at first, thought it necessary to bestow. As to writing

letters, it should be borne in mind, that in India all business is transacted by writing.

* * * *

But I have no wish to plague you any further with my vindication. You, I am sure, will acquit me of intentional disrespect towards anybody, particularly a Society which has done so much good to the best of all causes.

The affairs of the sister Society for the Propagation of the Gospel have occupied a good deal of my time and thoughts. Bishop's College, besides costing two or three times as much in its building as it was first calculated it would, has turned out so expensive in the monthly bills and necessary keep of its inmates, that all the resources I found were quite inadequate to finish the chapel, build the printing-house, or do more than keep the wolf from the door. Nor would they have sufficed even for this last object, had it not been for the munificent supplies which for these three years we have received from the Church Missionary Society, and for the large subscriptions and benefactions which we have, within the last eight months, obtained from different parts of India. For the present, the institution is doing very well, and I have great reason to be pleased with the manner in which it is conducted by Mr. Mill, the principal, who is one of the best and ablest, as he is decidedly the most learned man in India.

* * * *

Archdeacon Barnes is every way a great loss; sensible, unaffected, and friendly, exceedingly well acquainted with the business and interest of the Church in his archdeaconry, and popular with all ranks of people there. Should anything happen to me, there is nobody whom I should so gladly look to as my successor; but if he has to wait for the expiration of my term, he will probably think twice, even if the situation were offered him, before, at fifty years old, he again goes out to India. In spite, however, of these labours and drawbacks, and in spite of

the far heavier and more painful circumstance of separation from home, and my oldest and dearest friends, I should be extremely ungrateful if I did not speak well of India, and acknowledge myself happy in my present situation.

* * * *

The circumstance which I have felt most painfully was my long separation from my wife and children; a measure, however, which my subsequent experience of some of the countries which I had to pass through sufficiently showed to have been no unnecessary sacrifice. In Madras, whither I am going the latter end of next month, I yet hope that they may accompany me, but I am not certain, as it must depend on information which I am collecting. Mrs. Middleton made the journey, and though I am compelled to go at a later period of the season, and in hotter weather, I have no doubt that Emily might go with perfect safety. But for the children I am not without apprehensions. At all events my separation from them will, I trust, be far shorter than the last; nor, though I hear much of the beauty of the south of Malabar, and look forward with great interest to seeing the Syrian Christians, can I think that Emily will lose so much of glorious prospect and romantic manners as she did by not accompanying me up the crags of Almorah, and among the wild and warlike tribes of Malwah. Bombay and Ceylon we saw together, and she, as well as I, was greatly delighted with both, particularly the natural beauties of the latter. The former was rendered particularly interesting to us from the renewal of my old acquaintance with Archdeacon Barnes, and from the terms of intimacy on which we lived with Mr. Elphinstone, the most remarkable man in India for talents, acquirements, undeviating good nature, and flow of conversation. We were his guests for almost three months, and I found something fresh to admire or like in him every day. Everybody in India does him justice as an excellent man of business, a

"grand homme d'état et de guerre," a conqueror and a legislator.

Ceylon is a noble island in all natural riches, but I have seldom seen a country for which man has done so little. The present governor, Sir Edward Barnes, is an able and active man, whose measures seem to have been well directed for the interest of the people, and he has certainly done much for Ceylon.

Emily and I have gained much in our Calcutta society by the appointments of Sir Charles Grey and Lord Combermere. Grey is looking extremely well, and very little altered from what he was in England; he is very popular here; so is also Lord Combermere, from his constant accessibility, and close attention to business, as well as by his good-natured and cordial manners. He is now, I apprehend, engaged in the siege of Bhurtpoor, unless the usurper of that little state has submitted without coming to blows. If the war really goes on, and the city falls, Lord Combermere will add greatly to his own reputation and that of the English name, inasmuch as Bhurtpoor is the only fortress, and the Jâts the only people in India who boast that they have never been subdued either by the Mogul emperors or the English, having, as you are aware, beaten off Lord Lake with great loss, in many successive campaigns. I did not see the city, except at a distance, but passed through the country, and was very hospitably and civilly treated. I thought them a very fine military race, and their territory one of the best governed in the north.

The army under Lord Combermere is considerable, amounting to near 25,000 men, with a fine train of artillery; there are only, however, about 3000 of these Europeans. . . . Should he fail, it is unhappily but too true, that all northern and western India, every man who owns a sword, and can buy or steal a horse, from the Sutlege to the Nerbudda, will be up against us, less from disliking us than in the hope of booty. And still more

unfortunately, it is not easy to say where another army can be found to meet them, now that Bombay is fully occupied on the side of Sindia, and all the strength of British India in Ava. From Ava and Arracan the news continues to be bad; it is but too certain that our army is melting away with sickness, to which natives and Europeans appear equally liable; and there are various rumours as usual in Calcutta yet more gloomy.

With Emily's best love and good wishes, and my own daily prayers for your happiness, and, if it pleases God, our prosperous meeting again, believe me, dear Heber,

Ever your affectionate brother,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

The steam-boat, long promised, is at length arrived, after nearly a four months' passage. People say this is very well for a beginning, but unless she quickens her pace, most of us will, I think, prefer the old conveyances. We often wish it were possible for you to pay us a visit here. If you were not fully engaged, India is really well worth seeing.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD GREN-
VILLE.

Calcutta, Dec. 24, 1825.

MY LORD,—I have much pleasure in being enabled to forward to your lordship, by the H.C.S. Minerva, what will I hope turn out a good collection of the finest Alpine plants in India, together with a few others, which, though not strictly coming under this description, my amiable and able friend Dr. Wallich begs leave to add to the list, on account of their beauty and rarity. I am bound at the same time to express my gratitude to your lordship for the very beautiful poems which I found in Calcutta, on my return from my visitation. The privilege of reading and possessing compositions so classical would be valuable anywhere, but nowhere I think so much as in India, where, though there is really a

great deal of talent and information of different kinds, there are comparatively few who have acquired or retained any taste for Greek and Roman literature.

Of public news, India at this moment affords but little, though much of the most serious importance may be expected every hour. Lord Combermere is besieging Bhurtpoor, with good hopes of succeeding, and of thus wiping off the sort of stain which the successful resistance of the Jâts on a former occasion is considered as having left on the British arms.

I remain, with much respect and regard,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's faithful and
obliged servant,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE REV. DEOCAR SCHMIDT.

[In answer to his Letter on the re-ordination of Lutheran Ministers.]

Calcutta, Dec. 23, 1825.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—The great press of business with which I have had to contend ever since my arrival in Calcutta, has prevented my replying to your letter of the 1st November, till after the event occurred from which you wished to dissuade me. I can assure you, however, that though your arguments have remained unanswered, they have been carefully weighed by me, and that, though I have concluded by acting differently, I think highly of the talent which suggested them.

I have neither time nor inclination to enter into a controversy connected with some of the most important and difficult questions in the whole field of polemic divinity. I only wish to convince you that I have not been inattentive to your letter, and to set you right on some points on which you appear to have misunderstood me in our last conversation. You suppose that I generally admit ordination by presbyters without a bishop to be valid; I do not admit this. All I said is that, when a Christian nation has, by unfortunate circumstances, lost its apostolical suc-

cession of bishops, the continuance of ministers being a thing absolutely needful and essential, those good men are not to be censured who perpetuate it by the best means in their power. And were I to return to Germany, I would again, as before, humbly and thankfully avail myself of the preaching and sacramental ordinances of the Lutheran Evangelical Church, not doubting that they are a true church of Christ, and that the Spirit of God is with them, as I trust he is with us also.

But, though an imperfect ordination may, doubtless, be accepted by our Lord and common Master, and though a church, under circumstances such as I have described, may remain a true church still, it does not follow that, where this supposed deficiency may be supplied, it may not be advisable for a minister of the Gospel either to seek for fresh orders himself, or to counsel others to do so. And this may be more especially advisable where his or their ministerial utility is likely to be much augmented by a closer union with a Church under (what I conceive to be) the ancient discipline. We (that is, the members of our Church) have no right or inclination to judge other national Churches. But our own flocks have a sacred right to be well satisfied as to the Divine commission of those whom other spiritual rulers set over them. Even where the smallest doubt exists of the perfection of the order received, and their conformity with apostolical practice, it may be a part of Christian prudence to choose the safer side. And even where this doubt is not felt by ourselves, yet, if its existence in others impedes our usefulness, we have the highest possible warrant, in the case of St. Paul and Timothy, for condescending, even in a more material point, to the failings and prejudices of our brethren. Accordingly, if a preacher ordained in the method practised in Germany foresees a marked advantage to Christ's cause in a closer alliance with his episcopalian brethren, I see not that he dishonours his previous commission by seeking our prayers and blessing in the form which we think most conformable to God's

will. And the humility is, surely, anything but blameable which stoops for a time to even an inferior degree and inferior duties than those which he has already exercised.

For I see no weight in the argument that holy orders cannot be repeated without profanation. In the first place, it is a matter of *doubt* whether the first orders were valid or no, and, in the very fact of fresh orders being given without a formal renunciation of the former, it is plain that the fresh orders are tacitly "*sub conditione*." But, secondly, there is nothing, as I conceive, in the nature of ordination which makes it profane to repeat it on just grounds, or reasonable scruple on the part of the Church or its rulers. Ordination stands on a different ground from baptism. It is not a new creation, but a solemn devotion of a man to a particular office, accompanied by prayer, and, as we believe, an accession of the Holy Spirit. But though a man can be only once *regenerate*, he may be often *renewed* and *quicken*ed by the Holy Ghost, and there is no reason, *a priori*, why he should not receive an *outward ordination* (as he certainly may receive an *inward call*) to a new sphere of action in the Church, as well as to a new office in it. I do not say that this has ever been the practice of the Church, though I still think that something very analogous to it may be found in Acts xiii. But I say this to show the difference between the two cases of re-baptizing and re-ordaining, and that the same risk of profanation does not attach to the last as, I admit, does in every doubtful case to the former.

Accordingly, I need not remind you that the great body of ancient Christians allowed the validity of baptism (the *matter* and *words* being correct), whether conferred by heretics, schismatics, or laymen. But though the ancient Church never re-baptized, they most certainly re-ordained in the case of the Meletian and Novatian clergy, as appears from Theodoret, "Eccles. Hist.," l. i. ix., and "Conc. Nicen.," can. 8.

Still, I have no right or desire to

judge devout and learned divines of another national Church. If they come to sojourn among us, satisfied with the commission which they have received, or if they desire our help in their efforts to convert the heathen, I gladly meet them as Christians and fellow-labourers. I rejoice sincerely that Christ is made known so widely through their means. I gladly admit them (as I should desire myself to be admitted in Germany or Holland) to the communion of our Church, and to all that interchange of good-will and good offices (as in the case of the missionary societies of our Church) which is essential to our carrying on the Gospel work in concert. But I am not inconsistent with these feelings if I think that the difference between us, though it should not interrupt our communion, is in itself a misfortune to be remedied. Nor do I feel the less love and reverence for their character and talents, when I earnestly wish them to become in all points like ourselves, except those sins of infirmity, of which I am mournfully conscious.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and servant
in Christ,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Sandheads, Feb. 5, 1826.

I GET this letter ready to send by the pilot, who expects to be able to leave us in the course of the morning. We have a beautiful day and a favourable breeze. The strenuous measures which Government took to secure my horse a passage have proved abortive. They were very kindly meant, and I have reason to believe that I have to thank for them the zeal of Mr. Lushington, who appears to have taken a good deal of trouble on the subject. I am now quite well. I cannot help thinking that both my illness and yours proceeded, in part, from the agitation of this second sad parting. I should have been unworthy of you could I have left you without a severe pang. We

are both of us, however, in God's hands; and, as it is not to please ourselves that we are now separated, I have hope in Him that he will bring us together again in happiness, and our separation will be much shorter than the last!

God bless you!

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

I enclose a letter to the Bishop of Oxford, concerning the books intended for All Souls library, which I will thank you to send by the Grenville, as well as the package.

Our cuddy party is, in a good degree, made up of sick officers returning to Europe, miserable spectacles, alas! from Prome and Arracan. I at first expected a dull and uninteresting party, but, as usual, I found persons from whom I could learn a great deal. One officer was one of the first explorers of the Macquarrie river in New South Wales, is excessively fond of natural history, and has corresponded with Sir Joseph Banks and Humboldt; another of our passengers, a young civilian, has visited many parts of Kemaon which I have not seen, and flatters himself that he has had a sight of a real *unicorn*!

One of the poor invalids below has died, and there are some others very weak and ill, but who will, I trust, recover strength as we get out to sea. Mr. Robinson and I take it by turns to read prayers to them, and find both them and the ship's company very attentive. I have also found the cuddy party not only willing but anxious that I should read evening prayers as on board the Grenville and Discovery.

TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY.

On Board the Bassorah Merchant,
Bay of Bengal, Feb. 15, 1826.

MY LORD,—It seems my fate to be able to address your Grace from on board ship only. I am now again engaged in my visitation, and hope, by God's blessing, during the next five or

six months, to complete the circuit of the southern stations of the Presidency of Madras, and the Syro-Malabar Churches in Travancore, besides, if the state of the monsoon allows, paying a short visit to Ceylon. I trust again to have the honour of writing to your Grace before the conclusion of my journey, but the immediate cause of my present letter is to request your directions and assistance in enabling the Indian clergy to marry, under certain circumstances, without the canonical preliminaries of banns or licence. The custom was for the civil servants of the Company to obtain the permission of the Governor, and for the soldiers to produce a similar written licence from their commanding officers, while the few who did not fall under one or other of these descriptions were only required, I believe, to give a written assurance to the clergyman that they knew of no impediment to their legal union.

For several years back, however, in all marriages of civilians of rank, or of commissioned officers, and, generally, wherever there was wealth on either side, the supreme courts of judicature of Calcutta and Madras, and the Governor of Bombay, have taken on themselves to issue marriage licences. Their power to do this is very generally questioned, and seems to rest on a very unsound foundation, while the fees demanded by their officials are complained of as a heavy grievance. Still the measure, though at first opposed by the clergy, has been at length generally acquiesced in; and Bishop Middleton, as I understood, made an ineffectual appeal to the Board of Control, to get the prerogative transferred from the Court of Judicature to the bishop and his surrogates.

He issued, however, a letter to his clergy, shortly after his arrival, enjoining a more careful adherence than they had formerly shown to the regular hours of solemnizing marriages, and forbidding them strictly to perform the ceremony without either banns, or a licence from the usual authorities. And, in consequence of this order, the Reverend Mr. Goode, chaplain at Poo-

nah, having refused to marry a soldier who was under marching orders, and who could not remain in cantonments a sufficient time for the publication of banns, had a long and angry correspondence with Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, which was referred to me a short time before I left Calcutta to embark on my present voyage.

In comparing the major-general's arguments with the facts which he states, and those which have come to my knowledge from other quarters, it certainly does appear that the grievance complained of is neither imaginary nor trifling. A soldier may be, and often is, ordered to march, at a very few days' notice, to distances where a woman, not being his wife, cannot follow or accompany him, while months, and even years, may elapse without his being stationary for three weeks together in a place where there is a resident chaplain.

There are also many stations at which detachments of soldiers are fixed which a chaplain only visits alternate months, or sometimes four Sundays in the year. Indeed it has been only within the last two years, by the great exertion of Archdeacon Barnes in Bombay, and by my own influence with the Supreme Government, that even this kind of occasional and itinerant service has been provided for. But at such places as these, it is plain that banns are impossible or nugatory, while, setting aside the fact that the Indian price of a licence is quite beyond the means of a soldier, it does not appear that persons in his situation of life, or such females as he is likely to marry, are of that "state or quality" to which, by canon ci., the granting of a marriage licence is restricted.

It must also be borne in mind, that these restrictions press with more severity on soldiers and the usual dependents on a camp, than on any other persons of the same rank in life. Their courtships are, in this country, proverbially short; and it is necessary that they should be so, since the number of Christian females from whom they can choose is very small, while the miseries and dangers to which an unprotected

woman is liable in India are such as to make it highly desirable that widows and female orphans should remain as short a time unmarried as possible. Nor is it possible to become acquainted with the temptations, and almost inevitable ruin of body and soul to which an European soldier, without a wife, is exposed in India, without feeling the propriety of throwing as few obstacles as possible in the way of lawful marriage.

It is a galling circumstance, too, that these restrictions only apply to members of the Church of England, and those places which have the residence or occasional visits of a clergyman. The parties have only to go over to the Church of Rome, and the priest will unite them without trouble, and at the shortest notice. Where there is no chaplain within a certain distance, the commanding officer does the same. And in the residencies, where there are ministers of the Scottish Church, I have myself known a person, who, though of that nation, had for several years attended our worship without scruple, who bethought himself of his paternal creed out of pure good husbandry, and because his approaching marriage could be celebrated with less expense and delay than it could be according to the rules of the Church of England. Nor are the clergy of the two rival communions at all backward to contrast their liberty in these particulars, with the expensive and burdensome restrictions to which the members of our Church are subjected.

The consequence is, as I have stated to your Grace, that, so far as soldiers are concerned, the canons and Bishop Middleton's injunctions have, in most parts of India, remained a dead letter. The chaplains have, nearly without exception, gone on in their former course of marrying soldiers and camp-followers on the simple certificate of the officers commanding the regiments to which they belong. They plead in excuse for this conduct that a similar liberty is used by all his Majesty's military chaplains, when on foreign service; that the Marriage Act does not extend to India, and the canons are inappli-

cable, while an attempt to enforce them would embroil them with the military officers, on whose good-will depends all their comfort and much of their usefulness, at the same time that it would act as a direct encouragement to vice, and produce much inconvenience and misery to many helpless individuals.

Your Grace will have already perceived that I regard their case as a strong one, and I trust that I shall not be thought to have gone too far in my compliance to the necessities of the country in the following rules, which I have forwarded through the archdeacon for the provisional guidance of the clergy till your Grace's further directions could be obtained, for which I at the same time stated my purpose of applying.

The first rule permits chaplains to "celebrate the marriages of military persons, soldiers, female followers of the camp, suttlers, and others subject to martial law, under the rank of commissioned officers, without banns or licence, and by virtue of a written permission signed by the commanding officer of the station, garrison, or detachment, to which such soldier or military person belongs." The second provides that "such permission must be presented to the officiating clergyman at least two days before the celebration of the marriage, unless, for some urgent cause, he may see fit to be satisfied with a shorter notice." The third directs the clergyman, "if any doubts arise as to the propriety of the connexion, to make inquiry without delay, both personally from the parties and otherwise; and should it appear to him that any lawful impediment exists, to suspend the ceremony till further satisfaction, reporting the same immediately to the commanding officer, and, if need be, to the archdeacon and the bishop."

Your Grace will observe that I have directed the clergy to receive the certificate of permission not (as now) from the commanding officers of regiments, but from the commandant of the station, garrison, or detachment. My reason is, that this last is the usual person whom the chaplain has to consult, and

from whom he receives communications connected with the military part of his flock, and that I have found it desirable that, so far as can be done, all other military officers should be prevented from interfering on any ground with the chaplain in the performance of his duties. And it is also probable, that in any difficulty which may arise as to the marriage of a soldier, the commandant of the station will be more free from undue bias, and more open to the chaplain's objections. I have also thought it necessary to assign some period for the previous notice, in order to give the chaplain time for seeing the parties, and making any inquiries which may be necessary.

With the same view of publicity I have suggested to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief the propriety of having the names of all soldiers or military persons intending to marry inserted in the orderly-book of their regiment or detachment, and read at the head of companies, at least four days before the celebration of the ceremony. That the permission to marry shall proceed from the officer commanding the regiment or detachment in the first instance, and having received the signature of the officer commanding the station, &c., be forwarded by him to the chaplain, and that both these officers be especially desired to make due inquiries as to the fitness of the union, and, more particularly, their age, condition, &c.

The measure which I have as yet ventured on relates to military persons only beneath the rank of officers, inasmuch as the inconveniences which they suffered were the greatest, and they were the only description of persons from whom I had a direct complaint; while I was sensible that anything which should extend further would be likely to produce a jealousy in the supreme courts, and might possibly (from its consequences with property, inheritance, &c.) lead to consequences which I was myself unable to foresee.

Your Grace will not fail, however, to observe that there are many subaltern officers to whom the payment of so high licence fees may be very in-

convenient, while the publication of their banns is liable to the same difficulties as those of the soldier. And there are very many persons in India engaged in civil or commercial pursuits, in whose case the publication of banns is quite nugatory, while their means and rank in life are by no means such as to make a licence procurable or even proper.

There are many thousand families of what are called the "half-caste," or "country-born," scattered up and down India, engaged in the cultivation of indigo, or employed in the different studs, farms, silk manufactories, &c., which the Government have established in their territories. A Christian of this description may be resident (where there are many such) in an humble sphere of life at Etawah, or Mynpooree, in the Doab. If he desires to marry a female of his own degree, he must now, if the canons be complied with, go to keep a residence at Agra, where the nearest chaplain resides, a distance of seventy miles from his home and property, in order that his banns may be published. Now, not to mention that such an absence from home would be ruinous, perhaps, in more ways than one, to both the parties, it is plain that the publication of banns so far from his own neighbourhood, and in a place where his face and perhaps his name is unknown, could answer no good purpose.

On the other hand, if he prefers a licence, he must get two householders in Calcutta, a city which he has never seen, and from which he is distant eight hundred miles, to make oath, and enter into a bond that he and his intended wife are of full age, and that there is no impediment to their union, and he is to pay high fees for an instrument, the issuers of which can know nothing of him or his connexions.

Accordingly a man thus situated either goes to the nearest station for merely the day of marriage, having the banns published in his absence and pro forma, or watches the opportunity of some chaplain passing through his neighbourhood, in which case he endeavours, generally with success, to persuade him to marry him without

either banns or licence, though never (as I am assured) without inquiry; or he has recourse to some of the neighbouring priests, who ask no questions at all, or to the lay magistrates, among whom there are many who feel a great reluctance, and some who display a very unfortunate facility in undertaking not only this but other ecclesiastical functions.

I once was inclined to suggest as a remedy for these mischiefs the appointment of a sufficient number of surrogates. To this, however, there are in the present state of India many objections. If these surrogates were appointed by the bishop, the legality of their licences would be hotly contested by the Supreme Court, a contest in which Bishop Middleton was by no means encouraged to embark, and which would very possibly lead to a painful and mischievous disunion between the bishop and his Majesty's judges. If the Supreme Court had the appointment, I really do not know who they could get to serve the office. The magistrates, who are civil servants of the Company, I feel almost persuaded would not, inasmuch as great jealousy exists between the King's courts and the Adawlut, and the Indian civilians dislike nothing so much as being drawn by any means into contact with English law and English attorneys. I myself should not wish the clergy to receive commissions from an authority which I am inclined to think an usurpation, and I should be still more unwilling to transfer to them any part of the odium which belongs to the stamp-duty and fees of marriage licences. At the same time your Grace will observe that the creation of surrogates would not meet the evil, inasmuch as a large portion of those persons who cannot have recourse to banns are equally precluded by poverty from obtaining a licence.

Nor if the whole system of surrogates were carried into its fullest extent, would anything be really gained in point of security against improper marriages. No end would be gained by making some of the clergy surrogates, since, scattered as they are over a vast extent of country, the applicant for a licence

would neither know where to go, nor be materially relieved by such a provision. If *all* were invested with this character, it would be merely to recognise in each of them the exercise of a discretion which each now exercises, and which may be just as well exercised without the imposition of an expensive tax and a fee; or, if this character were given to the magistrates, it would only be to remove this discretion from the clergy to a description of persons who, respectable as many of them are, are by no means so well qualified to exercise it.

Accordingly I would respectfully submit to your Grace, that in all cases where the parties desiring to be married are natives of India, or British subjects holding no rank in the service either of his Majesty or the honourable East India Company, and where their place of residence is thirty miles and upwards from any of the three presidencies, the chaplain or officiating clergyman may dispense with banns or licence on receiving a written declaration signed by the parties themselves, and by two neighbouring Christian householders, that they are of age, and that there is no legal impediment to their union, or, if either is under age, then a similar declaration from their parents or guardians. These documents to be countersigned by the magistrate or magistrates of the district or districts to which they respectively belong, with the declaration that he has no reason to doubt the truth of the accompanying statement. The document to be transmitted to the clergyman at least twenty days before the celebration of the marriage, and the clergyman to be enjoined to use the same precautions in case of suspicion as before prescribed in military marriages.

Such an arrangement, as it would leave to the Supreme Court their present hold over all the more wealthy and dignified part of the population of these countries, would, I conceive, meet with no opposition from them. It would relieve the clergy from the heavy alternative under which they now labour, of either refusing marriage where no Christian objection exists, or incurring

a suspension of three years (if indeed the canons are of force in India), and it would do much towards extending and confirming the popularity, the influence, and consequently the usefulness, of the English Church in these vast countries. On these grounds, and speaking the general sentiments of the Indian clergy, I beg leave to express their earnest hope, as well as my own, that your Grace will afford us such relief as you may think proper, together with directions for our future guidance. I will only add my hope that the canons in question being simply ecclesiastical, and never having received the sanction of parliament, it will not be beyond your Grace's power to authorise our omitting observances which, useful and proper as they may be at home, are by no means calculated for the state of society in these colonies.

The other provisions of canonical hours, of marrying in church, when there is one within a reasonable distance, &c., may remain as they are now fixed. They used formerly to be much neglected in India, but they are now universally recognised, and have many obvious advantages, without any material inconvenience.

Since the despatch of my last letter to your Grace till my embarkation twelve days ago, I have been resident in Calcutta, where I had the satisfaction of setting on foot a district committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, corresponding to those in Bombay and Ceylon, and of collecting for the immediate use of Bishop's College, and eventually for the support of its schools and missions, a very seasonable supply of about 15,000 s. rupees, which will, I hope, receive considerable additions from the other stations of the presidency when their respective chaplains shall have received and acted on the letters which I sent them. The new society received a cordial support from the commander-in-chief, the chief justice and judges, the members of council, and most of the chief functionaries of government, both civil and military. Lord Amherst alone, I regret to say, though he wished us every success, felt himself precluded

by the line of policy which he had undertaken to adopt before his arrival here, from giving us the same countenance which Mr. Elphinstone and Sir E. Barnes have done. It yet remains to be seen what success will attend us at Madras.

In consequence of this supply, together with that previously received from Bombay, and the further helps hoped for from England, the College council, now complete by the arrival of the two professors, have been encouraged to go on with the internal fitting up of the chapel, and the erection of the printing-house. They are still, however, going on from hand to mouth, and obliged to anticipate their resources with a hardness which necessity only justifies. The utility and success of the institution are becoming every day more apparent. I wish that the statutes had held out greater encouragement to private benefactors and non-foundation students, or that some greater latitude were allowed in these respects to the College council and the visitor. However, there is a power reserved of altering and adding to them by the Society at home, and the necessary expansion will, I have no doubt, eventually take place. At present I think, and the principal is now of the same opinion, that their *publication* in India (which was apparently contemplated) would rather do harm than good. Of the new professors I have as yet seen little. For Principal Mill my respect and esteem increase the more I know of him.

I have filled up the archdeaconry of Bombay, vacant by the resignation of my valued friend Dr. G. Barnes, with the Rev. Mr. Hawtayne, formerly domestic chaplain to Bishop Middleton.

I was not so fortunate as to find St. Peter's Church in Fort William, or the Bengalee Chapel, of which I wrote in my last letter to your Grace, in a sufficiently advanced state to admit of consecration. I had the satisfaction, however, of preaching in a church which, though not newly built, was newly appropriated to the forms of our episcopal ritual, in the late Dutch colony of Chinsurah, thirty miles from Calcutta, which I had induced Government to place at

my disposal, and to which I had assigned as pastor the Rev. Mr. Morton, one of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The building is not large, but elegant, and I found a numerous and attentive congregation, of which the Dutch portion had been long accustomed to the English language, and acquiesced with much seeming good will in the introduction of our Liturgy and the appearance of a pair of lawn sleeves. The facility with which their objections were overcome, I impute partly to the sound sense and good temper of Principal Mill, whom I had charged (while on my visitation) with the management of the affair; partly to the great preponderance of English, who, even before the colony was transferred to us, had already settled there, and in a great degree also to the amiable and Christian spirit displayed by the Rev. M. la Croix, a Dutch missionary who had previously occupied the church (there being no regular chaplain), who professed himself not sorry to relinquish a situation in which his imperfect knowledge of English was a disadvantage to him for the undivided application of his time and talents to the natives, and has since been himself a regular attendant on Mr. Morton's ministry. To our Church the point was one of much importance. As a missionary station Chinsurah is very valuable. The congregation, already numerous, is likely to increase greatly, and to receive a greater and greater proportion of our countrymen; and had the moment of the transfer been let slip, there were many of the sectaries who would have eagerly offered their services to Government, and were likely enough to have fixed themselves there permanently. I mention this to your Grace, because one of my clergy, whom it is not necessary to name, thought fit to reflect severely on my conduct in removing Mr. Morton from the superintendence of the schools supported in the neighbourhood of Calcutta by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

During my residence in Calcutta I held an ordination of deacons, and another of deacons and priests, both attended with circumstances with which

your Grace should be informed, and which, I trust, will not be uninteresting to you. The subjects of both were missionaries in the employ of the Church Missionary Society. Three of them (Mr. Reichardt, a native of Germany, and a young man of very respectable attainments both in the classics, divinity, and Hebrew; Mr. Bowley, the son of an European, but born in this country, in the language of which he is a proficient; and Abdul Musseeh, a venerable old man, a native of Lucknow, and an elegant Persian and Hindoostanee scholar) had some years ago received Lutheran ordination, and officiated as ministers of the Gospel. They had for some time, however, been anxious to obtain what they regarded as a more apostolic commission, and Mr. Bowley and Abdul Musseeh had been confirmed in their views by some conversation which I had with them at Chunar and Agra, in my journey through Northern Hindostan. Mr. Reichardt appeared to have very carefully studied the subject, and they had none of them any discoverable motives for their wish but such as reflected honour both on themselves and the Church of England.

With this persuasion, and in consideration of the office which they had already filled as preachers of the Gospel, as well as the great distance which Abdul Musseeh and Mr. Bowley had travelled, the former little less than eight hundred miles, to receive the sacred rite, I used the same freedom which I had done in the case of Christian David, in ordaining them priests as well as deacons, with the intervention of a month only between the ceremonies. Abdul Musseeh not understanding English, the service was translated into Hindoostanee by Archdeacon Corrie, under the able revision of Principal Mill, and my chaplain, Mr. Robinson. Abdul Musseeh read the Gospel in that language, and greatly impressed us all, both in that and his answers, with his deep apparent emotion, his fine voice and elegant pronunciation, as well as his majestic countenance and long white beard.

He has since returned to his flock at
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Agra, where he has a little Christian parish of twenty or thirty families, besides many hundred occasional hearers in the neighbouring cities and villages. I also admitted to deacon's orders a well-deserving and well-educated young man, named Adlington, a catechist likewise in the employ of the Church Missionary Society, on whom I hope to confer the priesthood next autumn. By that time the Rev. Mr. Wimberly (one of the Company's chaplains, but as yet a deacon only) will be also qualified to become a candidate.

I believe I mentioned to your Grace in my last letter the sort of amicable intercourse which I had maintained with different sects of Oriental Christians, and particularly with some bishops of the Armenian Church. One of these, whom I had previously met at Dacca, Mar Abraham, a suffragan dependent on the patriarch of Jerusalem, was much with me, and still more, I think, at Bishop's College, during my late residence at Calcutta. He, like the Syrian metropolitan, attended service in the cathedral, and I was happy to be able on different occasions to treat him with respect and hospitality. His sect (I need not inform your Grace) is Monophysite, and the Liturgy of his Church, grievously crowded with superstitious observances, approaching to those of the Roman ritual. They disclaim, however, earnestly the pope and some of the distinguished tenets of popery, and both my friend Mar Abraham, and some others of his nation, express a great admiration of our Liturgy, and a desire (which I think claims all the encouragement in our power) to draw near us, and learn from us. One of their nation, named George Avdal, has offered his services to Bishop's College, to translate our Liturgy into Armenian, to which may be prefixed, if God gives me health and leisure to finish it, a short account which I am drawing up of the foundation, reformation, and history of the English Church, which, I am led to believe, may do us great service among the Eastern Christians, and may be advantageously circulated, not only in Armenian, but the other languages of Asia.

And, if Mr. Avdal does his work well, I think of employing him still further in rendering into that language some of the homilies of St. Chrysostom, and of such other fathers as the Eastern Church hold in most honour, but of whom, except by name, they know nothing. By such means, duly persevered in and practised with meekness, and without the appearance of dictation or superiority, it may be hoped, under the Divine blessing, that some of the grosser ignorance may be removed, and some of the more crying abuses reformed, which have, for many centuries, overspread the most ancient and illustrious sects of Christianity. Bishop Abraham complained, with much feeling, that almost all the books of devotion or instruction which the Armenian nation possess are printed at Venice, and, in many instances, *interpolated there*; and he seemed extremely well disposed to recommend to his patriarch a plan which I suggested, of obtaining such works in future from the press of Bishop's College. It is my purpose to write on this, and other similar subjects, to the Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel and Promoting Christian Knowledge, and I trust that we shall have some assistance from them in carrying these measures into execution.

Bishop Abraham evinced, on leaving Calcutta, his confidence in myself and Principal Mill in a yet more remarkable manner, in committing to my care for education at Bishop's College, a very pleasing young man, a deacon of his church, and related to himself, who had attended him from Palestine. He said that the Armenian Church felt the want of a more liberal education than they could usually obtain for their clergy; that, in particular, a knowledge of the English language and literature would be very valuable to them, and that this young man, who, having good talents and powerful interest, was likely to be called, eventually, to a conspicuous station in the church of Jerusalem, was exceedingly anxious to learn anything which we might have to teach. He professed a willingness to pay, to the best of his power, towards the expense of his remaining with us, but,

well knowing his poverty, I told him that was needless. I have accordingly arranged with the Principal and College Council to receive "Mesrop David" on the same terms of inmate and guest on which Christian David, the Tamul clergyman, was received on a former occasion. They agreed with me that it was an opportunity not to be lost of improving and extending the influence of our Church among his countrymen, and should the Society for Promoting Christianity in Foreign Parts object to his being supported at the College expense, I will most cheerfully take it on myself.

From Ceylon I have heard actually nothing which can be regarded as authentic since I last addressed your Grace, and the continued silence of the acting archdeacon, the non-appearance of the Tamul and Cingalese teachers expected by the College, and the unpleasant reports which have reached me from other quarters, are calculated to give me much disquietude respecting the success of the plans on which I had built so much, and which I detailed to your Grace, I fear, with too much exultation.

At Bombay one of the chaplains, whose conduct and character have, on many previous occasions, given me great uneasiness, has been attending a conference of American Independent Missionaries, and receiving the Sacrament at their hands. Admonition from me I have no reason to suppose does him any good, and I have found, to my surprise, no provision for the punishment of this open and daring schism in any of the canons, nor in any of the few books on ecclesiastical law which are within my reach. May I request your Grace, at your leisure, to favour me with your opinion and instructions on the subject?

* * * *

I remain, my dear Lord,
With much respect and regard,
Your Grace's much obliged and faithful
Servant and Suffragan,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

I forgot to mention to your Grace that I have heard of the arrival of the

Syrian Metropolitan, Mar Athanasius, in Travancore, but that I do not yet know whether his claims have been recognised by the Malayalam Church. I wrote him, some time ago, a long letter, which was translated for me into Syriac by my friends Principal Mill and Mr. Robinson, and Mar Abraham added one from himself, which, as coming from an Asiatic and Monophysite, is likely, I hope, to have much weight with him. In it he encouraged him to place confidence in the friendly disposition of the English Church, and cautioned him, very earnestly, against the arts and encroachments of the See of Rome and its clergy.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Madras, Feb. 27, 1826.

DEAREST LOVE,—I have been so much hurried with business, that I have only just time to save the dak. I am very well, and established in a very comfortable and handsome house which Government have taken for me. We had, on the whole, an unpleasant as well as a tedious passage. The ship is a fine one, and well manned, and the living on board abundant and comfortable, but she was so much out of trim, owing to the bad arrangement of her cargo, that she could carry very little sail, and leant over on one side so strangely, that had bad weather come on, it would have fared hardly with us. The captain is altering the arrangements, and I hope, for the sake of all concerned, that this may prove sufficient, though, as the ship is also leaky, I have some doubts. We had much sickness on board; one poor man died of cholera, and was committed to the sea a few hours before I came on board. A woman I left not likely to linger more than a day or two, and for some days back had been insensible or nearly so, the victim of long habits of drunkenness, and, unhappily, not at all disposed to profit by the advice and prayers of Mr. Robinson and myself. From most of the other invalids, how-

ever, and from the sailors, we met with great attention and gratitude. A poor little baby died while we were on board, and I buried it, the first funeral at sea which I had seen. I thought of Southey's "Oliver Newman" when the coffin's plunge was heard.

The mother was one of the ladies on board, a Mrs. S., wife of a merchant in Calcutta, going home with her infant, on account of her own ill health: her distress was very grievous and affecting, particularly to one who was himself a father and a husband. Though almost broken-hearted, she showed a Christian temper, prayed for resignation very earnestly and humbly, and was, I think, remarkably supported by God in her own utter weakness and helplessness, both during her child's sufferings, which were very severe, and after his death. In the former case, she begged me earnestly to come and pray for him, which of course I did, and did my best to comfort her afterwards. It has ended in my asking her to occupy a room in this house during the two or three days that the vessel's cargo is shifting, when no sick person could, with tolerable comfort, remain on board, and she was not able to get a lodging on shore.

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Of the other passengers, one, a Lieutenant Kenny, is a pleasing and gentlemanly man, going home in a miserable state, covered with ulcers from head to foot, the effect of the Arracan fever. I asked him also on shore, but he could not bear going through the surf, or even being moved into the boat.

* * *

The surf, when I landed, was very moderate to what I expected to see, though it would have swamped any boat but those built on purpose. I breakfasted this morning with Sir T. Munro; he was very kind, and expressed regret that the want of accommodation in the Government House prevented his asking me there during my stay. In the course of my conversation with him, I saw many marks of strong and original talent. I hope to commence my journey on the 13th. It will be very hot; but Sir Thomas

Munro tells me, that if I avoid the monsoon on the Travancore coast, I may perform it safely, and with tolerable comfort. Be assured, dearest love, I will take care of myself, and run no needless risks.

Your affectionate,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Madras, March 7, 1826.

MY DEAREST WIFE,—I enclose you a letter from poor Mrs. S., my late fellow-passenger, which I received the day after she left this house. The case she tells is a painful and interesting one, but one which I cannot assist, so far as I can perceive; and there are others who have far stronger claims on me than a deserving young man, of whose wife I know very little, and of himself still less. Nevertheless, when I read this account of patient and honourable exertion, battling hard with adversity, I could not help feeling very strongly my own unworthiness, and how deep a thankfulness I owe to God, whose mercy has thus far protected me, and those most dear to me, from the state of dependence, privation, and anxiety in which so many men, my superiors in many respects, are doomed to languish. Heaven grant that I may hereafter make a better use of its blessings!

I was much pleased to hear that my dear wife had been busy in the girls' school. You will, I fear, have a great deal of trouble there; but I am sure you will not grudge it. I have been seeing the two large schools, the Male and Female Orphan Asylum, in which Dr. Bell first displayed his talents for education. The former is very flourishing, under the inspection of the senior chaplain, Mr. Roy, and both in the progress and health of the boys is superior to the free-school of Calcutta. The latter is but ill-conducted under a country-born female, the widow of a missionary, who, though a worthy sort of woman, has not talent or energy for her situation. I have also seen a magnificent display of native schools and

native converts at Vepery, under the care of two Danes (Dr. Rottler and Dr. Haubroe), sent out by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The girls here read better, and hem quite as well as those under Mrs. Wilson's care. They are chiefly managed by Mrs. Haubroe, a young Dane of Tranquebar, who seems an excellent person.

I hold my Confirmation to-morrow, and am promised five hundred candidates, of whom about one hundred and fifty will be Tamul; my visitation is on Friday.

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The chaplains here are a remarkably good and gentlemanly set, and I am greatly impressed with reverence for the worthy old missionary Dr. Rottler. The weather is very hot, as hot, they say, as it is likely to be here; but I am extremely well. Nobody could be kinder or more considerate than both Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Hill have shown themselves. They have assigned me a most comfortable set of tents,—assigned me (what you will be glad to hear) a surgeon, Mr. Hyne, the deputy assay-master, said to be a very clever and agreeable man, and a young officer, Captain Harkness, by way of guide, and to command the escort, who knows the language and country of Travancore well, besides lending me two saddle-horses, and a small stock of plate, my own being, as they tell me, insufficient for the numbers of which my party will now consist. All this consideration is so much the kinder in Sir Thomas Munro, because he is now much occupied with domestic distress, Lady Munro being about to return to England with one of her children who is ill. Lady Munro is a very lovely woman, and of remarkably pleasing manners; everybody here seems to regret most honestly her going away, saying that her whole conduct has been made up of good manners, good heart, and sound solid judgment. I do not know that higher praise could be given to a "Lady Governess."

I set out on Monday, the 13th, via Trichinopoly, &c., to Travancore. I shall, I am told, find it very hot, but,

with care, shall run no risk in point of health. There are some beautiful churches here; the other buildings are less handsome than I expected; the country less green than Bengal, and the climate, at this season at least, considerably warmer. Much as I feel your absence, I cannot repent of having left you behind. No accommodations are to be obtained in the Neelghurri hills, and to take children at this season through Travancore, everybody tells me would be madness.

Poor Dr. Smith! I was shocked to hear of his death, and grieve for his poor widow. Yes, dearest, I am sure you will show her all kindness. Adieu, dear, dear love! God bless you and our babes.

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO MRS. R. HEBER.

Camp near Alumbura, one day's march
from Pondicherry, March 16, 1826.

I HAVE had little or no time to keep a journal, but was determined to make a beginning, and now send it to you. I am very well, and am travelling comfortably through a pretty country, in which almost everything reminds me of Ceylon (I mean its sea-coast). I have excellent tents and horses, and like my fellow-travellers very well. Sir T. Munro has written to all the collectors on the road to assist me in every way (as was done by the Government of Bengal on my former tour), and has himself taken great pains to settle everything for me beforehand. Captain Harkness, the commander of the escort, says he has even directions, in case Mr. Hyne should fall ill, to press the first surgeon, or assistant-surgeon, whom he may find, to accompany me as far as may be necessary. The weather is about as hot as it was in our excursion through Salsette with Mr. Elphinstone. Love to my dear little Emily, and kiss her and her sister for their affectionate father,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W.
WILLIAMS WYNN.

Camp near Chillumorum (Carnatic),
March 21, 1826.

MY DEAR WYNN,

* * * *
* * * *

There were, indeed, several reasons which rendered my presence here extremely desirable, and some which, as being characteristic of the country, may not be uninteresting to you. You are aware of the very considerable number (I believe about forty thousand) of Protestant Christians in different parts of this presidency, the spiritual children of Schwartz and his successors, and all now in union with the Church of England. These people, however, Christians as they are, have preserved very many of their ancient usages, particularly with regard to caste, which both here and in Ceylon is preserved with a fierceness of prejudice which I have rarely witnessed in Bengal, and which divides almost as perfectly a Sudra from a Pariah Christian, as it did the same individuals while worshippers of Vishnu and Siva. The old school of missionaries tolerated all this as a merely civil question of pedigree and worldly distinction, and in the hope that, as their converts became more enlightened, such distinctions would die away. This effect has not followed; but, on the other hand, some of the younger missionaries, both Germans and English, have not only warmly preached against caste, but in the management of their schools, and the arrangement of their congregations, have thwarted it as much as possible. They have even done more; having interfered with many ancient forms which are used by these people in their marriage ceremonies and domestic festivities, and which they conceive to be Pagan, while one of them has gone so far as, by way of punishment, to compel a school-boy of high caste to drink water from the cup of a Pariah. A long complaint of these transactions, written in very good English, and with a long row of signatures, was

sent to me by the Vepery congregation some time ago, and I have now many similar statements from different persons and congregations of the South. The difficulty will be to ascertain how far the feeling of caste is really civil, and not religious, and how far the other practices objected to are really immoral or idolatrous. On these topics I am now busily making inquiry, and hope, in the course of my journey, to come at the truth so nearly as to prevent, at least, any gross scandal, without intrenching materially on what I conceive the natural liberty of the new convert, to live in all indifferent things in the manner which he himself prefers, and which his ancestors have preferred before him. Both parties have evidently been to blame, and both, I have reason to hope, have already receded something in their pretensions. The high-caste Indians, for instance, had made one most abominable claim, to have a separate cup for the Sacrament. And the missionaries appear to me to have displayed a scarcely less blameable contempt of the feeling of their flocks, and a sour and narrow hatred of everything like gaiety and amusement, when displayed under any other forms than those to which they had been themselves accustomed. A certain crown of flowers, used in marriages, has been denounced to me as a device of Satan.

* * * *

And a gentleman has just written to complain that the Danish government of Tranquebar will not allow him to excommunicate some young persons for wearing masks, and acting, as it appears, in a Christmas mummary, or, at least, in some private rustic theatricals. If this be heathenish, heaven help the wicked! But I hope you will not suspect that I shall lend any countenance to this kind of ecclesiastic tyranny, or consent to men's consciences being burdened with restrictions so foreign to the cheerful spirit of the Gospel. The Protestants, however, are not the only people whose differences I have to compose. The Malayalam, or Syro-Jacobite Churches in

Travancore, are also in a flame; and I am, as it appears, to be their umpire.

You are aware that the intercourse of these churches with the patriarchs of Antioch had, for many years back, been interrupted, partly by the violent measures pursued by the Portuguese, and the intrigues of the missionaries sent out by the Propagandists, and still more by the poverty of the Christians of Travancore, which disabled them from sending messengers so far, or paying the expenses of a foreign metropolitan. Accordingly, for about fifty years, the Jacobite bishops of Travancore have been all people of the country, and have succeeded each other by a sort of domestic nomination, each prelate, soon after his accession to the see, ordaining a coadjutor, "cum spe successionis." The present metropolitan is named Philoxenus, and his coadjutor, who, for several years past, has transacted most of the business of the diocese, is named Dionysius; both of them, the former particularly, men of high character, both for piety and that sort of learning which is to be expected in an Eastern monk. Last year, however, the publications respecting these people in Europe, which, by the way, are said to be marked with scandalous exaggeration, appear to have become known in Syria, and to have attracted the notice of the patriarch to this remote portion of his flock; and two Syrian monks, named Athanasius and Abraham, with the titles of Metropolitan and "Ramban," or archdeacon, arrived at Bombay whilst I was there, on their way to the Malayalam churches, and with regular appointments from the patriarch, "sitting in the seat of Simon Cephas, which is at Antioch." As it has always been my endeavour to conciliate and befriend the Eastern Christians who find their way into India, both I and Archdeacon Barnes showed them all the respect and kindness in our power, and we were on as good terms as people could be who had no common language, the strangers speaking only Arabic, and all our communications being filtered through an interpreter.

They attended church unasked, and received the Sacrament at my hands; on which occasion I placed the metropolitan in my own chair, and we embraced in a most brotherly manner at the church door after service. I was not without some fears as to the manner in which the new and old metropolitans might adjust their claims, but thought myself bound to furnish Athanasius with a small viaticum for the rest of his journey, and with letters of recommendation to the English missionaries established at Alepee and Cotyam, at the same time that I advertised them, by a post letter, of the visitor they had to expect, and gave Athanasius my best advice as to the moderation with which it would become him, under actual circumstances, to advance his claims.

The missionaries I enjoined most earnestly to take no part, if they could possibly avoid it, in any disputes which might arise, and to recognize implicitly, with all due marks of respect and confidence, whichever patriarch the majority of the Malayalim churches might receive. How far either party has adhered to my counsels, I, as yet, hardly know. The missionaries assert that Athanasius, and, still more, his ramban, have been mere firebrands in the country, that they have excommunicated both metropolitan and coadjutor, and threatened them with personal violence; have annulled the orders which they had conferred, dissolved marriages, altered the interior of churches, and listened to no advice but that of a certain disaffected "Malpan," or doctor, who was disappointed some years ago in his hope of being named coadjutor instead of Dionysius. On the other hand, Athanasius has written to complain bitterly of the reception which he has met with from the metropolitans (whom he admits, indeed, "that for their lies and sorceries he has cursed from his own mouth, and the mouth of the holy patriarch, and the mouth of the prince of the apostles, Simon Cephas," &c.) as well as from "the English priests, of whom thou spakest unto me, and the man which is the ruler of the land, even Travancore," meaning, I suppose, either the

rannee's minister, or the English resident. At the same time complaint has been made to me from other quarters that the missionaries, though extremely well-meaning and correct men, have really been too much influenced by their natural friendship for the rival metropolitan Philoxenus, and I am the more led to apprehend that something of this kind has occurred, from the decided tone which the resident and rannee have assumed, forbidding Athanasius to exercise his functions, though acknowledged (as I am assured) by the great majority of the people, and threatening to send him from the country. This last measure I have got suspended, at least till I can myself try my hand at composing the difference, or at ascertaining the real wishes of the Malayalim Church, which is meanwhile in a perfect flame, but which has expressed, I understand, a general desire that the English bishop should settle the question.

The way in which I propose to do it is by assembling a general synod of their clergy, in which the claims of the rival metropolitans and the customs of their church shall be openly discussed, and the votes given by ballot. Vexatious and unfortunate as the occasion of such an assembly will be, it will be to myself extremely interesting and curious, since by no other means could I have hoped to become so intimately acquainted with this most ancient and interesting church, which, corrupt as it is in doctrine, and plunged in lamentable ignorance, appears to preserve a closer resemblance in its forms and circumstances of society, than any other now in existence, to the Christian world in the third and fourth century after our Saviour. Meantime I am visiting the principal civil and military stations, by nearly the same course which Bishop Middleton followed in the year 1816, hoping to reach Travancore early in May, and to return to Madras by the tract which he did not visit, of Mysore, Bungalore, and Arcot. The country, as far as I have yet advanced, is (though not generally fertile, and almost universally flat) as beautiful as palms, and spreading trees, and diligent cultivation can

make it, and the ancient Hindoo temples, though inferior in taste to the magnificent Mussulman buildings of which I sent you a description from the north-west of India, are in size, picturesque effect, and richness of carving, far above anything which I had expected to meet with. Here, at Chillumbrum (a town half-way between Cuddalore and Tanjore), is a temple of Siva, covering with its quadrangles, its cloisters, its "hall of eleven hundred columns," and the other buildings which surround its sanctuary, a space of ground, I am persuaded, more than equal to Christ Church, with an establishment, if its abbot speaks the truth (who, by the way, strange as it may seem, is himself of a low caste), of no fewer than three hundred Brahmins. The place, however, which, though of comparatively insignificant size, has interested me most from the association with which it is connected, is Māhābālipoorū, "the city of the great Bali," with its ruins lashed by the surf, and the romance of its submarine palaces.

* * * *

I hope some day to find time for a more elaborate and intelligible view. But, indeed, I do not eat the bread of idleness in this country. Since my arrival at Madras, little more than three weeks ago, I have preached eleven times (including my visitation charge), have held four public and one private Confirmation, visited five schools, attended one public meeting, travelled sixty miles in a palanquin, and one hundred and forty on horseback, besides a pretty voluminous correspondence with Government, different missionaries and chaplains, and my Syrian brother Mar Athanasius. And the thermometer this day stands at ninety-eight in the shade. However, I continue, thank God, on the whole, to enjoy as good health as I ever did in England. Busy as I am, my business is mostly of a kind which I like, and which accords with my previous studies. The country, the objects, and the people round me, are all of a kind to stimulate and repay curiosity more than most others in the world; and though there are, alas! many moments

in the day (more particularly now that I am separated from my wife and children) in which I feel my exile painfully, I should be very ungrateful indeed if I did not own myself happy. Heaven grant that I may not be useless! When at Calcutta you have added much to my comfort by sending Grey there, who, I rejoice to say, is as popular as he deserves to be. It happens now, remarkably, that all the three chief justices were my contemporaries at Oxford, and that I have always been on terms of friendly intercourse with all, though Grey was the only one with whom I was intimate.

* * * *

Lord Combermere, during his stay in Calcutta, was a great accession to our circle, and I really believe you could have found no person better suited to play the very difficult and important task which was placed in his hands, from his good sense, his readiness in dispatch of business, and his accessibility, which had gone far to gain him the good-will of the Company's army, even before his success at Bhurtpoor. He appears at present to enjoy a higher reputation than any commander-in-chief since Lord Cornwallis, or any officer who has appeared in India, except Sir A. Wellesley.

* * * *

It is really strange how much importance has been attached to the fortress of Bhurtpoor. Even in the Carnatic, Sir Thomas Munro tells me, the native princes would not believe that it ever could be taken, or that the Jāts were not destined to be the rallying point of India, as they certainly are, by the little which I saw of them, among its finest races. I regret now I did not visit Bhurtpoor. I was within one march, and corresponded with the raja, but was too anxious to reach Jyepoor to accept his invitation.

Sir T. Munro is a man of very considerable talent, and is universally respected and esteemed by all whom I have yet heard speak of him; individually I have received much kindness from him.

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO THE REV. CHARLES SHIPLEY.

Tanjore, March 28, 1826.

MY DEAR CHARLES,—

* * * *

I am again, alas, separated for several months from my dear wife and children, having been obliged to undertake the visitation of Southern India in a season when it is dangerous for any but the robust and hardy to travel. The heat is indeed already considerable, and must be, ere many weeks are over, much greater. I am well, however, and am very closely and interestingly occupied in the visitation of the missions under the patronage of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the success of which, since the time of the excellent Schwartz, has been far greater than is generally known or supposed in Europe. On Easter-day I confirmed seventy, and administered the Sacrament to nearly two hundred natives; and in the evening, when the service was in Tamul, I pronounced the benediction in that language on above one thousand three hundred. The difference of numbers will be easily accounted for; since, in the former instance, few attended but those who understood a little English, the rest having attended the ministry of one of the missionaries early in the morning. This, however, is only in the city of Tanjore. There are scattered congregations, to the number of many thousand Protestant Christians, in all the neighbouring cities and villages; and the wicker-bound graves, each distinguished by a little cross of cane, of the poor people by the road-side, are enough to tell even the most careless traveller that the country is, in a great measure, Christian. The missions, however, are in a state which requires much help and restoration; their funds, which were considerable, have been sadly dilapidated since the time of Schwartz, by the pious men (but quite ignorant of the world) who have succeeded him, and though I find great piety and goodwill, I could wish a little more energy in their proceedings at present.

I heartily wish I could stay here a

month or six weeks, every hour of which time might be usefully and profitably employed. My time, however, is very limited, and I must press on to Travancore before the south-west monsoon shall have made travelling on the Malabar coast impossible.

* * * *

Thence, I hope, after visiting Calicut and Cannanore, to return by Seringapatam to Madras, and thence to Calcutta.

Heaven bless you, my dear Charles.

Believe me,

Ever your's affectionately,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TO R. J. WILMOT HORTON, ESQ.

Trichinopoly, April 1, 1826.

MY DEAR WILMOT,

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* * * *

I have been passing the last four days in the society of a Hindoo prince, the Raja of Tanjore, who quotes Fourcroy, Lavoisier, Linnaeus, and Buffon fluently, has formed a more accurate judgment of the poetical merits of Shakspeare than that so felicitously expressed by Lord Byron, and has actually emitted English poetry very superior indeed to Rousseau's epitaph on Shenstone, at the same time that he is much respected by the English officers in his neighbourhood as a real good judge of a horse, and a cool, bold, and deadly shot at a tiger. The truth is that he is an extraordinary man, who, having in early youth received such an education as old Schwartz, the celebrated missionary, could give him, has ever since continued, in the midst of many disadvantages, to preserve his taste for, and extend his knowledge of European literature, while he has never neglected the active exercises and frank soldierly bearing which become the descendant of the old Maharatta conquerors, and by which only, in the present state of things, he has it in his power to gratify the prejudices of his people, and prolong his popularity among them. Had he lived in the days

of Hyder, he would have been a formidable ally or enemy, for he is, by the testimony of all in his neighbourhood, frugal, bold, popular, and insinuating. At present, with less power than an English nobleman, he holds his head high, and appears contented; and the print of Buonaparte, which hangs in his library, is so neutralized by that of Lord Hastings in full costume, that it can do no harm to anybody. To finish the portrait of Maha Raja Sarbojee, I should tell you that he is a strong-built and very handsome middle-aged man, with eyes and nose like a fine hawk, and very bushy grey mustachios, generally splendidly dressed, but with no effeminacy of ornament, and looking and talking more like a favourable specimen of a French general officer, than any other object of comparison which occurs to me. His son, Raja Sewajee (so named after their great ancestor), is a pale, sickly-looking lad of seventeen, who also speaks English, but imperfectly, and on whose account his father lamented, with much apparent concern, the impossibility which he found of obtaining any tolerable instruction in Tanjore. I was moved at this, and offered to take him in my present tour, and afterwards to Calcutta, where he might have apartments in my house, and be introduced into good English society; at the same time that I would superintend his studies, and procure for him the best masters which India affords. The father and son, in different ways, the one catching at the idea with great eagerness, the other as if he were afraid to say all he wished, seemed both very well pleased with the proposal. Both, however, on consulting together, expressed a doubt of the mother's concurrence, and accordingly, next day, I had a very civil message through the resident, that the rannee had already lost two sons, that this survivor was a sickly boy, that she was sure he would not come back alive, and it would kill her to part with him, but that all the family joined in gratitude, &c. So poor Sewajee must chew betel and sit in the zenanah, and pursue the other amusements of the common race of Hindoo princes,

till he is gathered to those heroic forms who, girded with long swords, with hawks on their wrists, and garments like those of the king of spades (whose portrait painter, as I guess, has been retained by this family), adorn the principal room in the palace. Sarbojee, the father, has not trusted his own immortality to records like these. He has put up a colossal marble statue of himself, by Flaxman, in one of his halls of audience, and his figure is introduced on the monument, also by Flaxman, which he has raised in the mission church to the memory of his tutor Schwartz, as grasping the hand of the dying saint, and receiving his blessing.*

Of Schwartz and his fifty years' labour among the heathens, the extraordinary influence and popularity which he acquired, both with Mussulmans, Hindoos, and contending European

* The Rev. Mr. Robinson being desirous to see also the Christian congregation at Kanandagoody, fifteen miles from Tanjore, and his Highness the Maha Raja's Chatteram, went to that place on the 15th April. He was much pleased to see a large congregation assembled, and after morning prayers he gave a kind address to the Christians, animating them to be thankful to God for his great mercies showed to them. The chapel at this place is a decent thatched building. It is also used as a school. Fifty poor children of the Christians are here supported by the bounty of his Highness, but instructed at the expense of the mission. The houses of the catechist and schoolmaster, which are also thatched, are built near the chapel. From Kanandagoody he went to his Highness's Chatteram, which is a Hindoo charitable institution, established by the present Maha Raja of Tanjore, not merely for the maintenance of Brahmins, but for the poor of every description. This charitable institution has saved many hundreds from perishing when a severe famine and the cholera prevailed some years ago in the Ramuad, Shevagunga, and Madura districts. A circumstance that renders this institution worthy of notice is, that there is a charity school attached to it, in which children are instructed in the Tamil, Gentoo, Maharratta, Sanscrit, Persian, and English languages; to this must be added the Christian charity school at Kanandagoody, above mentioned. There are also two hospitals attached to the charitable institution, one for men and one for women suffering by sickness. A beautiful bungalow is also erected over the Chatteram for the accommodation of gentlemen and other Europeans going to the southward, or coming from thence.—*Extract from a Letter from the Rev. J. C. Kohloff*.—Ed.

governments, I need give you no account, except that my idea of him has been raised since I came into the south of India. I used to suspect that, with many admirable qualities, there was too great a mixture of intrigue in his character; that he was too much of a political prophet, and that the veneration which the heathen paid and still pay him, and which indeed almost regards him as a superior being, putting crowns and burning lights before his statue, was purchased by some unwarrantable compromise with their prejudices. I find I was quite mistaken. He was really one of the most active and fearless, as he was one of the most successful missionaries who have appeared since the Apostles. To say that he was disinterested in regard to money, is nothing; he was perfectly careless of power, and renown never seemed to affect him, even so far as to induce even an outward show of humility. His temper was perfectly simple, open, and cheerful, and in his political negotiations (employments which he never sought for, but which fell in his way) he never pretended to impartiality, but acted as the avowed, though certainly the successful and judicious agent of the orphan prince entrusted to his care, and from attempting whose conversion to Christianity he seems to have abstained from a feeling of honour. His other converts were between six and seven thousand, besides those which his predecessors and companions in the cause had brought over.

The number is gradually increasing, and there are now in the south of India about two hundred Protestant congregations, the numbers of which have been sometimes vaguely stated at 40,000. I doubt whether they reach 15,000, but even this, all things considered, is a great number. The Roman Catholics are considerably more numerous, but belong to a lower caste of Indians, for even these Christians retain many prejudices of caste, and in point of knowledge and morality are said to be extremely inferior. This inferiority, as injuring the general character of the religion, is alleged to have occasioned the very unfavourable eye with

which all native Christians have been regarded in the Madras Government. If they have not actually been persecuted, they have been "disqualified," *totidem verbis*, from holding any place or appointment, whether civil or military, under the Company's Government; and that in districts where, while the native princes remained in power, Christians were employed without scruple. Nor is this the worst: many peasants have been beaten, by authority of the English magistrates, for refusing, on a religious account, to assist in drawing the chariots of the idols on festival days; and it is only the present collector of Tanjore who has withheld the assistance of the secular arm from the Brahmins on these occasions. The consequence is, that the Brahmins, being limited to voluntary votaries, have now often very hard work to speed the ponderous wheels of Kali and Siva through the deep lanes of this fertile country. This is, however, still the most favoured land of Brahminism, and the temples are larger and more beautiful than any which I have seen in Northern India; they are also decidedly older, but as to their very remote age I am still incredulous.

You will have heard, perhaps, from your brother, that I had the pleasure of meeting him in Ceylon. That country might be one of the happiest, as it is one of the loveliest spots in the universe, if some of the old Dutch laws were done away, among which, in my judgment, the chief are the monopoly of cinnamon, and the compulsory labour of the peasants on the high roads, and in other species of *corvées*. The Canadian provinces, where neither of these exist, seemed to me the most prosperous parts of the country.

* * * *

You will perceive from the date and tenor of my letter, that I am again on my visitation tour; again, too, I am grieved to say, separated from my family. Circumstances had detained me so late at Calcutta, that the cool season was quite spent, and it would have been tempting Heaven to take them with me in such a journey at this time of the year. It is, indeed, in-

tensely hot, often from 98° to 100° in the shade; but I could not defer it to another year, and I thank God, continue quite well, though some of my companions have suffered, and I have been compelled to leave my surgeon behind sick at Tanjore.* My chaplain I feared, yesterday, must have remained there also, but he has now rallied. I am compelled to pass on in order to get to Travancore, where I have much curious discussion before me with the Syrian Christians before the monsoon renders that country impassable. This I hope to accomplish; but meantime the hot winds are growing very oppressive, and must be much worse than they are before I reach Quilon. The hospitality, however, of Europeans in India assures me of house-room at all the principal stations, so that there are not, I think, above two hundred miles over which we must trust to the shelter of tents alone.

* * * *

Ever your obliged and affectionate friend,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

* Mr. Hyne died of an abscess in the liver the 4th of April.—Ed.

Note.—In the last letter which the Editor received from the Bishop is the following passage, in closing the volume with which, she feels that she discharges a duty equally to him and to those whose claims, if he had been spared, he would himself have brought forward in a more formal and more efficient manner:—

“Will it be believed, that while the raja kept his dominions, Christians were eligible to all the different offices of state, *while now, there is an order of Government against their being admitted to any employment!** Surely we are in matters of religion the most lukewarm and cowardly people on the face of the earth. I mean to make this and some other things which I have seen, a matter of formal representation to all the three Governments of India, and to the Board of Control.”

* *Extract from Regulations of the Madras Government. 1816.*

Para. 6.—The Zilla judges shall recommend to the provincial courts the persons whom they may deem fit for the office of District Moonsif; but no person shall be authorised to officiate as a District Moonsif without the previous sanction of the provincial court, nor *unless he be of the Hindoo or Mahomedan persuasion.* True Extract. D. M.—Ed.

APPENDIX.

CIRCULAR OF MAR IGNATIUS
GEORGIUS,

Patriarch of Antioch,

TO THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES IN
INDIA,

Recommending to their Protection his Envoy,
Mar Athanasius.

To the Chiefs of the British Nation in Hindostan.

FROM the humble Ignatius Georgius the Fourth, by the mercy of Almighty God, Patriarch of the throne of Antake (Antioch) the apostolic, the holy over the Syrians and Jacobites of Derah Zefran, and rest of the Nast.

(L. S.)

Salutation to the Most Holy God, the Creator of bodies, and the releaser of souls, may this prayer be received for my dear and fortunate friends the chiefs of the countries of Hindostan, the pure, the friends of God; may the blessings of the Almighty be bestowed on them, and their families, and descendants, and on those who are united with them, through the mediation of Our Lady the pure Mary, and the whole army of Martyrs, and the Saints. Amen!

Further, the cause of writing these lines of friendship and blessing is, in the first place to inquire after your affairs, and to acquaint you that I am constantly thinking of you; moreover we have sent to wait on you our fortunate children, viz., Matran Abadool Museeha, and the Casis Ishaac, and Casis Abdulahud, and Casis Bushara, deputed to our Syrian Jacobite children who are with you, and are beneath

the shadow of God, and the shadow of your power, for the completion of several affairs which are wanting. Now, our request of your magnanimity is, that on their arrival in your presence you may be pleased to cast a favourable eye on them, and recommend them to the care and attention of the chiefs of whatever places they may visit, or wherever they may dwell, for they are my children, and are unacquainted with the customs of that country (India). And, be it known also, that what belongs to you belongs to us, what delights us delights you, and that which grieves us you are not approving. And, praise be to God, the zeal or assistance in matters of religion of your exalted nation, the British, is famous in all parts, more especially with respect to our tribe of Syrians, and this has been the case from times of old, but particularly of late our mutual friendship has been increased. We beseech God that this may last between us until the last day. For these reasons, it is not necessary that we should appeal more at length to you, as your wisdom does not require a detailed explanation. Whatever protection and support you may be pleased to extend to my children, is to be carried to the account of my weakness; and that which you have vouchsafed for my weakness will be taken into account by the Lord Jesus the Mighty, who will reward you on my behalf with innumerable blessings of vast and double measure, and we request His grace and favour, that he may favour you constantly with His holy blessings, and may protect you from all trials both ghostly and bodily, and may uphold you, and make

easy your affairs, and grant you your desires, and break the force of your enemies. May your souls be strengthened. May your children be protected, and may He open the gates of mercy for you, and may He increase His favour and blessings, and His gifts on all of you, and may He grant you favour and prosperity in both worlds, peace in this world, and life everlasting.

Favour me always with news of your condition, and do not reprehend us for not having entered your name; the reason is that no correspondence has, as yet, passed between us (we therefore know it not). This letter was proper to be written on account of your friendship, after giving you our blessings.

[Written 29th Tisreen 2nd, A.D. 1823. Rubecoosani 1239, Hejree].

TO MAR ATHANASIUS.

[As translated into Syriac by Messrs. Robinson and Mill.]

Calcutta, Dec. 1825.

To the excellent and learned Father Mar Athanasius, Bishop and Metropolitan of all the churches of Christ in India, which walk after the rule of the Syrians, Mar Reginald, by the grace of God, Bishop of Calcutta; grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

I have earnestly desired, beloved brother in the Lord, to hear that the Lord hath prospered thy journey from Bombay, and that thou farrest well, and art in good health in the land of Malabar. (I hope that they have rejoiced at thy coming even as they rejoiced at the coming of Mar Basilius, Mar Gregorius, and Mar Johannes. *) And my prayer to God for thee is, that even as he led Patriarch Abraham from his country, and from the midst of his kindred, through faith, to a strange and distant land, He may even

thus guide, protect, and prosper thee, and give thee health and grace, and every good gift, and increase unto thee the love of thy flock, and that the fruits of the Spirit may be multiplied to thee from them: as it is written, "Commit thy way unto the Lord, and trust in Him, and He shall bring it to pass."

Especially I have been desirous to hear from thee of the good estate of our brethren, the faithful, in Malabar, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons; and also of my own children in Christ, the English presbyters who sojourn among you at Cottayam; may God reward you according to your kindness towards them, and may the brotherly affection between you and them be daily increased and strengthened!

Furthermore, I make known to thy friendship that the desire of my heart, and my prayer to the Lord, is, that the holy name of Jesus may be yet further known among all nations; and also, that all that love the Lord may love one another, to the intent that they which are without may behold the unity and peace that is among you, and glorify God in the day of visitation. Like as was the desire of heart and prayer to God of the blessed Thomas Middleton, who fed the Church of Christ in this Episcopate before me, whose memory is blessed among the saints of Christ, whether they be of the family of England or of India; but they are not two families, but one, which is named after the name of the Lord Jesus, who sitteth at the right hand of God, in whom all nations, tribes, and languages are united, and shall be glorified together.

I also pray thee to write me word of the health of thyself and all that are with thee, likewise of the health of my own children, the presbyters of England, and what is their conversation among you.

Furthermore, I hope, if the Lord will, to pass to the cities of Madras, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly, visiting the churches there that are subject to me. And I desire, with God's pleasure, to pass on thence to salute thee, my brother, and the churches under thee, that

* The last Syrian Bishops (before Mar Athanasius in 1825) who went to rule the Church in Malabar in 1751; all the metropolitans after them (called Mar Dionysius, or Cyrillus, or Philoxenus severally) being Indian Bishops of their ordaining.

I may be filled with joy, while I behold your order, and am a participator with you in prayers. And if there be anything more which I have not written, it may be told when I come to thee, for (the daughter of the voice* is better than the son of the ink; and) it is a good time when a man speaketh face to face with his friend.

This letter is sent unto thee by the hand of a learned and faithful English presbyter, John Doran, one of the presbyters from before me, who proposeth, if thou givest leave, to sojourn in Cottayam, even as the presbyters, Benjamin Bayley, Joseph Fenn, and Henry Baker, have sojourned until now with licence of the godly bishops of the Church of Malabar, to teach learning and piety to all who thirst after instruction, doing good, and giving no cause of offence. And I beseech thee, brother, for my sake, and the sake of the Gospel of Christ, that thou wouldst receive him as a son and as a faithful servant of our Lord, who is alone, with the Holy Ghost, most high in the glory of God the Father; to Him, therefore, be all honour and dominion for ever. Amen.

Moreover I entreat thee, brother, to beware of the emissaries of the Bishop of Rome, whose hands have been dipped in the blood of the saints, from whose tyranny our Church in England hath been long freed by the blessing of God, and we hope to continue in that freedom for ever; of whom are the Metropolitans of Goa, the Bishop of Cranganor, and he at Verapoli, who have, in time past, done the Indian Church much evil. (I pray that those of thy churches in Malabar† who are yet subject to these men may arouse themselves, and be delivered from their hands.) Howbeit the Lord desireth not the death of a sinner, but His mercies are over all his works, and He is found of them that sought him not.

Our brother, Mar Abraham, a bishop

of the Armenian nation, who is sent from his patriarch at Jerusalem (may God rescue his holy city from the hands of the Ishmaelites), salutes thee. He also brings a letter which was sent by his hand to thee, from the Syrian patriarch at Jerusalem, and has not found means, hitherto, of forwarding it to thee at Malabar, and has therefore requested me to send it now to thee. All the Church of Christ that is here salute thee. Salute in my name thy brethren Mar Dionysius, and Mar Philoxenus,* with the presbyters, and deacons. (William Mill, and Thomas Robinson, presbyters, that write this epistle, in the Lord salute you.)

The blessing of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be with you evermore. Amen.

(Signed) REGINALD, BISHOP.

Written
also in
Tamil.

{ By the help of God let this letter go to the region of Travancore, to the city of Cottayam, and let it be delivered into the hands of the grave and venerable Bishop Mar Athanasius, Metropolitan of the Church of Malabar.

LETTER FROM FATHER ABRAHAM OF JERUSALEM

(An Envoy sent with Visitorial Powers, by the Armenian Patriarch of Ararat, to the Eastern Churches of that Nation in India)

TO MAR ATHANASIOS;

Sent with Bishop Heber's Syriac Letter, by the hands of Mr. Doran.

Jan. 6, 1826.

ABRAHAM, a servant of Jesus Christ, from the holy see of Jerusalem (appointed Bishop and Nuncio on a spiritual visitation to the Churches of the Armenian nation in the East Indies), unto our beloved brother in the Lord, the Right Rev. Mar Athanasius, Metropolitan of the Assyrian nation on the

* "The daughter of the voice," in Syrian, means no more than a word. It is a very usual expression for it.

† i. e. All churches of the Syro-Chaldaic ritual, one-half of which are under the Romish yoke imposed by the Synod of Diamper.

* The ex-metropolitan, who resigned the chair to the last Mar Dionysius, and now lives in voluntary retirement at Codangalongery, or Anhur, in the north.

coast of Malabar, and to all the communicators in the true religion of Jesus Christ, and to all the beloved brethren attached to the Church, sendeth greeting;—

Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father the Most High; and from our blessed Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Inspirer, Holy Ghost!

I had the gratification to understand, from our most beloved brother in the Lord, the Right Rev. Reginald, the Lord Bishop of the diocese of India (over the Christians of the Established Church of England), the good ministry, and adherence to the charge committed unto you by your superior, in being overseer to the flock of God, for whose redemption's sake Jesus died. This hath afforded me the greatest pleasure, and I always render my thanks to God for His grace, which is given to good Christian ministry by Jesus Christ. Permit me to remind you, ye brethren in the Lord, that according to Scripture the last days I see are come, when many false prophets and false Christs were to have risen, who dissemble in sheep's clothing, but in reality are wolves; such as some of the followers of the Roman Catholic Church are, who try to find access unto the flocks (embodied in the Church of Christ), by the unity of faith and brotherly love (through the triumph of the Gospel), and are bent upon scattering and driving them deep into the pit of Satanical transgressions by superstition and idolatry: and for the sake of personal ostentation among men, they endeavour to bereave and deprive the true believers from the glory of God; wherefore, be ye upon your guards, and watch, as the skilful shepherd, which thou art represented, according to the beaten track of the heavenly good Shepherd; feed and watch with vigilance over the flock of Christ, even at the cost of blood. The more especially, I say, for the unity of faith and doctrine handed down from your ancestors, in union with the orthodox Church of Armenia, of which you are members, and the Head of us all is Christ blessed for evermore.

It is rejoicing to observe, that we are in expectation, according to the word of the Lord, to witness the end of the heathens, which seems to be near at hand through the propagation of the Gospel. It is gratifying to me to observe, that the most part of India is blossomed with the light and cultivation of the diffusion of Scripture, through the indefatigable labours of our beloved brother in God, the most pious and true preacher of the Word of God, our amiable friend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Moreover, his impartial intercourse with our Church, and his friendly reception of us in the English Church, has gladdened us beyond the power of the auxiliary, pen and ink, to convey fully my humble sentiments on this subject. It is truly rejoicing to see Christianity thus strengthened, without any distinction to sects and nations; brotherly love working together; one Christian with another; wherefore it behoves me to hail, that the day of salvation and the acceptable time is now visible in our age. I avail myself, in so reasonable a time, to remind you, our beloved brother in the Lord, of the ministry thou hast received from God, through the grace of the precious Cross: minister thou the Word of life unto the believers, as well as the unbelievers and heathens, at the station where your ministry extends, that thou mayest be enabled to rescue the lost from the jaws of Antichrist. It is the bitterness of times that needs the sweetness of the Holy Scripture to be diffused, that the fruits may prove acceptable to the Almighty.

Be it known to our worthy brother in the Lord, that, during the usual course of my communication with the Holy See of Jerusalem, I had the honour of receiving a letter of blessing and loving-kindness from the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of the Assyrian Church, at the Holy Land, to your address, which would have afforded me the greatest source of pleasure to hand over to you personally, and to partake, myself, of the pleasure of your brotherly kindness, and to witness your good ministry

of the Church and the congregation committed to your charge, of which I have heard so happy an account from our friend and brother, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta; but unfortunately it did not prosper so; for the ship, on board of which I was a passenger, did not touch on the coast. However, a very favourable opportunity occurred, since our brother, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, during his conversation, mentioned to me, that he was on the point of forwarding you an epistle in the Syriac language. I availed myself of that opportunity to deliver to him the letter to your address (above alluded to), to be enclosed in it at the same time, and am much obliged for the brotherly love, that he has done so, and trust to God it will reach you in safety.

I had written these few lines in the Armenian language; but thinking perhaps none of my nation might happen to be there, to convey my brotherly love and greeting to you; and none of my handful nation here understanding the Syriac language to translate it, I have therefore got it transcribed into English, a language generally understood all over India; and I hope you will find some one of the station to read it to you.

I have prepared myself to go on board an Egyptian vessel, named Alib Rohonang, towards the Holy Land; should it please God to prosper that the vessel should touch at Allepee (as I am given to understand), I promise myself the pleasure to send information thence to you and the brethren of the Church, and to fulfil my heart's desire.

Our brother, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, joins me in greeting you and the brethren of the Gospel of Christ. Both the Armenian and English Churches of Calcutta salute your Church. All the brethren of both our Churches greet you, and greet ye one another with a holy kiss. May health and long life attend your holy ministry; and the grace and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.

Pray for me, that I may be enabled

to prosecute my course to the Holy City of Jerusalem.

The salutation and prayer of me,
ABRAHAM, with mine own hand.

Calcutta.

THE SECOND LETTER TO MAR ATHANASIUS.

March 22, 1826.

To the honoured among Bishops, Mar Athanasius, Metropolitan of the Churches of India which follow the Syrian confession, my dear Brother in the Lord Jesus, Reginald, by Divine permission, Bishop of Calcutta, wisheth health, peace, and increase of prosperity in this world and the world to come. Amen!

This second letter I write unto thee, my brother beloved in the Lord, to let thee know that by God's mercy I have reached the country of Madras, whither thy letter, which arrived in Calcutta after my departure thence, hath been sent after me. I was comforted to learn thy safe arrival and good health among the Churches of thy people; yet I have much grief and heaviness of heart to hear that the enemy hath sown trouble between thee and our brethren Philoxenus and Dionysius, which in time past had guided and governed the Churches of Travancore in their desolation, when no tidings came from Antioch for many years, and the people of the Lord (but for them whom God raised up to feed his flock) had been scattered on the mountains as sheep having no shepherd. Let this, my brother, incline thine heart to show them favour, and may the good Spirit of God move them to render thee all worthy honour and obedience, both for thine own sake, and his that sent thee!

Furthermore, I have spoken concerning thy business to the Most Excellent Governor of the English nation which is in the city of Madras, who had heard divers things reported against thee; to whom I said, "Athanasius is my brother, and, while he sojourned in Bom

bay, appeared himself in all things blameless, and of a truth he brought letters with him from the honoured Father in Christ, the Patriarch of Antioch; perhaps the things are not true which are reported; why then should he be sent away from the land? And now, behold, I go southward, even to Trichinopoly and Quilon; it may be that I shall reconcile him to his brethren. I pray thee write thus much to the Queen of Travancore and the deputy that dwelleth in Quilon;" and the Governor has written as I desired. Wherefore, my honoured brother, when I come into your borders, as, by the grace of God, I hope in forty days to come thither, my desire is to be allowed to be a maker of peace between you, not as having authority, for I am a stranger in your Church, neither desire to rule over any but my own people; not as having wisdom, for I would gladly learn of you in things pertaining to the truth, but as your brother in the Lord, and the servant of the Churches of Christ; and as desiring, like Mordecai, to speak peace to all the children of God, and to say unto you that strive together, as Moses said unto the Israelites, "Sirs, ye are brethren, why do ye wrong one to another?" But my counsel is, that all the Malpans and Catanars of the Church, also thou thyself, and the brethren Philoxenus and Dionysius, should come together to meet me in one place, even at Cotym, and testify unto me concerning the customs of the Church, and all things belonging to the same; and that all men may speak their mind freely and without fear, I will bring with me learned men, who speak both Arabic and the language of the Malayalim (but who are not of the number of the priests sent heretofore for the College of Cotym), and I can hear both what is said, and what thou desirest to speak unto me in secret; and whereas there are some which say that Philoxenus is no Bishop, and some which say that he was consecrated by laying on of hands and the Holy Ghost, even as thou wert, this thing may be inquired of at the mouth of many witnesses, and the will of the Church be made known whom they choose to

obey. And in the mean time, my brother, forasmuch as it hath been said of thee, "he is a violent man, and seeketh to change times and hours;" let me pray thee to be patient, if in the days of darkness and trouble anything have been done amiss, awaiting the time that thy power shall be strengthened, and the Lord shall cause all thy ways to prosper. But I speak as unto the wise. Thou knowest that the priests of the high places were not at once cut off from Israel; how much less those whom a Bishop hath ordained, though in the absence and without leave from Antioch. Likewise, in the days of King David, Zadok and Abiathar were both high priests in the Tabernacle, though the true priest, having Urim and Thummim, was Abiathar son of Abimilek only; and thus it may be that the anointing shall be on thy head, and the government shall be on thy shoulders, and yet the place of honour next to thee may be given to them that kept the flock before thy coming. (But of these things we may discourse together when there is opportunity.) And further, if any man have wronged thee, speak to me thereof without fear; am I not thy brother? even if he be of my own people, as far as I have power, he shall not go without correction. Salute the Bishops Dionysius and Philoxenus in my name. I call them Bishops, forasmuch as they have been so reported unto me by divers sure tokens, and I trust they may be found Bishops indeed. Salute the Rabban Isaac, thy fellow-traveller and mine, whom I met in Bombay. Salute the Malpans and Catanars. The priests, Thomas Robinson and John Doran (concerning whom I wrote unto thee), salute you. Verily John was sick at Madras, wherefore my letter was not hastened on. Nevertheless, he is now restored, by God's blessing, and is with me on my journey.

The Abuna Mar Simeon, the Armenian, who was with us at Bombay, and who has been now again with me at Madras, salutes you. Grace and peace be with you all, from God and our Lord Jesus!

If thou hast anything to write, let

thy letter be sent unto me, in the city of Palamcottah.

Written in the land of Coromandel, nigh unto the city of Alumbura.

(Signed) REGINALD, BISHOP.

LETTER TO MAR PHILOXENUS.

Sent March 27, 1826.

To the honoured among Bishops, Philoxenus, raised up of God to be a guide and shepherd to the Churches of India which hold the Syrian confession, Reginald, by Divine permission, Bishop of Calcutta, wisheth health, grace, and much prosperity from God and our Lord Jesus.

I have heard from many witnesses, my brother beloved in the Lord, of the works which thou hast wrought, and thy deep tribulation, and thy labour of love which hath been shown towards the Church of Christ among the Malayalims, at a time when no tidings came from the Church which is at Antioch, and there were many dangers and much sorrow without and within, on the right hand and on the left, from the idolatrous people and the false brethren. Likewise how thou hast made choice of a wise and holy man, even the brother Dionysius, to judge the people in thy room, and to teach them the pure and certain doctrine of the Lord, and that thou hast sealed him to the work by the laying on of hands, to the intent that the grace which was given thee might not perish, but that, after thy decease, a witness of the truth might not be wanting in Israel, until the time that the Lord of the vineyard shall return to reckon with his servants.

Which thing also was made known to the blessed Father in God, Thomas Middleton, who, before my weakness came hither, was Bishop of Calcutta and the Churches of the English in India, who beheld also your order and the grace of God which was among you, and was glad, and spake thereof unto all the chief of our nation. Insomuch that in the land of Feringistan, which is Chittim, and Ashkenaz, and Gomer,

the glory of the Lord was made known, not there only, but in Britain also, which is our own land; where the blessed Apostle Paul, after he had been in Spain, in times past preached the Gospel, even as the Apostle Thomas did with you, whose memory is at this day blessed among the Churches of India.

For which cause also, the holy Father in Christ, the Patriarch of Antioch, having heard of your love and the truth and patience of your brethren, sent our brother Athanasius to carry his letters to you, and to testify unto you all the things which were in his heart as a faithful Bishop and Evangelist; at whose coming, when I heard the same in Bombay, my heart greatly rejoiced, hoping that, by communication with him, yourself and your flock might be the more established in faith, and that love might increase more exceedingly with all knowledge. Whence then is it, my brethren, that there are wars and envyings among you? God is a God of peace, not of division; a God of order, not of disorder; and by all these things the name of Christ is blasphemed among the Gentile, and the souls of many shall be turned into perilous heresies; such as are taught by the priests of the Bishop of Rome, which are in Cranganore and Verapoli, from whom, in time past, great sorrow hath arisen to this people. Let me entreat you, then, my brethren, on Christ's behalf, that you be reconciled one to another, in honour preferring one another, and each desirous to take the lowest room, to the end that ye may reap an exceeding weight of glory hereafter. And forasmuch as the people are divided, and this man is of Philoxenus, and that followeth after Athanasius, my counsel is that the multitude must needs come together, and that the priests of the order of Aaron and the holy Levites, which are the deacons, be called into one place to declare openly, according to the knowledge given unto them, what hath been the custom of your fathers, and whom they will obey as their Bishop and faithful shepherd. Like as it is written, "if thou hast anything against thy brother, tell it unto the Church, and he

that will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." At which time, I also, if it seemeth good unto your discretion, will be present with you in Cotym, not as a ruler, for I am a stranger among you, nor as a judge, for who am I that I should judge any but mine own people? but as a brother in Christ, and a faithful witness of that which shall be determined, and who may plead the cause of your nation with the Queen of Travancore, and with the most excellent Governor whom the King of England hath set over his cities in India. And forasmuch as it is slanderously reported of thee that thou art no Bishop indeed, let this thing be also inquired into at the mouth of two or three witnesses, and let not thy heart be troubled in that I have known our brother Athanasius in Bombay; for I have purposed, by God's grace, to know no man after the flesh, but to walk in these things according to the will of God, and the tradition of the Churches, and to speak peace, if it may be so, to both of you (are ye not both brothers?), and to acknowledge him, if difference must be made, whom your people shall freely choose to rule over them; and within forty days I trust to be strengthened to come unto you.

Brethren, pray for me! Salute our brother, Bishop Dionysius, in my name, salute the brethren which are with you, the Malpans, Catanars, and deacons, with all others of the Church. Salute our brother Athanasius. God grant that ye may be at unity with each other. The brethren which are with me, even Thomas Robinson (which was in time past known unto the Bishop Dionysius) and John Doran, salute you.

Grace, mercy, and peace be with you and in the Israel of God! Amen.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE REV.
THOMAS ROBINSON TO MAR IGNA-
TIUS GEORGIUS, PATRIARCH OF AN-
TIOCH.

1826.

THE presbyter, Thomas Robinson,
Ramban to the blessed Mar Reginald,

Bishop of the English Churches in India, sendeth greeting and reverence.

I am not worthy to write unto thy Eminence, forasmuch as thy order in the Church of our Lord Jesus is the highest, and mine the most humble; yet since God hath thought me worthy to serve his honoured and blessed servant, Mar Reginald, the Bishop of our Church in India, I pray thee to receive my words as the words of him who was my master and my brother. The rather is it my duty to write to thee, because there were many things which were in his heart to say unto thee, and he was meditating a letter of peace to thee at the very time when the Great Master of all, the Chief Shepherd, called him to his eternal reward. With thy permission, therefore, I will relate to thy wisdom what things he had already done towards thy Churches in India, and what was farther in his mind to do. It is not unknown to thee, most reverend Father, from the information of the reverend Legate and Metropolitan of thy Churches in Malabar, Mar Athanasius, that he met our blessed father, Mar Reginald, at Bombay soon after Pentecost, in the last year (1825), and, as one bishop with another, partook of the holy mysteries with him at the altar of the English Church dedicated to St. Thomas in that city. Mar Reginald showed great affection to Mar Athanasius in return for his love to him, and gave him letters to several persons of distinction among the English in this country, commending him to them as Metropolitan and Supreme Bishop of the Syrian Churches in India. After that time he saw his face no more, but he always remembered the brotherly intercourse that was between them; and when he wrote an account of his diocese to the Most Reverend and Excellent Mar Carolus, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Metropolitan of all the Churches of the English nation, he made mention therein of Mar Athanasius, and his mission from your Eminence, and how, by his means, an end would be put to the irregularities that had heretofore prevailed in the Church of the Apostle Thomas at Malabar. Also, when an English priest, Johannes

Doran by name, came to him at Calcutta five months after, desiring to proceed to Malabar, our blessed Father gave him a letter to Mar Athanasius, requesting him to allow him permission to reside among his people, and to receive him as a son for his own sake. This letter I have now at length the satisfaction of sending to the care of your Eminency, and I will now relate from what cause, and in what manner, it was most unfortunately detained so long from the hands of Mar Athanasius, for our blessed Father most earnestly desired it should be delivered without delay, since it would, in all probability, have prevented his departure from the country, and healed the disorders and schisms that now so wretchedly divide your Church in India.

When the priest, Johannes Doran, had gone from Calcutta to Madras, on his way to the country of Malabar, he heard, for the first time, that there were dissensions between the Indian Bishops and the Metropolitan from Antioch, and, being a stranger, he was advised by some persons that he should avoid taking any part in such controversies, even such as might seem just to him. Therefore, and on account of his health, he remained at Madras for two months, till the end of the month of February in this year, when Mar Reginald arrived there on his visitation to the southern part of his diocese. It gave him great grief to find that Johannes had delayed his progress, although he had given him letters to Mar Athanasius, as the head of those Churches, in which also he had included another letter written by Abraham Abuna, a legate from the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, to Mar Athanasius. As soon as he obtained these letters again from the hands of Johannes, on the 4th day of March, he sent them to Travancore, to be delivered into the Metropolitan's hands. He also sent answers to letters he had received from that land, in which he exhorted all who were subject to his authority, to reverence the ancient canons and usages of the Syrian Church, and to know him as the rightful head and Metropolitan of the faithful In-

dians in Malabar, who had been received as such agreeable to your Eminency's letters, in a general convocation of the Church summoned at Cotym on December 29th, 1825, by the Bishop Mar Philoxenus. He also expressly and earnestly desired all these his children not to interpose the authority of the heathen government in Travancore, as defining anything in the affairs of the Church, but to suffer all things to continue as they were from the old time, even since the heathen princes gave the Syrian Churches of Malabar independent privileges, the people choosing their ecclesiastical governors according to the rites and usages which they held from the day of the blessed Apostle St. Thomas to this time, the government allowing their elections, and receiving those they elected, while they thus rendered to Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's, and to God the things which were God's. And forasmuch as it had been reported to Mar Reginald, that Mar Athanasius had acted violently in the Church, depriving those that had been formerly accounted bishops, and despising the authority of the rulers of the land, our blessed Father was very careful to inquire into this matter, that he might represent it truly to all the deputies of the governors of the English in that land. In the mean time, the letter of Mar Athanasius to him, written one month before, which had been ignorantly sent to Calcutta, was given to him at Madras, and to this letter he sent an answer in the Syriac language on the 22nd of March, which also I now enclose to your Eminency, wherein he assured him of his unaltered friendship, exhorted him to mildness and forbearance till he should come, and, with his permission and good-will, mediate between him and those in Travancore who supported the Indian Bishops, assuring him also that he would not leave unpunished those who behaved unjustly or unkindly to him in any way. And Mar Reginald acted even as he had wrote, and he obtained a promise from the excellent Governor of the English at Madras, that he would confirm whatever appointment he

thought good respecting the peace of the Church in Malabar. And your Excellency will see, by his letters to both sides, that he intended that Mar Athanasius should be acknowledged as Metropolitan by all those who had power, and that the Indian Bishops, when it should be seen they were truly such, should receive honour and maintenance as his suffragans.

In this belief and intention he wrote also a letter of friendship and brotherly love to Mar Philoxenus, as one Bishop to another, exhorting him to receive Athanasius, as sent by your Eminency, to rule them. I send a copy of that letter to your Eminency. I beg your Eminency's wise and careful attention to this account, and of the truth of it I myself am witness, for I wrote with my own hand the two letters to Mar Athanasius, and have been near to our blessed father as his Ramban and Secretary during all these transactions. Your wisdom will judge from this, with what grief and surprise Mar Reginald heard the events that took place at the same time at Travancore. These events there is no need that I relate, as your Eminency has heard them clearly from Mar Athanasius himself; but the thing which gives most grief to the hearts of all who love the memory and rejoiced in the plans of our late blessed Father in Christ, is that his two letters to Mar Athanasius were not received. The first letter which, as I have mentioned, was sent on the 4th of March, must have arrived at Travancore either on the same day Mar Athanasius was arrested by the Divan, and banished the country, or at least the day after; yet the letter was not sent after him to Cochin, where he remained many days. Nor was it told to Mar Reginald that his letter had not been delivered till many days after it had arrived at Travancore, and this news not coming to the Bishop till after Easter at Tanjore, no remedy was found for the evil, much less was the second letter delivered, which was written, as I have mentioned, twenty days later than the other. But as soon as Mar Reginald heard, as he did in the Passion-week, that the Metropolitan had been arrested by

order of the heathen Government, he immediately wrote a letter to the British Deputy in Travancore, Colonel Newall, who was then living at some distance in the mountains of the north. In that letter he supplicated him to stop all these proceedings against Mar Athanasius, to wait for his coming before he listened to any accusation against the person bearing the commission of your Eminency, and recognized in that character, as he had no doubt he soon would be by all of the faithful in Malabar. He reminded him moreover how infamous it would be to the English nation, if we should admit, in any degree, the accursed practices which we all condemn in the disciples of the corrupt Church of Rome, in their conduct towards the Legates from Syria, who came to the ancient Churches, which Divine Providence had now placed under our civil government and protection. Our blessed Father Mar Reginald lived not long after the writing of that excellent letter. It was his mind to have followed it up by a letter to your Eminency, and by other acts calculated to ensure the peace of your Church at Malabar, when it pleased his heavenly Father to call him to himself. The letter was, however, received by Colonel Newall, who immediately sent orders to the Divan of Travancore, to stay all farther proceedings against Mar Athanasius, and to authorize his return to the country. That letter arriving after the death of Mar Reginald was opened and read by me. But, alas! the news had already arrived from Travancore, that Mar Athanasius had already sailed from Cochin, and consequently that these orders of the Resident came too late. It would ill become me, most reverend Father, to obtrude any counsel of mine upon your Eminency, in an affair where the peace of your Church is so nearly concerned. Suffer me, however, to give you what are not mine, but the ideas of my honoured Father in the Lord, whose nearest wish after the prosperity of his own children, and the extension of the Gospel of the Lord by their means, was to preserve the integrity of the Church subjected to your Eminency's rule in

the land of Malabar. It appeared, then, to Mar Reginald, from very strict and accurate inquiries made into the truth of the circumstances, not only from those resident in Cotym, but from others also, that when the last Prelates (on whom be the peace of God) came from Syria to Malabar, Mar Gregorius of Jerusalem, Mar Basilius Maphiran, and Mar Johannes, they encountered the like opposition from the ambition of the Indian Bishop Mar Thona and his nephew, that Mar Athanasius has to encounter from the ignorance and prejudice of those opposed to him. Nevertheless, as disciples of Him who was lowly and meek in heart, and who, by His own mouth and that of His holy Apostles, has taught us not to render evil for evil, but to overcome evil with good, they, after more than eighteen years' quarrelling, procured the younger Indian Bishop to be submissive to their will, and (Mar Basilius being dead) Mar Gregorius consecrated him and honoured him with the title of Metropolitan, by the name of Dionysius. All this is not unknown to your Eminency, but besides this it is also true that there was a young Indian priest, who, during all these troubles and contentions, had remained faithful to the just cause of the Syrian Prelates from Antioch. Him, therefore, during those troubles, Mar Basilius had consecrated Bishop, by the name of Cyrillus. And it is said also, though with what truth I know not certainly, that when Mar Gregorius had given the title of Metropolitan to Dionysius, and when Mar Dionysius afterwards refused to give him the maintenance he agreed to give, then Mar Gregorius gave the same title of Metropolitan to the aforesaid Cyrillus. However this may be as to his dignity of Metropolitan, or whatever right this may have conferred upon him, it is the confession of all in Malabar, of every party, that he was truly a Bishop by the consecration of Mar Basilius. That Cyrillus, as is sufficiently attested, consecrated another priest before his death, A.D. 1805, by the name of Philoxenus, who again, in 1812, consecrated in the same manner him who now lives, and is called Mar

Philoxenus. Now, though the title of Metropolitan is wrongly assumed by that Prelate, and the others whom he has consecrated, and ignorantly allowed them by the heathen governors of the land, it will not be doubtful to your Eminency that they are real Bishops, though there were not the number of prelates present at the consecration which the Holy Canons ordinarily require. But in a barbarous land, where Bishops are very few, where intercourse with the see of Antioch was interrupted and difficult, it may seem perhaps to your Eminency, as it did to Mar Reginald, that it were better for a Bishop before his death to provide successors for himself, provided the real form of ordination be duly observed, than that the Church should be left entirely destitute of Bishops. More especially when at the demise of the true Metropolitan, more than twelve years ago, there was no provision for the continuance of lawful pastors among the people of Malabar, unless the other successions from Mar Basilius were admitted as true, which continued from Cyrillus to those who are now in Malabar. It was therefore in our blessed Father's mind to entreat your Eminency, and also his right reverend brother Mar Athanasius, to lay aside all prejudices from the reports of ambitious men in India, who often decry in their brethren those things which they only desire for themselves, and that you would consult in these matters what is conducive to the peace, security, and welfare of the Church, not indeed giving place, even for an hour, to those prejudiced or wicked brethren who pretend to set up the right of the heathen magistrates to name Church Governors, against that of the see of Antioch, but not denying even to the gainsaying and the prejudiced, that character which is allowed them by the nation, if it should appear on due examination and trial by the faithful, the priests, and doctors of Malabar, that the character of Bishop does of right belong to them. By these mild means, and by inviting a fair and impartial trial of all doubtful matters, the peace and order of the Church will be best pro

moted. Our brethren and fathers of the English Church all look with the greatest interest and affection on the state of the Church of the Apostle St. Thomas in Malabar; all desire earnestly to see it in peace and prosperity, and its connexion with Syria unimpaired, and they all will hear with sorrow of the violent removal of your Legate from this country. I am now engaged, as is my bounden duty, in giving an account of these transactions, with the whole of the wishes of our blessed Father concerning them, to our venerable Father and Lord Mar Carolus, Primate of England.

&c. &c. &c.

THOMAS ROBINSON,

Priest and Ramban of Mar Reginald
the blessed.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER TO THE
REV. WILLIAM ROY, SECRETARY TO
THE MADRAS DIOCESAN COMMITTEE
OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGA-
TION OF THE GOSPEL.

Tanjore, Oct. 19, 1826.

* * * *

OUR dear Father, the late revered Bishop Heber, arrived here early on the 25th of March, and on the day following, which was Easter Sunday, he preached at the Mission Church in the Little Fort a most impressive sermon on Rev. i. 18: "I am he that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore." The powerful truths that proved the glory of the Saviour, and the most affecting arguments to prevail on every one to trust in Him, and to love and honour Him, made a deep impression on the hearts of the hearers. His lordship then administered the Holy Sacrament to thirty persons of the English, and fifty-seven of the Tamul congregation. A great part of our native congregation, who understood English, attended the Divine service, and although they could not have understood every particular of the learned yet very awakening sermon of his lordship's, being, however, much

affected by it, after Divine service they unanimously prayed his lordship to grant them a copy of the same; most condescendingly he told them that he would send them a copy of it with some alterations, that they might be able to understand it better. We greatly lament that this kind promise cannot now be accomplished!

After Divine service, his lordship also signified his intention of seeing the Tamul congregation in the evening, and appointed the day following for the Confirmation of the English and Tamul young people who were presented to him after church. In the evening Divine service was performed in Tamul at the Mission Church in the Little Fort. It commenced at half-past six. The church was illuminated by the kindness of our resident, Captain Fyfe. The Liturgy was read by the Rev. Mr. Bahrenbruck, and Nullatambi, native priests. The Rev. Dr. Cæmmerer preached on St. John xi. 25. After the conclusion of the sermon, his lordship pronounced the blessing in Tamul from the altar, *correct and distinct*, to the great surprise and joy of the whole native congregation.

On Easter Monday in the forenoon, after the reading of the service, twelve young persons of the English, and fifty of the native congregation, were confirmed by his lordship, the former in the English, and the latter in the Tamul language. The correctness with which his lordship pronounced every word in Tamul was not only striking, but will be always remembered by our native Christians as a proof of the Apostolic spirit which was in him, a proof of his fervent zeal and benevolent disposition to promote the eternal welfare, not only of Europeans, but also of the poor natives.

In the evening, after the sermon, his lordship delivered a most affecting address from the altar, to the missionaries and the native priests who were present, animating them to zeal and diligence in the discharge of their important work, under all trials and difficulties, according to the example of the holy Apostle and of Schwartz, the

founder of this and of the Trichinopoly Mission. The address was delivered near the remains of the venerable Schwartz, and thereby rendered more affecting to every one present. It was delivered extempore. It seems his lordship had no thought of delivering this address when he entered the chapel, and the thought struck him only at the sight of the number of missionaries and native priests whom he saw before him. Although it was delivered with remarkable plainness, yet every word of it came with power, and went through the heart. Oh how glad would I be if I had a copy of that excellent address! May a merciful God help us by his Holy Spirit, that we may always remember and do what has been told us by our dear Father!

On the three following days his lordship spent a great part of the forenoon and afternoon in inquiring into the various concerns of the Tanjore and Tinnevely Missions, gave necessary directions to the missionaries to be observed by them for the good of those missions, and had the kindness to signify to them those directions in a letter written with his own hand, on Friday the 31st of March, the day he left Tanjore for Trichinopoly. Petitions were also presented to his lordship by native priests, catechists, and poor. He received them with great condescension, granted the relief solicited for, and promised to do what could not have been done immediately. Two of the native teachers at this place were presented to his lordship as fit subjects for being ordained, and were approved of by him.

The Rev. G. Sperschneider, who had been lately on a visit to the mission at Trichinopoly, having made mention, among other particulars, about eleven young people there who wished to be confirmed, I set out for that place, in order to present them to his lordship for Confirmation, and arrived on the 2nd of April with the Rev. Mr. Schreyvogel. We attended Divine service at St. John's, and had the happiness of hearing another very impressive sermon preached by his lordship on 1 John v. 6, 7, 8. His lordship then let

me know, by his chaplain, that as the English and Tamul Confirmations could not conveniently be performed at the same time, he was purposed to confirm the young people of the Tamul congregation early the following morning at the Mission Church in the Fort. In the evening his lordship confirmed about seventy persons of St. John's Parish, and delivered afterwards from the pulpit a most affectionate address to the young people in particular who were confirmed, to be faithful to their sacred engagements, and to watchfulness and prayer.

Agreeably to his lordship's desire, the Tamul congregation assembled very early on Monday morning, the 3rd of April, at the Mission Church in the Fort. His lordship arrived at sunrise, and after the reading of usual prayers, he confirmed in Tamul eleven young persons of the Trichinopoly Mission. The service was solemn and affecting, and I sincerely hope that every one of those who were confirmed by the hands of our late dear Father, were deeply impressed with a lively sense of the solemn act performed by them. The service was concluded by the blessing pronounced by his lordship in Tamul.

After service his lordship took a view of the Mission Church, and expressed his regret at the decayed state it was in, and the distress of the mission, adding that, after deliberation, he would communicate his thoughts for the repair of the church, and the good of the Trichinopoly Mission; he also took a view of the English and Tamul schools, and the missionary's house, which are all built near the church. A great part of the Tamul congregation being still present, his lordship exhorted them to be Christians not only in name but in reality, to shine as lights before the heathen among whom they lived. He promised to send them soon a missionary, and wished that God would pour down his blessings upon them. He then very kindly took leave of me, and returned to the house of Mr. Bird, circuit judge. Little did I think that that was the last farewell—and never to see him again in this world!

Three hours had hardly elapsed since his lordship left the church, when a rumour was spread in the Fort that his lordship had been taken dead out of the bath in which he went after his return from the Fort. The first notice was brought to me by one of the catechists, who came running out of breath, and delivered the mournful news with bitter cries and lamentations. I could give no credit to the melancholy report, till it was confirmed by a note from the Rev. Mr. Wright, which informed me that our dear Father was no more an inhabitant of this world.

In the afternoon I called on Mr. Robinson; we shed our tears over the smiling countenance of our late dear departed Father, and comforted ourselves with the thoughts of a better world, where there will be no sorrow, and where all tears will be wiped away. It is mournful, indeed, to reflect upon the sudden and abrupt manner in which our dear Father was removed from our eyes, when we were admiring the grace of God that appeared in him. To himself, however, death was gain. He died like a good servant of his Lord, who found him engaged in his proper work. But our loss by his departure seems irreparable. We have

lost a Father, and this is a loss which God can alone make up. May He graciously grant that we may not be wholly disappointed!

Early the following morning I attended the funeral of our late reverend Father, which was conducted with all the honours due to his blessed remains. It was a mournful and afflicting scene, indeed, which I have not witnessed since the death of the venerable Schwartz.

On the 9th of April I preached to the Tamul congregation, and exhorted the Christians to consider the late mournful event as a warning from God to repent, and to show their gratitude to God by a holy life. After the Tamul service I attended Divine service at St. John's, and heard the excellent sermon preached by the Rev. T. Robinson, in memory of our late Father. It impressed on our minds not only that esteem and veneration due to the memory of our late beloved Bishop, but awakened us also to endeavour that we may be approved of the Lord when he shall be pleased to call us away.

* * * *

I am, with great respect,
Reverend Sir,
Your very obedient humble servant,
J. C. KOHLHOFF.

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GLOSSARY.

ABDAR, water-cooler.

Acbar, native newspaper.

Adigar, minister.

Admee, man.

Ap, your honour.

Avatar, incarnation.

Aumeen, collector of revenue.

Aya, maid or nurse.

Baboo, Hindoo title, answering to our esquire.

Bandy, gig or cart.

Bangle, bracelet.

Begah, land-measure, differing all over India.

Begum, princess.

Belathee, foreign.

Bhât, bard.

Bheestie, water-carrier.

Bholiah, row-boat, covered over at one end.

Boolee, large well.

Boosa, camel's food.

Brinjarries, carriers of grain.

Bucher, young one.

Budgerow, large cabined boat.

Bukshish, present.

Bullum, spear.

Burkandaz, inferior police officer.

Burra, great.

Bundar, harbour.

Bungalow, a cottage made of bamboo and mats, with very projecting thatched roof.

Bunyan, trader.

Cazi, Mussulman judge.

Caranchie, native carriage.

Charun, bard.

Chattah, umbrella.

Chobdar, bearer of silver mace.

Chokey, chair, gaol, or toll-house.

Choksydar, watchman.

Chopper, thatched roof.

Chota, little.

Choultry, Hindoo name for a resting-place for travellers.

Chudda, sheet, or veil.

Chumar, leather-dresser.

Chunam, lime.

Chuprassie, police guard.

Chowry, whisk for driving off flies.

Clashee, tent-pitcher, or manager of sails.

Cofilah, caravan.

Coir, coco-nut fibre.

Colly, creek.

Coolie, porter.

Coomer, crocodile.

Coss, about two miles.

Cummerbund, sash.

Cutwal, magistrate.

Dâk, post.

Dandee, boatman.

Daroga, superintendent.

Decoit, river pirate.

Dewan, a prime minister, and sometimes an agent.

Dewul, temple.

Dhoolie, litter.

Dhurna, mourning.

Dooab, a tract of country between two rivers.

Duffuldar, officer.

Dustoor, custom.

Durbar, a court where a levee is held.

Durwan, gate-keeper.

Fakir, religious mendicant.

Feringee, European.
Firmân, royal order.
Foujdar, commander.

Gaowala, cowman.
Ghât, in the east, a landing-place; in the west and south, a pass of a mountain, or a range of mountains.
Ghee, rancid butter.
Ghuweele purndar, poor man's rovider.
Gool, small channel.
Goomashta, agent, or master.
Gossain, Hindoo hermit.
Gram, a kind of vetch.
Gnicwar, sovereign.

Hackery, native cart.
Hagie, saint.
Hamaul, bearer.
Hanjar, Persian scymitar.
Havildar, officer in the army.
Hooka, pipe.
Hat'hee, elephant.
Hoolee, a famous Hindoo festival, to commemorate the beginning of a new year; it is held in the vernal equinox.
Howdah, seat on an elephant.
Hurharu, messenger.
Hurrunzadu, rascal.
Huzoor, your presence.

Jaghire, estate assigned by Government.
Jaghiredar, person holding a jaghire.
Jeel, swamp, or shallow lake.
Jemautdar, officer in the army, head man of a village, or house-servant.
Jin, saddle.
Juldee, quick.
Jungle, thicket.

Kaleân, Persian pipe.
Kamdâr, governor.
Kayt, writer.
Khânsamân, steward.
Khelât, honorary dress.
Khitmutgar, footman.

Kibla, the point where Mussulmans turn to pray.
Killedar, governor of a fort.
Kincob, brocade.

Lac, one hundred thousand.
Lebada, cloak.
Log, people.
Lugana, to make fast.
Lungoor, baboon.

Malik, master.
Maharaja, great king.
Manjee, steersman.
Marabout, holy man.
Meidan, plain.
Messala, mess.
Mobarak, lucky.
Mohout, elephant-driver.
Mohur, a gold coin, worth sixteen rupees in Bengal.
Moodelier, native magistrate.
Moonshee, teacher.
Moonee, inspired person.
Moullah, Mahometan priest.
Muktar, chamberlain or prime minister.
Musnud, throne.
Mussaul, torch.
Mussaulchie, torch-bearer.
Mut, obelisk.
Mutwâla, drunkard.

Naick, corporal.
Nacoda, captain of a vessel.
Nagari, great kettle-drum.
Nullah, brook, or small branch of a river.
Nuddee, streamlet.
Nuzzur, offering.

Paddy, rice in the husk.
Pagoda, Hindoo place of worship.
Palkee, palanquin.
Panchway, passage-boat.
Pawn, the nut of the areca palm-lime, and spice, wrapped in a betel leaf, and chewed by the natives.
Peeta, string.
Peishwa, sovereign.

Perjunnah, the largest division of land in a zemindarry.

Peon, messenger.

Petarra, wicker basket.

Pettah, native town near a fort.

Pice, copper coin.

Potail, head man of a village.

Pooja, worship.

Poor, town.

Pucka, brick.

Pulwar, large boat.

Punchaet, jury of five men.

Punka, large wooden board suspended from the ceiling, and waved to and fro by ropes; also a fan.

Puranas, Indian mythological poems.

Purwannu, Government order.

Rais, master of a vessel.

Rannee, Hindoo princess.

Routee, small tent.

Ruksut, dismissal.

Rut, carr.

Ryut, peasant.

Sahib, lord.

Saees, groom.

Sarbann, camel-driver.

Seer, weight of about two pounds.

Sherabdar, butler.

Serai, Mussulman place of rest for travellers.

Serang, master of a vessel.

Singh, lion.

Sircar, governor, also a head servant.

Sitringee, tent carpet.

Sirdar, head man or minister.

Soodra, a Hindoo caste, composed of cultivators, mechanics, and artisans.

Sotaburdar, bearer of silver stick.

Sudder Adawlut, court of justice.

Sulder Dewannee, court of justice.

Suwarree, retinue.

Suwarra, horse-soldiers.

Soubahdar, officer of the highest rank in the army.

Tank, artificial pond.

Tanna, police officer.

Tattee, mat made of cuscus-grass.

Tattoo, pony.

Thakoor, lord or baron.

Thannadar, officer.

Tindal, tent-pitcher.

Tope, clump of trees.

Tonjon, chair with a head.

Tussildar, tacksman.

Vakeel, envoy.

Vedas, Hindoo Scriptures.

Veddahs, hunters.

Viragies, religious mendicants.

Yogi, religious mendicant.

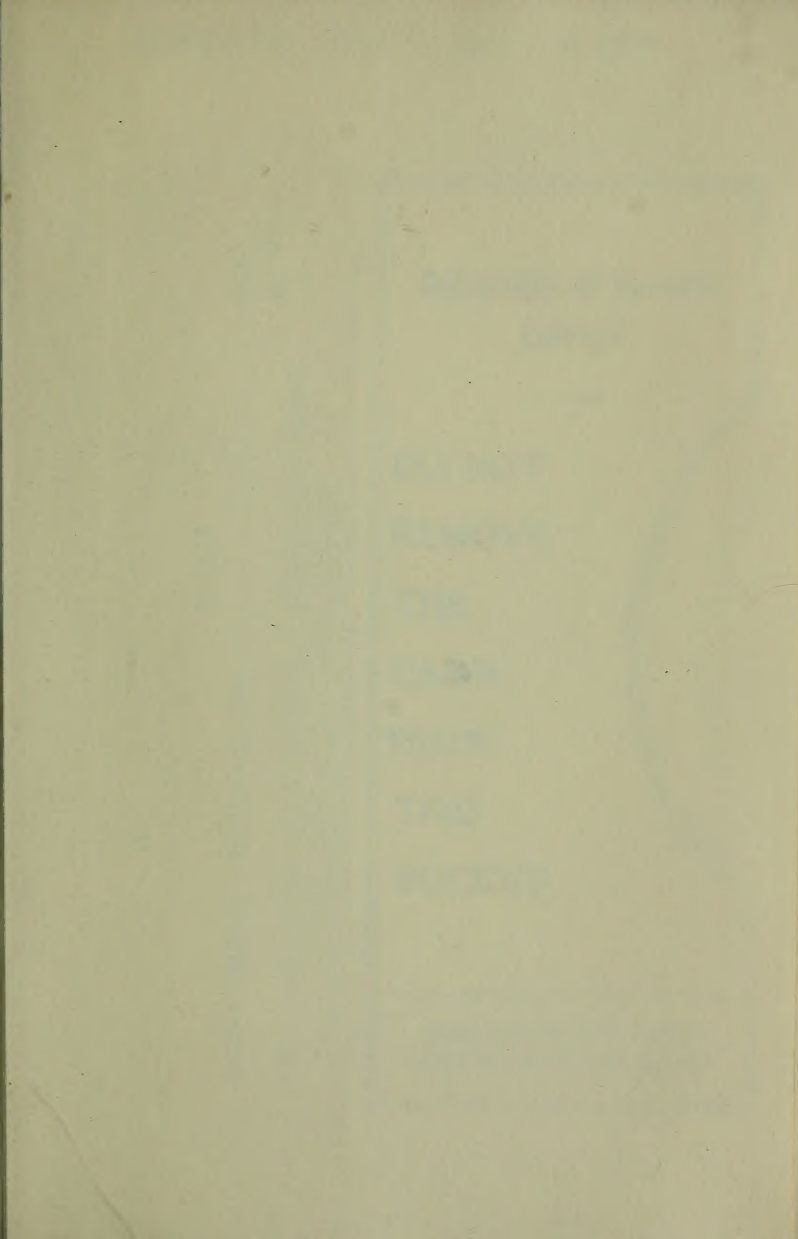
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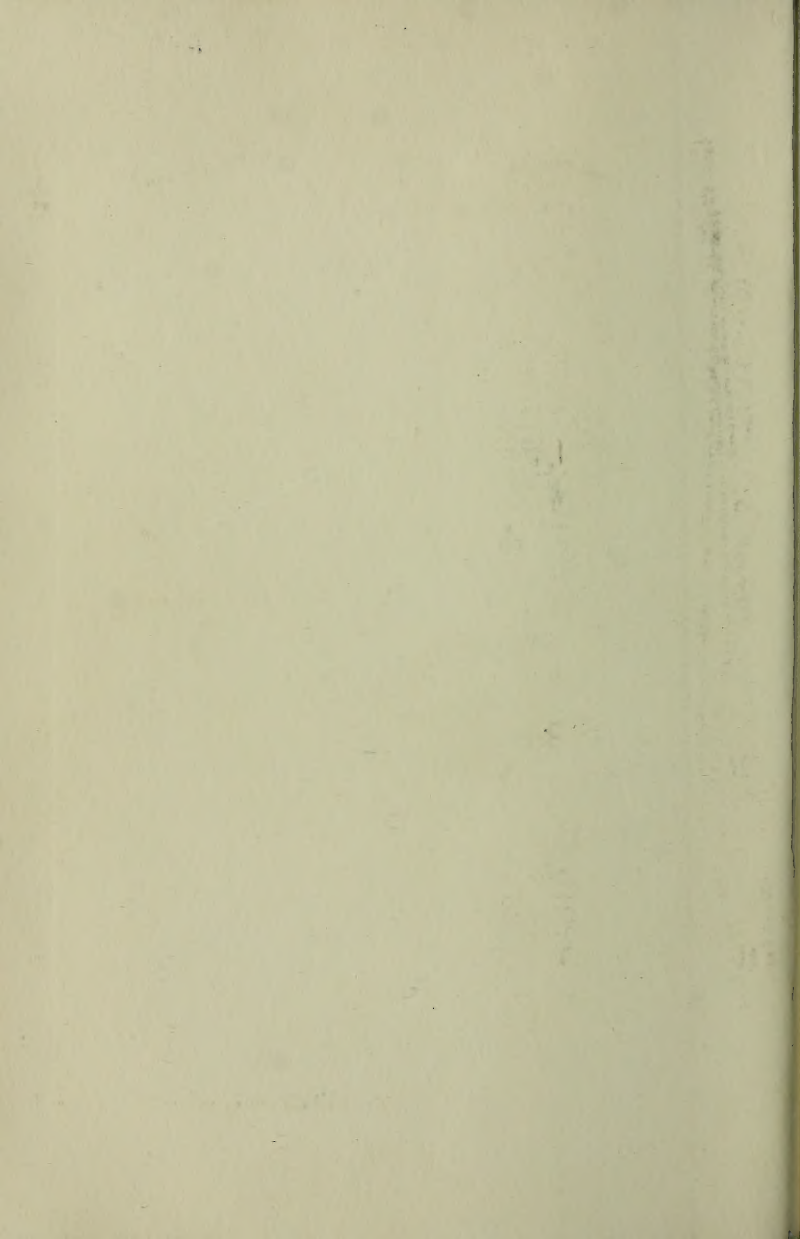
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